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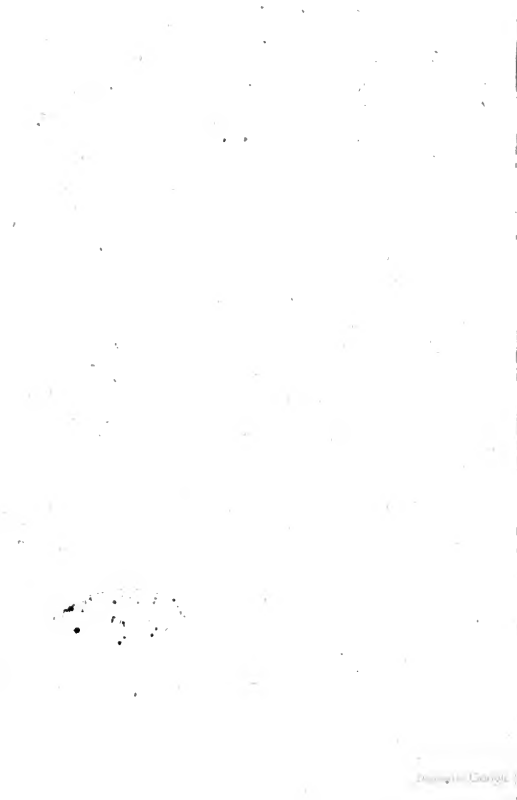
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THE
WESTMINSTER
REVIEW.

JULY AND OCTOBER,
1874.

"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.
GÖTTE.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. XLVI.



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TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL.

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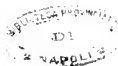
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THE



WESTMINSTER

AND

FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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JULY 1, 1874.  
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ART. I.—BUTLER'S ANALOGY: ITS STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS.

1. *Lectures on Butler's Analogy.* By the Rt. Hon. J. NAPIER, LL.D. Dublin. Hodges, Smith and Co.
2. *Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the End of Last Century.* 3 vols. By the Rev. JOHN HUNT, M.A. London: 1870.

THE long controversy between Orthodoxy and Free-thought has produced no book which (in England at least) has attracted more attention than Butler's "Analogy." For a time, the writings of Paley enjoyed a wider popularity, but the influence of Paley has decidedly waned, while that of Butler has been steadily increasing, during the last half-century. Little as we know of the latter's life and surroundings, yet we can gather, from stray hints, that the production of his treatise was looked forward to with great interest by such of his friends and contemporaries as had been made acquainted with his undertaking. It was instinctively felt that the youthful correspondent of Dr. Samuel Clarke, and the preacher of the "Sermons at the Rolls," would have something weighty to urge on behalf of his creed, in the conflict then raging between the Orthodox and the Deistical writers. Yet, brilliant as may have been the expectations formed by such men as Berkeley and Secker, they have been far surpassed by the success of the *Analogy*. We say nothing of the admiration which greeted its appearance, for praise every whit as strong has been lavished upon treatises on both sides, the

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very names of which are now unknown to all but a small number of students in a particular line. We are speaking of its permanent reputation. It has taken the place of a text-book in our Universities, in conjunction with Paley, and latterly to the exclusion of Paley. More than one "Analysis" has been constructed to facilitate its study, and to spare the undergraduate some part of the headache which Sydney Smith, in his jocular way, said that the mere sight of the book never failed to give him. The compliments, sometimes of a rather hyperbolic character, which have been showered upon it by men of eminence would fill a volume. In Southey's opinion, it established the truth of revelation by "irrefragable proofs:" to Dr. Chalmers, the author was the "Bacon of Theology:" Bishop Philpotts declared that he looked upon him as "the greatest of uninspired men." Nor have these tributes to his greatness and his influence emanated solely from persons of his own religious creed. John Henry Newman, and other Roman Catholics have, as is well known, laid him under extensive contribution—for the purpose of bolstering *their* dogmas it is true, a point to be presently considered—and we learn from the lately published Autobiography of Mr. Mill how James Mill was for a long time kept in the ranks of the Orthodox by the arguments of Butler. He considered them absolutely unanswerable by the Deists to whom they were addressed. It is, however, in the present day, that is to say in the controversial literature of the last twenty years, that we find the most marked traces of Bishop Butler's influence. In the midst of the battle now being waged afresh, the champions of Orthodoxy seem to betake themselves to his construction as being, in the words of one of them, "an impregnable fortress erected for the defence of Christianity." We do not profess to have read all the Bampton and Boyle lectures which have been delivered of late years, but in those which have come under our eye, we have perpetually seen the same great name invoked. The two series of Christian Evidence Society's lectures (lately noticed in this *Review*) contain scarcely one formidable argument which is not derived from the same source. Mr. Henry Rogers, one of the ablest writers on his side, furnishes us with page after page of what is, after all, only a spirited rendering of the Analogy. In the Duke of Argyll's "Reign of Law," the argument of Butler is spoken of as "the greatest in the whole range of Christian philosophy;" and is elsewhere, if we remember rightly, styled by him not so much an argument as the unfolding of a new system; while Canon Liddon, preaching in St. Paul's Cathedral, boasts that Butler has "turned the Deistic position," and has shown that, unless men insist upon certain absurd conditions of belief, "they ought to accept Christianity." A Quarterly

reviewer seems to go beyond Bishop Philpotts, and to attribute something akin to infallibility to the book. "We should change a word in it, with the caution of men expounding hieroglyphics—it has a meaning, but *we* have not hit upon it—*others* may, or we ourselves may *at another time*."* There was a time when one of England's greatest Ministers, Mr. Pitt, said—with profound truth, as it appears to us—that "the Analogy raises more doubts than it solves," but now we find statesmen, in their speeches and letters, swelling the chorus of unmitigated eulogy. According to Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, lately speaking as Attorney-General at the Oxford Union Society Jubilee, the culminating glory of Oxford is "Bishop Butler, the glory of the Church of England, the greatest, brightest, most pregnant and original man who ever wrote on Christian philosophy." Mr. Gladstone goes a step further in a recently published letter. "Bishop Butler taught me forty-five years ago to suspend my judgment on things I knew I did not understand. Even with his aid, I may often have been wrong, *without him I think I should never have been right*"—a wild, and for the writer, characteristic way of expressing the fact that Butler has had great influence over his mind. But what induces Mr. Gladstone to add, "And oh! that this age knew the treasure it possesses in him, and neglects!" No writer that has existed, from the invention of letters to the present day, could have less cause to complain of "neglect" than Bishop Butler. What, as we shall presently see, might be said with much more justice is, that he has been unduly extolled; that great as are his achievements, he has been credited with having accomplished certain ends for Orthodoxy, which he never even professed to aim at.

What did Bishop Butler really do for the Orthodox system of belief by his Analogy? How far are the eulogies which have been heaped upon him, of which the above are mere fragmentary specimens selected at haphazard, justified in their general tone and purport, when divested of rhetorical embroidery and exaggeration? We think that in some respects they *are* justified. We think that it would be difficult to speak too highly of the manner in which he has executed his work. In logical power he has never been surpassed, and even those thinkers who do not admit his premises, and those who admitting the premises deem that the general conclusions leave the matters in dispute very much where they were, will join together in admiring the consummate skill with which the argument is conducted. His style has been objected to, but it appears to us to be the perfect model of a style for one who seeks not to dazzle but to persuade—and

* *Quarterly Review*, No. 38 (1828) p. 307. The Italics are the writer's.

to persuade a particular class of reader ; who handles arguments which, from their very nature, require close and consecutive attention ; in whose case, then, every form of *ad captandum* writing would be quite out of place.*

In order to form an adequate view of Butler's merit and position as an author, as also for some other purposes of literary criticism, it would be necessary to take account of the times in which he wrote. He was in a certain sense—with all respect for Chief Justice Coleridge—as far from being "original" as he was, in any sense, far from being "bright." There is hardly an argument in the *Analogy* the *disjecta membra* of which are not to be found in some of his predecessors, in Samuel Clarke, Waterland, Colliber, and a host of others ; while the key-note to the whole work had been struck before the appearance at any rate, though perhaps not before the first conception, of the *Analogy*, by Bishop Berkeley in his "*Alciphron*." Sometimes the author does not hesitate to draw largely from the so-called Deists, as, for instance, from Shaftesbury. If we were approaching the book from a certain side it would be necessary to take note of all this, but to do so is happily quite unnecessary for our purpose ; and we make haste to add that these considerations do not detract from the genuine originality of Bishop Butler. His treatise may be described as the summing-up by a master-hand of the theological controversies of half a century, and his originality consists in the co-ordination of the materials which he found ready to his hand. Moreover, it would be interesting, from the point of view to which we have adverted, to notice the sources from which the particular objections to revelation, which he combated, had emanated, whether from Toland, or Collins, or Tindal, or Chubb respectively. But these inquiries, again, are quite alien to our purpose. The objections in question were "in the air ;" they were handed on by one objector to another, and it does not enter into our scope to ascertain by whom each of them was first distinctly formulated in that age. Our object is simply to glance at Butler's arguments, and to test the value of certain positions which we think it must be admitted have been established by him.

There was one characteristic of the times, however, which should not be left altogether out of sight, even for our purpose. It serves to explain here and there the language, and in some degree the general scope of the *Analogy*. In the England of that

* Possibly—it is but a slight criticism—if the author had lived in the present day he would have made less frequent use of the word "thing," "things." This word will be found every now and then employed half a dozen times in half a dozen almost consecutive sentences, and becomes well-nigh a source of irritation to the nervous reader.

day, as in the France of a somewhat later day, to sneer at revelation had become a kind of fashionable trick. To ridicule things held sacred by the mass of his fellow countrymen, with a flippancy proportioned to his ignorance, was a favourite pastime for the bel esprit or coffee-house buck. Swift, in his "Argument against Abolishing Christianity," remarks, "What an advantage it is for great wits to be always provided with objects of scorn and contempt in order to exercise and improve their talents;" and in Addison's "Drummer" one of the characters owns to having professed unbelief in order to "show his parts." It has been suggested that Butler may have been frequently brought in contact with witlings of this description during his attendance upon Queen Caroline, and this may well have been the case, though we can hardly ascribe to such encounters the passages we have referred to in the *Analogy*, inasmuch as the book was published in the same year in which he was appointed Clerk of the Closet. It is, however, certain that he must often have met with these shallow disputants in the world, and possible that he may be referring to specimens which had come under his observation at Court when he remarks in his preface:—

"It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if in the present age this was an agreed point among all people of discernment; and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisal for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world.

To prove to the fashionable world "that it is not so clear a case that there is nothing in Christianity," "that it is not a subject of ridicule unless the system of nature be so too," "that to treat it with any kind of scoffing and ridicule is an offence against natural piety," that consequently "blasphemy and profaneness with regard to it are absolutely without excuse" was part of Butler's avowed purpose in composing his treatise, and in estimating his success we must take into account the real objects which he had in view, and not credit him, as some of his injudicious admirers have not failed to do, with aims such as were indeed loudly professed by some of the apologists his contemporaries, but which are expressly repudiated in the *Analogy*.

What, we repeat, are the positions established by this great work? They are very clearly set forth, and most carefully limited, by the author himself in his Introduction:—

"If there be an analogy or likeness between that system of things and dispensation of Providence which revelation informs us of, and that system of things and dispensation of Providence which experience

- together with reason informs us of, *i.e.*, the known course of nature, this is a presumption that they have both the same author and cause ; *at least so far as to answer objections against the former's being from God, drawn from anything which is analogical or similar to what is in the latter, which is acknowledged to be from Him."*

Granting an author of nature, a being expressly postulated by Butler, there can be no doubt that, subject to the limiting words which we have printed in italics, the above proposition must at once command the assent of the reasonable Deist in the present day. Further on we are told with equal truth that it is just and reasonable "from what is present to collect what is likely, credible or not incredible will be hereafter." This is a specimen of the way in which the conclusions to be drawn are everywhere carefully guarded. In the last paragraph of the Introduction we have a succinct account of the author's design :—

"The design, then, of the following treatise will be to show that the several parts principally objected against in this moral and Christian dispensation, including its scheme, its publication, and the proof which God has afforded us of its truth ; that the particular parts principally objected against in this whole dispensation are analogous to what is experienced in the constitution or course of nature or providence ; that the chief objections themselves which are alleged against the former are no other than what may be alleged with like justness against the latter, where they are found in fact to be inconclusive ; and that this argument from analogy is in general unanswerable, and undoubtedly of weight on the side of religion, notwithstanding the objections which may seem to lie against it, *and the real ground which there may be for difference of opinion as to the particular degree of weight which is to be laid upon it.* This is a general account of what may be looked for in the following treatise."

Here we have very clearly set out the ground which the argument from analogy can be justly made to cover, and the limits within which its scope must necessarily be confined. It is perfectly good for upsetting a certain class of objections to Revelation, namely, those the like of which might also be raised against the scheme of nature. Because it is quite clear that if in the natural constitution of things, admittedly from the hand of God, such and such modes of proceeding are adopted, the presence of similar processes in connexion with any alleged Revelation cannot be urged as a conclusive reason against its being from God. This argument appears to us to be really "unanswerable ;" and the analogy is "undoubtedly of weight" on the side of any religion to which it can be applied.

But what then ? We cannot pretend, in the space at our command, to furnish an outline of the Analogy, and must suppose on the part of the reader some knowledge of a book which is one of the glories of our literature. This seems, however, a suit-

able place for furnishing a few illustrations of Butler's reasoning, in order to render intelligible the comments which we shall venture to make upon it, and perhaps to save trouble to a reader who may not have the original at hand. The treatise, we must remind him, is divided into two parts. The first part deals with "Natural Religion;" the second with "Revealed Religion." The first part need not detain us here, because it has often been remarked, and is indeed quite plain, that the whole of it might have been accepted by the Deists against whom Butler wrote. Indeed, if we except a few sentences, there was not one of them who would not have been proud to set his name to it. It is, in fact, a preparation for the second part, in which revelation is treated of. This latter portion may again be subdivided. The first six chapters deal chiefly with the objections to Christianity; and in the seventh the author goes on to consider the positive evidence in its favour. Our illustrations will be taken from these six chapters, in which really lies the main strength of the work, viewed as a defence of the orthodox system against the objectors of the seventeenth and eighteen centuries.

The author first proceeds to consider the objections to any kind of revelation urged on the ground of the sufficiency of the light of nature. No man, he says, can fairly take up this ground who considers the state of religion in the heathen world before revelation, and in those parts of the world which still derive no light from it. One might as well say that life is so happy that our condition is incapable of being bettered. There are others, again, who take up a view not wholly unlike this, to the effect that revelation is of small importance provided natural religion be kept to. Butler, in a chapter "Of the importance of Christianity," vindicates the importance of revelation as being—firstly, a republication of natural religion "with a degree of light to which that of nature is but darkness;" and secondly, as containing an account of a dispensation of things, not at all discoverable by reason, in consequence of which several distinct precepts are enjoined us. As for our being ignorant of the reasons for these precepts, the whole analogy of nature shows that there may be infinite reasons for things, with which we are not acquainted. And he remarks, with great justice, that Christianity cannot be esteemed of little consequence till it be positively shown to be false. Next, the author deals "of the supposed presumption against a revelation considered as miraculous." This is a chapter which, like that in Part I., "Of a Future Life," would not have appeared in its present form, if the author had lived in the present day. Such a statement as that, "when mankind was first placed in this state, there was a power exerted totally different from the present course of nature," is put forward

as an axiom. What follows about miracles is admitted, by all commentators, to be the most difficult part of Bishop Butler's writings. Orthodox critics of great acuteness, such as Mr. Mozley and Bishop Fitzgerald, consider that the author has lapsed into fallacies, while others, such as the late Dean Mansel and Sir Joseph Napier, defend his reasoning, while admitting it to be "difficult" and the arrangement "awkward." To us, it seems that just at the very stress where the orthodox advocate's voice should be clearest he grows inarticulate. Be that as it may, we should not have now-a-days such a sentence as this from the pen of Butler—"It is by no means certain that there is any peculiar presumption at all from analogy, even in the lowest degree against miracles, as distinguished from other extraordinary phenomena." In the next place the author deals—

"Of our incapacity of judging what were to be expected in a revelation, and the credibility, from analogy, that it must contain things appearing liable to objections. Since upon experience the course of nature is found greatly different from what before experience would have been expected, and liable, as men fancy, to great objections, this renders it highly credible that they may find the revealed dispensation likewise, if they judge of it as they do of the constitution of nature, very different from expectations formed beforehand, and liable in appearance to great objections, objections against the scheme itself and against the degrees and manners of the miraculous interpositions by which it was attested and carried on."

By this method almost every possible objection (except such as might be founded on immoralities and contradictions, which are specially excepted) is at once ruled out of court; a less cautious writer might have gone further, and by the use of "probable" for "credible" have enlisted the objection on the side of revelation. And since the objections to the scheme of nature are at first sight extremely strong (as is shown by the use of such expressions as that "the world is in a state of ruin") it might be urged that the stronger these objections to revelation are, the more they serve to prove revelation: in other words, that the most objectionable religion is most likely to be the true one. Butler of course keeps clear of these absurdities, yet his position is not without its dangers. In this and the following chapters Analogy is invoked to answer such difficulties as this—Is it credible that Christianity (represented as a remedy) should have been so long unrevealed, revealed to so few, and with such obscurity, &c. Quite credible, says Butler, if the light of nature and of revelation be from the same hand. Men are liable to diseases, for which God has provided remedies. Yet these remedies are often long unknown, known to few, perhaps yet unknown (we may now cite Vaccination and Chloroform as two

striking examples), not always accessible ; in short neither certain, perfect, nor universal. Again, such an objection as that the Gospel scheme supposes God under the necessity of adopting a long series of intricate means to accomplish His ends, is evidently futile : for this is precisely the mode of working of God in the visible universe. So, such objections as are founded on revelation not being universal, and on the evidence in its favour being doubtful, are to be met in the same way. These objections are founded on these suppositions. 1. That it cannot be thought that God would bestow a favour on any, unless he bestowed the same on all. 2. That it cannot be thought that God would have bestowed any favour on us, unless in the degree which we might imagine most to our advantage—suppositions contradicted by the general Analogy of nature. In another chapter the author appeals to nature for Analogies in favour of the divine mediation of Christ. All living creatures are brought into the world, and preserved in infancy by the instrumentality of others, &c. &c.

The above references to the Analogy can indeed convey no idea of the force of the reasoning employed, not only with regard to individual positions, but especially in summing up the effect of the whole : for, in the author's words, "The proper force of the treatise lies in the whole general analogy considered together." Yet they may serve as indications of the method pursued to those who have not read the book, and will perhaps help to recall it in the case of others whose remembrance of the argument has somewhat faded. Upon this method, upon this argument, and the way in which it is handled, we venture to make a few observations.

In a world admitted to be from the hand of an Almighty Creator, and also allowed by every one to be marked by what we must call imperfections, the reasoner is unanswerable who contends that other parts of the Almighty's work *may* be marked by similar imperfections : indeed that *all* parts of it may be full of such. As this world, in which we find ourselves, is full of difficulties, inequalities, pain, suffering, misery, and vice, so may all creation likewise be. Indeed, if any analogy at all can be drawn, this is the analogy to be drawn. And as a reply to objections it would be unanswerable, though as a positive argument it would be worth next to nothing. Nor would it be to the point to argue that the Deity is unmistakably on the side of virtue in this world, or that there is a power "working for righteousness," or that somehow virtue, as virtue, has a tendency to triumph over, and also to produce more happiness than vice—which might be admitted, and yet would

not prove that the same struggle is not going on everywhere, and is not destined to go on for ever. And, supposing any so-called revelation informed us that this was the case, the argument from Analogy in its favour would, we repeat, be every whit as unanswerable as to a certain extent Butler's is. We see no reply to this assertion of what is *possible*, except we assume as proved the goodness of God, and this term "goodness" can only be used in a human sense; to use it in a different sense is simply to use a different term. We could not call an all-powerful Deity good, on the supposition of his action being everywhere, and perpetually such as we see it in this world: hence we are driven to the conclusion that we are in the midst of "a scheme imperfectly comprehended," and that "order and regularity and right will finally prevail in the Universe." This quality of goodness the Deists assumed, and by the help of it escaped from the only Analogy which could otherwise be drawn from an observation of the present state of things, which they represented to themselves as partial and temporary. Now this quality of goodness Butler also assumes. "Our whole moral nature leads us to ascribe all moral perfection to God, and to deny all imperfection of Him. And this will for ever be a practical proof of his moral character to such as will consider what a practical proof is; because it is the voice of God speaking in us."* Unfortunately for him, he finds it a terrible encumbrance as he goes on. The Deity of Revelation, whom he is called upon to defend, is not in all respects a good God. He enjoins immoral actions, and he tortures his creatures everlastingly. And if our hopes could be of avail, we should hope that "things may be now going on throughout the Universe, and may go on hereafter, in the same mixed way as here at present upon the earth," rather than that there should be a Deity possessed of "goodness" of this kind. Now here precisely are points, the handling of which by Butler require watching. Not that, for one instant, we would accuse him of dishonesty. A more honest writer never put pen to paper. We believe that he succeeded in deceiving himself when he urged, in defence of commands to do acts evidently immoral, that although these acts would have been immoral but for the commands, yet the commands to do them made them moral—a mere equivocation. If this holds good, the most atrocious crimes enjoined on man by the most savage creeds would cease to furnish any arguments against those creeds. Nor is it of any avail to point, with some, to the fact that thousands of children perish in infancy by the hand of (or through the operation of laws set in force by) God,

* Introduction and cf. Pt. I. ch. 3, p. 68; Oxford edition.

and hence to argue that there is no difficulty presented by an alleged order from Him to man to slaughter babes at the breast; since, if we knew the whole facts, their death in this way might be no more a violation of moral law than their death by an earthquake. That the Creator's laws, though carrying death and misery with them, may yet in the end and on the whole be found to be beneficent as well as moral—that in the words of Mr. Herbert Spencer "punishment may be a disguised beneficence"—this is conceivable. But for the Deity to order a man to do things which to him (a man) are immoral, is evidently immoral. A divine command to tell a barefaced lie (falsely to assert a belief in a particular proposition) might, somewhat in the above fashion, be justified on the ground that with a full knowledge of things we might find that it was not a lie. For the statement, however incredible to the utterer, might turn out to be a true one. But every one sees in a moment that this is a mere evasion. It has been well remarked on this point by Mr. Hunt, a clergyman of moderate views:—

"If they (these actions) are immoral, as we understand immorality, and yet not immoral, it is useless to speak of our having a moral sense. Butler could never get over this difficulty, which was really the difficulty presented by the Deists. . . . If revelation depended solely on external evidence, and that evidence were overwhelming, we should be bound to accept all its teaching, however immoral or vicious in our judgment it might be. But if, as Butler maintains, the contents of a revelation are to be part of the evidence, it follows that so far as it is . . . contrary to our ideas of morality so far it is deficient in evidence." —*Religious Thought in England*, vol. iii. p. 393.

Again—and this is a point which has not altogether escaped the notice of Mr. Hunt—Butler, starting with the conception of a good God, has to face the difficulty of eternal Hell-fire, which (especially as presented to us by the orthodox) is not really reconcilable with this conception of goodness. We may presume that the illustrious author thought a great deal upon this subject, and that, as a result of thinking a great deal, he said very little directly. But we are of opinion that the influence of these reflections may be very clearly traced in the Analogy. Butler was far too great a reasoner not to perceive that if the Heathen are to be damned everlastingly (as the Longer Catechism of the Church of Scotland distinctly affirms that they will be), or even if those in Christian countries are to be damned who are conscientiously unable to accept a Revelation, the evidence for which is admitted by him to be doubtful, the goodness of God must be given up. On the other hand, if Salvation be represented as capable of being extended to these, the dogma of the

Atonement must in some degree suffer. Butler seems to accept the latter alternative—though his treatment is faltering—and has thereby exposed himself to suspicions on the part of Evangelical writers as to whether *he* himself was in the right way. In short, the Revelation which he pleads for is not by any means the Revelation of orthodox churchmen and dissenters. Everybody is to be rewarded and punished in the end strictly according to his works. The merit of Christ's sacrifice is to enure to the benefit of those who never heard of it, who (*i.e.*, ninety-nine hundredths of the whole human family) are to be judged on the principles of the Deists whom he is opposing. It would appear from some passages as if those who have been made acquainted with Christianity, and yet disbelieve it, might benefit by the event, provided they behave virtuously and refrain from indecent sneering. In this scheme the Atonement is reduced to a comparatively small value, as a dogma to be believed. No doubt its *effect* is not diminished; and moreover, when any one has a conviction of its truth, he is bound to treat it as a matter of very great importance. But the death of Christ might almost as well have taken place on another planet. It is not *necessary* to believe in it, though it is in some mysterious way a necessary transaction for the benefit of those who live a virtuous life.

However, not to dwell further on this, we see that the general argument takes this shape—(1) "The objections which can be raised against revelation are precisely similar to those which can be raised against the constitution of nature, and are therefore worthless." If space permitted it would not be amiss to inquire whether this is exactly so; whether, for instance, a scheme involving the infinite torture of sentient beings ceases to present difficulties as soon as account is taken of the trifling pains and aches which, at the worst, are inflicted on us here. (2) "There is a general resemblance between what is taught us by revelation and what we gather from an observation of the natural scheme; and, further, between the modes of communication and circumstances attending the imparting of what we derive from each respectively." This second head includes the first, and the argument is carried a step further. Now if all this be good (as to some extent it is) for removing objections of a certain class against Christianity, it is also good for removing objections against any established religion under the sun. Difficulties external and internal attaching to Buddhism, Brahminism, Mahometanism may be paralleled by like difficulties in nature. And the same is true of Mormonism and Spiritualism. *Every objection which Protestants have urged against Roman Catholicism disappears under this process.* Nay more, if by

its help Butler "turned the Deistic position," so might the Deists have turned his. It furnishes an argument perfectly good for a system of pure Theism, that is to say, for a belief in a Creator who has left his existence and such of his attributes as would appear most nearly to concern ourselves, to be gathered from probable indications, in a natural way. All the objections which can be urged against such a belief may also be urged against the course of nature. For instance, "that information of such great importance to our interests should be conveyed in such a manner without any absolute proof, and so that the mind is left in some degree of uncertainty." Now upon this it is to be observed that, although the existence of God must be admitted to be a fact of the greatest importance, yet to argue that it is of primary importance that we should have absolute knowledge of it is to beg the whole question at issue. Looking at the course of nature, we think it likely that knowledge of this kind would not be given ; at any rate, not unlikely that it would be withheld. In all other directions we are suffered to attain to nothing but relative or phenomenal knowledge. Of the ultimate causes of even the commonest phenomena we are left in profound ignorance. Of the universe as it is we know nothing ; at any rate we cannot be sure that we know anything except the impressions which it makes upon beings possessed of senses such as ours. And even if we admit the objection, we are fairly entitled to apply to it, and to others of a like kind, the observation which is made by Butler in respect to similar difficulties raised against revelation. On the supposition, he says, of God making Himself known miraculously to mankind, it is probable that such a revelation would contain things and be attended by circumstances which would seem to us to present objections. And so, surely, on the supposition of the Deity making the probability of His existence felt by natural means. Again, it may be made an objection "that so large a portion of the world should be left in *total* ignorance on this point, with no conception whatever of an overruling power, or often with perverse and grotesque conceptions." Yet, granting revelation, such is precisely the general state of ignorance as to that revelation ; and if, from the course of nature, it be argued that it might be expected a miraculous revelation would not be universal, this also holds good as to any kind of way in which the Deity may be supposed to impress a conviction of His existence on the mind of man. If you suppose, as you are obliged to do, a Deity capable of leaving the bulk of mankind in absolute ignorance of His existence, all difficulties are removed from a scheme which supposes Him to leave the whole of mankind without *proof* *positive* of His existence. Or it may be said that without more certain knowledge of God than is here supposed, we should be

left in ignorance of our duties. This must mean our moral duties. If so, upon any supposition, this has been the state of ninety-nine hundredths of the human family. But this objection can only be urged in a limited form by those who, like Butler, profess to derive a scheme of natural religion from an observation of the constitution of things. What they say is that Revelation *confirms* this natural scheme, and is a republication of it with additional authority. But if this be used as an argument for revelation, in the sense that such a confirmation and republication are needed, it is of a kind with the argument that the existence of God needs positive confirmation. It is merely a way of expressing what some people think would be the most comfortable plan for themselves that the Deity could pursue. Roman Catholicism, with its infallible Church, is only a somewhat stronger expression of this sort of feeling. Again, it may be urged that Christianity is the religion of all the foremost peoples in the world, and this may be cited as an objection to Theism, which has few supporters. And a Theist might fairly allow, though, indeed, adapting to his own use some of Butler's arguments, he need not do this—still he might fairly allow that Christianity is the best dogmatic system of Theology now in existence, and hence the one most likely to be accepted by, and best suited to, the highest races. But it would not at all follow from this that it contained a Divine revelation to be implicitly accepted in every particular. There was a time when the foremost nations in the world held transubstantiation, image-worship, the supremacy of the Pope; but the Reformers did not infer from this any evidence that they were true beliefs. Quite the contrary; an advance in human thought was made, and these dogmas were thrown over. So, in the future, a similar advance may be made, and the dogma of Inspiration (which is equally baseless) may be given up. To argue that the religious beliefs held by the foremost nations—and to simplify the matter, let us suppose all Catholic countries to have embraced Protestantism—to argue that these beliefs are necessarily true is like arguing that the scientific beliefs prevalent in civilized communities are necessarily perfect. We must not, however, pursue the subject further, and must remain content with having thrown out these few slight indications of the mode in which objections to Theism might be met by following the method of Bishop Butler. There is no doubt that they could be met, and a book of mark, indeed a standard work like the *Analogy*, might be produced on the subject, by a writer of sufficient power. But, like a great part of the *Analogy*, it would leave an unsatisfactory impression on the mind, unless something much more positive in defence of Theism than the mere removal of objections could be brought forward.

As Butler's arguments cover so wide a range as to be available for answering objections to schemes opposed to dogmatic Christianity, so they are perfectly good for removing objections to the various forms of that creed. For granting that the evidence in favour of Christianity is greatly stronger than that which can be alleged on behalf of any other Creed, granting indeed that we are bound in prudence to embrace some form of it, we fail to see what speculative objections can be offered to that form which passes under the name of Unitarianism, or say to the Arian doctrine. The New Testament does not clearly set forth the equality of the Son to the Father ; certainly the Synoptical Gospels do not. "The three first Gospels," says Dr. Newman, "contain no declaration of our Lord's divinity, and there are passages which tend at first sight the other way. . . . I conceive the impression left on an ordinary mind would be that our Saviour was a superhuman being, intimately possessed of God's confidence, but still a creature."* We believe that a similar impression would result from the fourth Gospel, when closely examined : but if this be otherwise, the Arian might fairly urge that this fourth Gospel may be an instance of those corruptions, *i.e.*, amplifications of primitive doctrine such as Analogy would show it to be supposable and credible that revelation would be encumbered with. And let it be observed, in passing, that Butler's whole argument gives a rude shock to the dogma of Inspiration. Nor is it of the slightest consequence to appeal to the number of people holding Arianism and the Trinitarian dogma respectively. As we have just said, for more than a thousand years there were no persons, or scarcely any persons, calling themselves Christians, who did not hold doctrines which the Reformation at its advent pronounced to be corruptions. The dogma of the Trinity, it must be borne in mind, was not clearly formulated before the end of the second century, and the Arians were worsted only after a severe struggle. Theirs may be the true doctrine, destined once more to emerge in its purity. For we are not in any sort judges, says Butler, whether it were to be expected that revelation should be corrupted by verbal tradition, and sunk under it—a sentence in which perhaps he has Roman Catholicism in view, but which is of wider application than he seems to be aware of.

But, despite some stray allusions of this kind to the Romish system, we are of opinion that the Analogy, if it be carefully pondered, will be found to have one issue in the direction of Rome, as it certainly has another in the direction of Scepticism.

* "Discussions and Arguments," p. 164.

The Roman Catholics indeed adopt it, we may say in its entirety. In the first chapter of the second part we have a long paragraph on the importance of a "visible church." Without such a visible Church, the "repository of the Oracles of God," the author tells us that Christianity must "in a great degree have been sunk and forgot in a very few ages." Some observations might be made upon this statement, if taken in conjunction with others contained in the book : however, the chief point to notice here is that Butler insists with great force upon the necessity and importance of a *visible Church*. This being so, where are we to look for this "city upon a hill," this "standing memorial to the world of the duty which we owe to our Maker?" Of course, it might be argued, on the principles of the Analogy, that this Church *may* be the Church of England as by law established. That is to say, objections to its being the Church of England might be shown to be inconclusive, as similar objections to Christianity have been shown to be. Or the Society of Friends, or the Unitarian body, may each be shown to be *possibly* this Church, on like principles. Now we think the claim of the Roman Catholic Church to occupy this position is one which at least merits attention ; and we should be curious to know what objections can be raised against this claim, while we are of opinion that many positive arguments of great strength might be adduced in its favour. What is the principal objection which Protestants make to the Catholic Church ? That some of its doctrines are not mentioned in the New Testament. Granting this—though it can only be granted with the reservation that all its chief doctrines, for instance, the foundation of the Church on Peter, transubstantiation, purgatory, extreme unction, are either expressly contained in or else implied in the New Testament : at least mentioned in such a way that if they are not held to be implied, so neither can many of the chief dogmas retained by Protestantism be held to be sanctioned—yet, granting this, what does the omission amount to ? We are nowhere informed that the New Testament contains the whole body of Christian doctrine. And it is clear that it does not : that it consists of a series of narratives and letters, the latter in particular referring to a body of doctrines entrusted to the keeping of a visible Church. What is required to be shown is that these Roman Catholic doctrines are *contrary* to Scripture ; and this cannot be shown. Granting even that they were not fully developed at the time when most or all of the New Testament books had been written, this, on the supposition of a visible Church having been constituted, would offer no sort of difficulty. This gradual development of doctrine is strictly in accordance with what we gather from the Analogy of Nature. We are in

no respect judges of the way in which it might have pleased God Almighty to communicate his revelation to mankind : at any rate, this is Butler's own argument. It might have been—judging from Analogy, we should infer that it would be likely to be—communicated in a gradual way. Thus, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, in no respect opposed to the text of Scripture, might very well have been left to be brought to the light, after a long process of incubation, by this same visible Church. And with regard to other doctrines formulated at an earlier period, such for example as the invocation of Saints, it is absolutely ludicrous to contend that they are unscriptural, or that they substitute another kind of mediation for that of Christ : for if Paul prayed for his converts, if the prayer of faith saves the sick, if the prayer of a righteous man avails, it is idle, and indeed wholly without warrant from Scripture to affirm positively that prayers and supplications offered up by those who have put off this temporary garb of flesh can do nothing.

Now, the Church of Rome presents herself to us not only with many of the signs and appearances which we should expect to find in a visible Church, these signs and appearances being noted in her alone, but with the positive assurance that she and she alone is *the* visible Church. She informs us, as a consequence of this, that only for those within her pale is there a reasonable hope of salvation. If this claim can be absolutely disproved, or shown to be ridiculous, there is an end to it, as under similar circumstances there would be an end to Christianity. But no reasonable man supposes that anything of the kind can be done in either case. Sane Protestants are therefore, on the grounds set forth in the Analogy, bound at least to comport themselves towards the Roman Catholic system in the same way as the author declares that sceptics are bound to comport themselves towards Christianity in general. "A doubting apprehension that it may be true" will lay them under serious obligations to it : compel "a reverend regard" to it under this doubtfulness, "a regard not the same exactly, but in many respects nearly the same with what a full conviction of its truth would lay them under." But we may go further than this. One of the strongest pleas urged by Bishop Butler with the view of inducing people to embrace Christianity is the prudential one. It is, on the whole, he says, the safer side to take. It is safer to act as though it were true, even although the judgment may be unconvinced. "A mistake on one side may be in its consequences much more dangerous than one on the other. And what course is *most safe*, and what most dangerous is a consideration thought very material, when we deliberate

not concerning events, but concerning conduct, in our temporal affair." (Pt. II. ch. 7). "For supposing it doubtful, what would be the consequence of acting in this, or in a contrary manner: still that taking one side could be attended with little or no bad consequence, and taking the other might be attended with the greatest, must appear to unprejudiced reason of the highest moment towards determining how we are to act." (*Ib.*) Now surely, if this be so, prudence requires us to embrace not only Christianity in general, but Roman Catholicism in particular. It is not held by Protestants that all Roman Catholics will be damned: at any rate the system of Protestantism does not require this: whereas the Roman Catholic system does certainly include the converse. It is therefore by far the safest course to conform to Rome. Nor do we see any way out of this except on the supposition that the claims of the latter can be confuted with a directness of proof which (as we have just said) is not forthcoming.

There is an observation to be made on this argument from Analogy—we are not now speaking particularly of Butler, but chiefly of his numerous imitators—which appears to be worthy of serious attention, though it scarcely seems to have received any. It is taken for granted that, if a resemblance can be shown between certain dogmas and narratives contained in the Bible on the one hand, and certain sets of ideas and practices prevalent among mankind on the other, this is evidence of the supernatural character of the former. Thus, for example, the dogma of the Atonement is supposed to be greatly confirmed by an observation of the fact that propitiatory sacrifices have been so generally practised. "By the general prevalence of propitiatory sacrifices over the heathen world, this notion of repentance alone being sufficient to expiate guilt, appears to be contrary to the general sense of mankind." (An. Pt. II. ch. 5.) Again, "the condition of this world, which the doctrine of our redemption by Christ presupposes, so much falls in with natural appearances that heathen moralists inferred it from those appearances." (Pt. II. conclusion.) They further believed in a fall, and this fall is related, with all its chief circumstances, in Genesis. Again there is a great natural dread of death, and, in the Scriptures we are expressly told that death is the punishment of sin. There is a desire for immortality: the New Testament sets forth a scheme of immortality. But it is unnecessary to multiply instances.

But the question arises: *May not these natural appearances and the ideas of mankind have engendered the dogmas and narratives?* Until this question can be shown to be absurd, it is useless to point to these coincidences as furnishing evidence

for revelation. Now, that it is not absurd, is proved by the following considerations:—On the supposition of man having put his own rude guesses at the mysteries of nature, and his superstitions into a so-called Revelation, we should expect that, as knowledge advanced, some of these guesses would be shown to be false, and some of the superstitions exploded. This is exactly what has happened with regard to the Scriptures. For example, the dogma that Death came into the world through Sin is false. Again, there is perhaps no superstition so deeply ingrained in the human mind as a belief in ghosts; and, with this, may be classed a belief in the prophetic character of dreams; in such beings as witches, wizards, and necromancers; in divination and the casting of lots; in demons, sprites, and spiritual possession; in abnormal earthly types such as giants, and persons who live to an extraordinary age. Now on the supposition, the absurdity of which has to be shown, we should expect that these objects of superstitious belief, now universally discarded by educated men, would figure as realities in the Bible. And, as a matter of fact, from the first page to the last, it literally teems with them. We are reduced to a choice similar to that which Hume gave the world on the subject of miracles. Is it more probable that these things, allowed to be mere delusions everywhere else, are true, in the Scriptural narratives; or that the writers inserted sincere but untrustworthy accounts of them in accordance with the prevailing unscientific spirit of their times? And, whichever choice be made, in no case can the fact that the presence of evil spirits in the Bible chimes in with a wide spread natural belief in their existence be adduced as an argument for the inspiration of the Bible: since this belief is admitted to be generally false. And similarly the idea of sacrifices of *any* kind being necessary to appease the Almighty, might, if we had the materials for arriving at a conclusion, be shown to be as complete a superstition. At any rate the dogma of the Atonement derives no weight whatever from the widely prevailing ideas as to sacrifice; since they may be as false as those quite as widely held on the subject of ghosts; and, whether true or false, they may have engendered the dogma.

It short, it should be borne in mind by those who draw analogies of any kind between revelations and the course of nature that, on the supposition of revelations so-called being merely the outcome of human reflection on certain problems submitted to it—and whether this is so or not, is precisely the point in dispute—many such analogies or correspondences must needs exist. And so their existence leads to no conclusive inference.

Those who have followed the Analogy attentively through: he first six chapters of the Second Part will, we think, be auxious to

gét to the seventh chapter in which the Table of Contents promises that "The particular evidence for 'Christianity' is to be produced. For what has preceded is only of negative value, of value in removing objections. Indeed, the impression left on some minds will possibly be of a different character from that which it was intended to produce, and such as to explain Mr. Pitt's expression, "The book raises more doubts than it solves." For, if we are no judges as to what sort of revelation God would grant us, on the supposition of his granting one at all; nor how far it might contain things seemingly objectionable, deficiencies and irregularities; nor how far the evidence for it might be satisfactory or in a high degree doubtful; nor as to the mode of its communication and the persons to whom it might be communicated; nor as to the extent to which it might be corrupted immediately upon its promulgation: then it would seem that we have no certain sign by which to recognise a revelation at all. Whoever, in this frame of mind, turns to the chapter in question for assistance, will be miserably disappointed. We present Mr. Hunt's summary:—

"On the positive evidences of Christianity Butler has nothing to offer different from the arguments of other apologists. Miracles and fulfilled prophecy are the foundation. To these are added collateral proofs, the whole producing a conviction compared to 'effect' in architecture or other works of art. The miracles and the histories of the Bible rest on the same evidence. The miracles are satisfactory accounts of events of which no other satisfactory account can be given. Scripture history may be received as authentic till the contrary is proved. The multitudes in the Apostolic age who embraced Christianity must have been convinced of the reality of the miracles. The prophecies may be sometimes obscure, and may relate to events beyond the knowledge of the prophets who uttered them. But this might be expected of prophecies indited by the Spirit of God" (vol. iii. p. 139).

The fact is, that by this time Butler has fired his shot; he has virtually concluded his case, and this seventh chapter almost looks as if it were put in to save appearances. His case takes the form of a demurrer to certain preliminary objections raised against Christianity. He has, in our opinion, shown them to be inconclusive. He has shown Christianity to be thoroughly credible. Here properly his rôle as an advocate ends. Having obtained a *locus standi* for Revelation at the tribunal of common sense, he merely casts a glance at the strength of the positive evidence which may be adduced in its favour, and retires victorious in the main. The parts of his argument in which he appears to us to have been least successful are those in which he deals with the objections to the morality of the Scriptures. His treatment of immoral commands is, as we have seen, anything but satisfactory;

and generally, in keeping eternal punishment out of view, and presenting the Gospel scheme as one by which men will be rewarded or punished strictly according to their virtuous or vicious lives, he falls short of (or rather rises above) the orthodox belief. That his arguments are good for removing objections to any established creed does not alter the fact (includes it, indeed) that they remove objections to *his* creed. His treatment of Analogy is not always satisfactory; for instance, we think that Analogy is strongly against miracles. Still, it was sufficient for his purpose to show that they were not incredible. If he attempted to show more than this and failed, his main argument remains unaffected. So neither is the general value of his arguments affected by his recommendation to people to take the safe side—however much this might lead to consequences which he did not intend—and his sensible advice not to treat Christianity as though it were a matter of ridicule.

We have heard a regret expressed by some orthodox people that Butler did not live to compose his treatise in the present day. Others have given utterance to a wish that a successor to him of equal powers might arise to recast the argument from Analogy and fit it to present requirements. But these regrets and wishes are futile. The book would have been substantially the same in 1873 as it was in 1736. To the same objections, if urged now, the same answers would have to be addressed, and the manner in which these were originally set forth does not seem capable of being improved upon. He has shown that there is nothing conclusive in the bulk of these objections, and we do not think this position could be strengthened by any modern retouching and rehandling.

Whether, if he had lived now, he would have dealt with difficulties of another kind in the way of orthodox belief which were unknown to the scoffers of George the Second's time, and what might have been his success in such a task, supposing he had undertaken it: to ask this is to inquire idly whether he would have written an entirely different book on a fresh subject. That he would have had to take some account of them, and that his language in certain places would have had to be modified, is certain. For instance, we cannot believe that he would now-a-days have written that if the principal part of the Book of Daniel could be shown to refer to events then past such a discovery might be "a stumbling-block in the way of Christianity itself, considering the authority which our Saviour has given to the Book of Daniel, and how much the general scheme of Christianity presupposes the truth of it" (Pt. II. ch. 7).

The time of Butler's death, about the middle of the eighteenth century (1752), is virtually that of the close of the Deistic con-

troversy. Neither during his lifetime, nor since, has anything which can be called an Answer to his Analogy been attempted. Nor, on principles of Theism, can we do otherwise than gratefully accept the first part as a splendid contribution to Natural Theology; while, as to the second part, we do not think it can be successfully established that revelation is *incredible*, and therefore the author must be held to have made good his chief point, that it is "credible." The "speculative objections" against which he argued have disappeared from the pages of writers of consideration, and only find a place in such works as those of Tom Paine, who wonders why revelation was not written on the sun. Yet that people who ought to know better should speak of "the irrefragable proofs of Christianity" furnished by the Analogy, or of its being an "impenetrable bulwark against all assaults upon revelation," is to us, who are among the warmest admirers of Bishop Butler, and would be to that great man himself, if he returned to life, a marvel of absurdity. Four years after his remains were interred in Bristol Cathedral were heard the first articulate utterances of a science which has revolutionized Theology, entirely upset the account given in Genesis of Creation, and rendered in the highest degree improbable the story coupled with it, of a Fall (always assumed by Butler) upon which the Atonement, the most important doctrine of revelation, depends as a corollary; at any rate has entitled us to ask for stronger evidence of the inspiration of the story than an objector such as Butler has in view would, perhaps, have been justified in demanding. Now it is certain, that instead of being stronger, the evidence for this inspiration amounts to much less than it might fairly be held to amount to in Butler's time. No human being can use his *reason* (upon the functions of which as a judge the greatest stress is laid in the Analogy) without admitting, on full consideration, that modern research and criticism have thrown a new light upon large portions of the Old Testament. While touching on Inspiration it may not be out of place to mention that in the very year of the publication of the Analogy an event occurred which might have given the author cause for some reflection. The laws against witchcraft were repealed. We are quite of the opinion of John Wesley, who expressed himself to the effect that giving up witchcraft was tantamount to giving up the inspiration of the Bible, because to admit that witchcraft was a delusion in 1736 was going a long way towards admitting that it *might* always have been a delusion; that consequently the Scriptures, in which it was represented as a reality, *wight* not have been literally inspired. This is quite a different case from that of miracles. A generally prevailing belief in contemporary miracles might be given up, and this need not be fatal to a belief

that miracles had in former days been exhibited, for the reason (alleged by Paley and others) that it is of the essence of a miracle to be rare and only to be wrought on exceptional occasions for some mighty purpose. But this cannot be alleged of a function or condition which Scripture represents as common. If there were valid reasons for supposing that there was no such thing as witchcraft in the world in the year 1736 A.D., and that in point of fact it was a mere superstition, the conclusion was inevitable that it was probably a superstition in the days of the Israelites. An immense rent was made in the dogma of Inspiration, such as no patching-up can hide. A new light was thrown upon a whole class of miracles recorded of Jesus, those connected with demoniacal possession, and the inference irresistibly suggested that Jesus himself was not above the delusions of his age. This is a sample of the kind of difficulties—we have purposely avoided calling them objections—which the increase of knowledge has raised in the way of accepting the orthodox system. They are no longer theoretical difficulties presented with the express design of weakening or destroying a belief in that system. The outcome of an independent observation of nature—the fruit of a patient inquiry after truth, regardless of consequences—they have slowly forced themselves upon minds favourable to orthodoxy. Thus a belief in witchcraft was retained for years *because* it was sanctioned by the Bible, and was only given up after a struggle. The researches of modern science have rarely, if ever, been conducted with the view of undermining the edifice of orthodoxy, but the explorers, nolentes volentes, have been forced to pursue courses by which the result has been achieved. From the discovery of the motion of the earth round the sun, down to Professor Owen's recent exposure of the fable of Antediluvian longevity, Science has moved in one direction, in some cases establishing the impossibility of recorded miracles and portents, in all cases rendering them more doubtful than before. Even the critical inquiries of the great Germans, and of our own countryman Colenso, can scarcely be said to have been set in motion by a purpose distinctly hostile to revelation. They have been conducted in precisely the same spirit as that which these learned men would have carried into a discussion of Homer or Herodotus. And, granting that many of the results arrived at remain uncertain, enough remains clear to give rise to serious reflection. On the other hand, Orthodoxy has gained nothing by the advance of knowledge. To be sure some discoveries have been made at Nineveh and elsewhere, which confirm some of the statements in the Old Testament, and have accordingly been loudly trumpeted as evidence of the truth of all its stories: which is like saying that Dr. Schliemann's recent discoveries at

Troy, on the supposition that they actually consist of the treasure-chest of Priam, are evidence of the dream which Zeus sent to Agamemnon, and of the combat between Diomed and Mars.

These, and a host of similar considerations, which will not fail to present themselves to the intelligent reader, are of a nature, we say, to give rise to reflection. For, as Bishop Butler very justly remarks that the proof of Christianity "may be compared to what they call the *effect* in architecture or other works of art ; a result from a great number of things so and so disposed and taken into one view," so the same may be said of a belief in a non-miraculous ordering of the Universe. We cannot but think that a man of Butler's candour and logical power, who admitted that in his day the proof of revelation was "doubtful," would, if he lived among us now, deem that it had been rendered somewhat more doubtful. And, if he had still felt inclined to press his prudential system, viz., that in a difficult matter it is best to take the safest side, he might have been induced to take into his consideration whether those to whose minds reason seems to incline one way, may not after all be safer in following the dictates of their reason. On the contrary supposition, the justice of God vanishes. But, on the assumption of a just Deity, it is possible that not to do this will be to commit a grievous sin, and one which may entail grievous consequences. We know that this idea will be ridiculed by theologians, to whom the safe side can be no other than *their* side. But it will, none the less, perhaps indeed the more on that very account, present itself in a serious light to reflecting men conscious that they are responsible for a right use of their reason.

ART. II.—EMIGRATION.

1. *Annual Reports of Commissioners of Agriculture and Emigration of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec.* 1869, et seq.
2. *Ditto. Dominion of Canada.*
3. *Ditto. States of New York, Missouri, Arkansas, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska.*
4. *Annual Reports Bureau of Statistics.* Massachusetts. 1870, et seq.
5. *Immigration, and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York.* By FREDERICK KAPP. New York. 1870.
6. *Information for Emigrants: a Special Report on Emigration.* By EDWARD YOUNG, Ph.D., Director U.S. Bureau of Statistics. Washington. 1871.
7. *Census of the United States.* 1870.

THE problem of emigration is large and complicated, and in the correlative sciences whose laws condition the individual, the society, and the state, there is much that it absolutely controls, and little or nothing which it does not seriously affect. It is so wide-reaching, and the historical and other matters bearing upon the subject are of such vast bulk, that this article can only deal in a suggestive manner with a few of its most salient features.

Emigration is, and ever has been, a tremendous though comparatively silent force, giving birth to nations and shaping their destinies. History is full of wars, and the various tyrannical acts and conspiracies which have generally done duty in the place of statesmanship; but he who has never thought of that subject in that light before, will, on taking a comprehensive survey, be perfectly astonished to find how much of the military and political history of the world has been made or marred by the slowly acting force of emigration.

Passing by many tempting themes in ancient annals, let us glance at the history of England and France.

Two hundred and fifty years ago emigration began to take from England considerable numbers of persons of various classes, whose condition here, under the wise laws of our ancestors, made them more or less dangerous to the then existing order of things. In a few years it had gained a great impetus. The king seems

to have measured his power in some degree by the number of subjects within reach of his arm, and therefore to have stopped some of the emigrants by force. This was like sitting on the safety-valve to be able to utilize the greater amount of steam. One of the men thus retained in the kingdom against his will, became chief of the revolution which followed, and he was afterwards more than monarch of the realm. It is impossible to say how few or how many of those who were most violent opponents of the acts of the king would have gone to America had they been free to do so, but it is quite possible that the nature of the resistance would have been materially modified ; and that instead of the intensity of passion which prevailed, we should have had a slower, surer, and more thoughtful resistance. This would not have thwarted the king as quickly as the revolution beheaded him, nor would it have put a still more powerful despot of a different character in his place. The revolution took about fifty years to establish any substantial good for the people of England, and one may fairly hold the opinion that the rights of the people, as well as the blood and treasure of the nation and the head of the king, would have been far safer if the attractions of New England had been allowed to prevail over a large number of those who became leaders of the revolution.

Notwithstanding all the checks that colonization received from natural and artificial causes, the political and social influence of the emigration of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can hardly be over-estimated. The year 1776 found the revolting American colonies with a population of about three millions, wholly the result directly or indirectly of emigration. The population of England at that time was about seven millions. The emigration had been mostly from the middle classes, with a sprinkling of labourers taken over by their masters, and of mechanics who had managed to save a little store for their dangerous and rather expensive voyage. From the fact that they knew and appreciated at something like their just value many of the rights to which they were entitled, and which were ignored or persistently refused, many of these people would have been sources of serious danger to the government of their times if they had remained at home. The amount of that danger is not to be measured by their number, but by their character, and by the influence which they would have been likely to exert over their fellow-subjects.

When they left the country their places here were filled by others whose position was in consequence materially improved, and who, feeling this improvement, were much less discontented subjects than they otherwise would have been. Commerce with the colonies brought wealth to the manufac-

turers and merchants, and indirectly to the landowners and the farmers; and as employers had, in a measure, to bid against the great attractions of the colonies, the material condition of all classes but the very lowest was decidedly improved by that emigration upon which many influential persons looked with the greatest disfavour.

It is difficult to imagine the extent of the difference in the condition of the lower, middle, and working classes which would have been produced if the ranks of the shopkeepers, mechanics, and labourers had constantly become more and more overstocked by the competition of these emigrants and their descendants. Under wise laws there might have been room for four times the population, but wise laws are very difficult to obtain even now, and in those circumstances they would have been most unlikely with the aid of revolution, and utterly impossible without it.

Turning to the condition of France at that time, we may obtain some crude idea of the probable results of a permanent non-emigration policy in England. That country was wealthier, and in many respects more favoured than this; it was also far more advanced in the arts and sciences. England's superiority, partly the result of her insular position, was almost entirely confined to the sea. But this superiority of England at sea was a check upon French emigration, and, about the middle of the eighteenth century, the conquest of the great French colony of Canada, by a British imperial and colonial army, virtually destroyed it. In that country, in the meantime, as the population increased, the working classes were more and more at the mercy of those above them, and the share of the fruits of their labour which they obtained became less and less. They could only manage to exist from hand to mouth, and combination for better pay would have been very generally unsuccessful, even if there had been no terribly repressive laws to insure abject submission. Their misery passed the limit of endurance, and everybody knows that the great French revolution was the result, and that the vibrations of that terrible political earthquake have not yet ceased to shake the earth.

It is easy to point to many shortcomings of the people as well as of the rulers of France, and to imagine that these were prime causes of the revolution; but a more careful scrutiny will show that the facts were otherwise. Power is blind, stupid; and self-seeking in all other countries as well as there, and the majority of any people which feels the iron heel of oppression is both deceitful and impatient. That the faults essentially French, to which it is fashionable to attribute the revolution in that country are really non-existent, can be plainly seen by the French Canadians, who undoubtedly possess all of the essentials of the

French character. They and their brethren in the United States are about a million and a half in number, and the descendants of less than ten thousand original emigrants. They have felt little oppression, and they are a people as patient and as contented with their generally humble circumstances as any other population under like conditions on the face of the earth. Nor can it be attributed to the inherent vices of Roman Catholicism, or its injurious effects on the French character, for this religion has had freer scope among the Canadians than among the people of France. No one who carefully examines and compares the whole circumstances can doubt that a large and constant stream of emigration from France would infallibly have ameliorated the condition of the humbler classes, enabling them to cope in a regular manner with the power of those above them, and that it would thus have been a force sufficient to have changed for the better the whole history of France for the last hundred years, very probably preventing the revolution, and at any rate depriving it of many of its horrors, and benefiting in a general way the blind oppressors quite as much as the people oppressed.

It is no doubt very gratifying to that self-love which we are apt to miscall patriotism to attribute to the English race and nation very special capacities for progress and self-government, but our self-glorification in these respects can only proceed from ignorance of the comparative disadvantages under which our neighbours have laboured, or from something still worse. If we examine our political history without prejudice, we shall find that our kings have seldom been very brilliant specimens of humanity. Our nobles have not often been gifted with remarkable political foresight, and the wisdom of our squirearchy and the self-denial of our bishops and beneficed clergy have never been so great as to become proverbial among the nations of the earth.

Until very recent times these have been our governors; they have resisted all improvements which interfered with their pet privileges, and they have never yielded while there was a chance of standing out with success. Even with all the strength which our vast emigration has lent to the rights of the poorer classes, the rulers have frequently resisted change till we were upon the brink of a civil war. Nor can we maintain that the middle classes, which are now the foundations of power, are in any respect more unselfish and politically wise than those above them, except in so far as contact and conflict with the lower classes have taught them greater respect. They have never conceded to the lower orders any substantial advantage which the latter were not in a position to exact as the price of service or co-operation; and, indeed, it would be no more reasonable to

expect it than to expect that individual masters who are making heavy profits should hasten to divide them with their employes without pressure or hope of any reward beyond the great social and political advantage that unselfishness would confer upon the community at large. We see among them organizations in restraint of liberty and justice more reprehensible than any trades' union of the labouring classes. What shall we say, for example, of a combination of the farmers of a county totally to exclude from all employment, and therefore to starve or banish, every agricultural labourer who presumes to join a trade society of his fellows? Practically, this is a combination to reduce to slavery, or to maintain a slavery already existing. It will fail as miserably as it deserves, even more promptly than the many similar organizations have failed among other classes of employers; but it will fail only because the ameliorating effects of emigration have now reached the lowest stratum of working men, and have given them a power they could not otherwise have hoped to possess.

It is thus very evident that, in England as elsewhere, without emigration the blind selfishness of power would have overreached itself in all directions, and have crushed the lower orders till it prepared a terrible catastrophe for the nation. The working men could not rigidly and universally apply among themselves the doctrines of Malthus, of which they knew nothing; from wholesale infanticide they would ever shrink with horror, and revolution, or these impossibles, would have been the only alternatives to starvation or slavery.

The greatest example of that unselfish regard for the right, which is the foundation of true political wisdom, that we can boast of, was that afforded by the poor operatives of Lancashire, in the earnest sympathy and moral support which they accorded to the American people in their death-struggle with slavery; and, broadly speaking, it will be found that, numerous errors of ignorance or misapprehension notwithstanding, a true political instinct resides with the working masses of the people, the amelioration of whose condition by all reasonable means is as definite and real an advantage to their superiors as it is to themselves.

It is mainly through the silent working of emigration that commerce has recently attained such enormous proportions, and that public opinion is gradually becoming stronger than armies, and more powerful than governments. The commerce of the existing colonial dependencies of the European States is very great, and they exercise a very definite influence on the public opinion of the world through their connexion with the parent States. But the American Union was so recently a wilderness,

that its forty millions of people may, without a very great stretch of imagination, be considered as a nation of emigrants, whose public opinion is brought into most intimate contact with all civilized nations, and is universally felt. Germany has no colonies of her own, but in every hamlet of that country are relatives and friends of citizens of the great republic, who are frequently receiving thence letters and papers from happy and prosperous emigrants. Through the various influences thus created, the action of the most powerful and stubborn Government of Europe is more sensibly affected than by any other external agency, if we except only the warlike array of some of its neighbours. For Germany emigration is not less important than for England, and in the end it is not unlikely to mould the Government to the popular will without the aid of a revolution. Notwithstanding their friendly attitude to the United States, German rulers fear and dislike emigration for many reasons. Its action on the people remaining at home is by no means altogether approved; from an economical point of view, they consider it a great loss to the country, and worst of all, it takes no inconsiderable portion of the grist from the mill of the army.

Dr. Engel, Director of the Prussian Statistical Bureau, has considered the subject of emigration from the point of view of political economy. He assumes that on the average a man is worth to the country as much as he will cost to produce. He does not tell us how much Germany lost on this score, in packing off the King of Hanover, and in her numerous emigrant princelings, but he deals at once with the manual labourer, whose life he divides into three periods; fifteen years of unproductive youth, fifty years of labour, and the balance of life a period of unproductive senility. Whether or not the child in his first period lives at the expense of his parents, there must be means for his maintenance and education, which means are the result of labour. The productive period (1) should repay the expenses incurred by parents or others in the juvenile period; (2) should satisfy the daily wants and maintain the productive power of the individual; (3) should produce a surplus fund for sustenance during the aged period. Thus the cost of bringing up and educating a man constitutes a specific value which benefits that country which the adult individual makes the field of his exertions. Dr. Engel computes the cost of producing a manual labourer in Germany, at an average for both sexes, of forty thalers a year for five years, fifty thalers a year for five years more, and sixty thalers a year for the third term of five years, with which he completes the period of unproductive youth. He thus arrives at a total cost, and therefore, according to his theory, a total average value of seven hundred and fifty thalers for the

manual labourers of Germany, considered as working animals, and this sum of about one hundred and twelve pounds ten shillings sterling he reckons as the correct measure of the country's loss by the departure of an emigrant, irrespective of the amount of money or goods which he takes to the new field of his labours. According to Engel's theory, this sum increased by the extra percentage of the cost of sound males above the general average of the sexes would also measure the value of any such emigrants, as food for gunpowder. Taking the figures of Dr. Engel as our basis, and adding one hundred and twenty-five thalers as the minimum amount representing the cost of the passage, goods, and clothing of each emigrant, and the money taken by him,* we find on reference to American statistics that the total German emigration to the United States is a tribute worth in Germany about three hundred and fifty millions sterling. The annual average of this tribute for the four years immediately preceding the Franco-German war was very nearly sixteen millions sterling, and it bids fair to reach twenty-five millions in a very few years.

Dr. Engel's book gives expression and definite shape to an idea fixed in the Prussian official mind, an idea which has long influenced the acts of the Government, and which is now being pushed further than ever before. It is even said that Prince Bismarck had formed the intention of increasing year by year the restrictive action of the Government until emigration should practically cease; but, bold as the German Government may be, it is not likely that it will venture to carry out its theories to any such dangerous extreme.

Notwithstanding the very high authority of Dr. Engel, and any conclusions to which a Government so astute as that of Germany may have arrived, it is not too much to say that this theory is utterly fallacious, and that very little unbiassed consideration is needed to demonstrate the fact.

The theory assumes, in the first place, that German subjects, like German cattle, come into the world in obedience to a definite law of supply and demand, that each German is born because he is in some degree wanted not merely by his parents, but in an economical sense by the nation at large. The actual facts are very different. The child is born to gratify the natural desires of his parents, or else he is, so to speak, an accident of life, which they lack either the inclination, knowledge, power or resolution to prevent. Once in the world, the affection or duty of his

* This sum of one hundred thalers, exclusive of passage, is based on statistics obtained with great care by the Commissioners of Immigration at New York.

parents induces them to make very substantial sacrifices for the purpose of giving him such advantages as they can command, and from his birth to his manhood, questions of profit or loss to themselves, or of State economy, have no more to do with the matter than the law or the other circumstances compel. Children are in fact the one great luxury of the poor, which the State can neither regulate nor prohibit.

Under these circumstances the actual supply of willing hands is very much in excess of the home demand for reasonably rewarded labour, and notwithstanding whatever it may have originally cost, this excess, if retained at home, would be an element of trouble, expense, and positive danger. The economical value of the subjects of a Government depends quite as much upon quality as upon number, and any surplus of population deteriorates the rest much more than any benefit its retention can possibly confer. It is as if a farmer with sufficient pasture and forage for a hundred head of cattle should insist upon keeping a stock of a hundred and twenty, in which case the six score will be found to be worth less in the market than four score bred under proper conditions. Owing in some degree to State interference with the liberty of the subject, and to various other causes which tend to restrict emigration from Germany, its amount is probably somewhat less than what might fairly be considered the increase of surplus population. If so, the total amount of emigration is on economical as well as other grounds an advantage to the State.

It is true that every man who escapes military service by emigration renders it more irksome to those that remain, and that the influence of the republican ideas imbibed by the emigrants is so strong upon the people at home, as to give some concern to the Government, but these are evils which a semi-constitutional militarism must perforce endure, or risk others still worse; they are evils which the majority of thinkers will look upon as having the nature of medicines; a species of blessing in disagreeable guise.

Emigration conflicts very strongly with the military spirit. By raising the price of wages and making a large and effective army a very expensive machine, it has done much to place England in a reserved attitude in respect to foreign politics, and its tendency will be found the same everywhere else.

Depletion through emigration differs essentially in an economical as well as in a humanitarian point of view, from depletion by war or by an epidemic. A hundred thousand emigrants leave an over-populated country, and by so doing confer a benefit on the people remaining. But, if from a hundred thousand like people those who are suitable are selected and made the victims of war, the loss of the country is great, definite and tangible, for the strong only are taken and the weak remain a more or less

direct burden to the State. An epidemic takes both the strong and the weak, but it often breaks down many whom it does not destroy, and it has a tendency to derange trade and to demoralize the whole population. Imagine emigration from the British Isles to cease next year, and the cholera to take its place. Long before the two hundred thousand were taken away, the nation would be in a terrible panic, a large proportion of its labour would cease, and everything would be out of joint.

In France, at the present time, the number of births is artificially limited to such an extent that notwithstanding the very nominal amount of emigration there has been no very considerable increase of population for many years,* no surplus of a character which need agitate the mind of a true economist or of a genuine statesman at the head of affairs; and therefore those who have suffered death, mutilation, incarceration or banishment in the recent war and troubles of France are the greater loss to the country. This is not the time or place to enter into a review of the doctrines of Malthus, but if there were a moderate annual surplus of population in France, and a corresponding and constant stream of emigration, the chances of good government would be far greater. Constant communications from abroad would create a moderate and wholesome agitation, geographies and histories would be more or less studied, books of travel would be sometimes read, and foreign correspondence would occasionally find its way into the most unpretending of newspapers. The stagnation of the peasants' mind would gradually diminish; they would be less and less like their own sheep, the defenceless victims of the policy of others; *coups d'état* and revolutions alike would have less chances of success, and it might be hoped that they would eventually cease.†

If emigration means the removal of inhabitants from one State or country to another for permanent residence, then Spain, with all her colonies, has had very few emigrants. Her possessions in America were military conquests, and the subject races were much more numerous than the conquerors.

The object of the military and other adventurers who went out was to enrich themselves by plundering and enslaving others.

* Since the German war, and the terrible persecutions of the lower classes of the principal cities, partially as a revenge for the less serious excesses of the commune, the population of the provinces remaining to France has, according to the best authorities, sensibly decreased.

† While the French government still maintains the state of siege in a large part of the country, it is officially doing all it can to discourage those who have begun to look to emigration as a means of relief. It seems to us that comment on such infatuation is quite unnecessary.

Each hoped to return after a longer or shorter period to enjoy himself in his native land on the spoils of the heathen whom the Pope had delivered into the hands of true Spaniards as lawful subjects of all species of violence. Whatever there was of permanent residence or of legitimate labour, was looked upon as the misfortune of the unlucky. In addition to the millions of more or less civilized nations brought into subjection, large numbers of negroes were imported and slavery existed everywhere. Spain derived immense pecuniary resources from her colonies, but the numerous adventurers returning enriched by injustice, could not but demoralize still further a country whose virtues were already overshadowed by vices. Had her people gone forth true emigrants to conquer the forces of nature rather than their fellow-men, even though, as among the English and French colonies, many wrongs were committed, they would have had a great influence for good upon the parent state, and Spain might have held her own among the first nations of the world.

A very interesting part of this great problem is that which has to do with unequal, unjust, or inexpedient legislation. There is no nation which has not by such means banished labour and capital, for which there would otherwise have been ample room. Even the United States have, in this manner, from time to time driven out many millions of capital and with it a large aggregate of labour. English instances are numerous and will readily suggest themselves to our readers. Many English laws at present existing tend to crowd the people off the island, and it is not too much to say that if by a stroke of the pen, the laws, customs, and habits of the people could be modified in accordance with the dictates of sound economy, there would at once be room in the country for a population at least one-fourth greater, to live more comfortably than we do at present. The customs of a people have the force of laws in these respects, and monetary and trade combinations have also a widespread influence. The figures of the extra tribute that the British and foreign public have recently paid to the coal and iron men are more astonishing than the French indemnity to Prussia, and there has been in consequence of this great advance in prices, a great activity in these trades abroad. They have found that it would pay to build ocean steamers in America, and the profits of the coal and iron trades there, have attracted such vast aggregations of capital as must ultimately most seriously affect the English market, by rendering the Americans in a great measure independent of it.*

* The American iron furnaces and rolling mills are more than adequate to the probable consumption of the country for the present year, and if the duties on pig and railroad iron and steel were abolished to-morrow, they could pay

The amount of capital and labour eventually banished from the country, will be far greater than the extra profits obtained, and the loss will justly fall very heavily on these two particular trades. Many individuals will have made fortunes, but these trades, as a whole, will have discounted their brilliant future at a great disadvantage.

But in considering the economical gain or loss by emigration from a particular country, with its wise or unwise laws or customs, and its trade combinations more or less proper or pernicious, we cannot say that because, but for these things there would be room for ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. more, therefore there is no surplus whose emigration would be advantageous to the state ; we must deal with the realities of the present, and make no attempt to discount a future which is now intangible, and which would very likely be rendered impossible by the very fact of the adventitious surplus of population remaining in the country. Every such unwise law, custom, or combination is an economical question of itself, to be measured exactly by the amount to which it tends to restrict the capacity of a country for supporting a population in comfort. Measured in this way, it will be found that more than one law has cost the United Kingdom a larger sum than the present capital of the national debt. It is possible that if statesmen would look at political and social legislation more from this pounds, shillings, and pence point of view, it would prove of great advantage to the country.

The comparative surplus or deficiency of accumulated capital in any two or more countries is usually to be measured, not by its aggregate or its *per capita* amount, but by the normal rates of interest which severally obtain, and the surplus or deficiency of population is to be measured, not by numbers or density, but by the comparative advantages or disadvantages under which the people live, the proportionate amounts of their labour, capital being duly considered. In such cases, whatever the effect upon special classes, it is to the advantage of each state considered as a whole, that freedom of trade and locomotion should be as perfect as possible, and that an equilibrium should be eventually established.

In Massachusetts, the average earnings of agricultural labourers are about forty dollars of greenback currency per month for eight months of summer, and about thirty-five dollars per month during four months of winter ; equal to about thirty-

wages and profits decidedly higher than those now ruling in England, and yet successfully compete with the English ironmaster in the American market. These formidable rivals are far more the result of the recent enormous prices in England than of that of the American protective tariff.

three shillings and sixpence, and twenty-nine shillings and fourpence per week respectively, or an average for all seasons of thirty two shillings. This is without board and lodging, and it has a purchasing power if we duly average prices and quantities of the various articles required by the labouring classes, seventy-five to one hundred per cent. greater than the wages of the same class in England. Women seldom work in the field, but when they are so employed they receive two-thirds of a man's wages. The majority of agricultural labourers are lodged and fed by their employers. They have plenty of good substantial food, including meat *ad libitum*, and their lodgings are generally in the same house with the farmer, and quite comfortable in all respects. Under these circumstances, their average wages for the year round are about nineteen shillings and eight pence per week, or fifty-one pounds twelve shillings and eight pence for the year. Eleven pounds twelve shillings and eight pence is a sufficient allowance for clothing and incidentals, consequently a single man having steady employment and good health the year round, can save forty pounds a year if so disposed. A first-rate hand would be able to save fifty pounds. When boarding and lodging themselves and having families of four or five young children dependent upon them, labourers in Massachusetts or any other part of the Union could save little if anything, while as they grew older it would be necessary for the children to do something towards the support of the family. But taking the whole of the Northern and Western States, we shall find that the average labourer is quite as well off as the average mechanic in England.

Let us glance at the effect in England of such an emigration as should in a very few years increase the purchasing power of farm labour at least fifty per cent.

To millions of agricultural and other labourers, directly and indirectly, this would make all the difference between gnawing penury and a very considerable degree of comfort. Some would be demoralized, but the vast majority would be morally as well as materially improved by their good fortune, and the despondency, which is a fruitful source of pauperism and crime, would give place to an elation and elasticity of mind and body, which would make the labourer a very superior being to the Hodge of to-day. His capacity of production would increase fifteen, twenty, or even twenty-five per cent., and his actual production would be increased not less than ten to fifteen per cent. Diminished pauperism, vice, and crime, and increased individual production, would return at least half of the extra wage to the country; and of this much the larger portion would go to the labourers' employers. If the movement were

decidedly rapid, the farmers and other employers of unskilled labour would at first be able to charge much more than their loss against the public, in the shape of higher prices for much of their produce ; but increased importations would soon check this, and in the long run there would be a certain proportion of the loss of the employers which would not be got out of the general public.

The farmers with long leases would have to bear this portion of the loss themselves till the time for renewal came round, but a small percentage of the other farmers would emigrate rather than pocket the loss. There would then be more farms than farmers, and rents would cease to rise at the normal rate, or they might even go down a little. A moderate pecuniary sacrifice on the part of the landlords would therefore be inevitable, but as they are very frequently quoting the law of supply and demand against their tenants and employés, we must assume that they will not grumble when that law makes against themselves, the more especially as their philanthropic hearts would throb with the pleasant knowledge, that both farmers and labourers, and all dependent upon them were comparatively comfortable and happy.

These trifling sacrifices might also fairly be looked upon in the light of insurances for the much greater security of their property.

Operatives in many branches of manufacture would better themselves full fifty per cent. by judicious emigration, and their case is a strong one. Mechanics, on an average, can still better themselves fully twenty-five per cent. by emigration, but most of the English emigrants have been skilled workmen, and their wages are rapidly approaching the equilibrium. Farmers and many small manufacturers can materially improve the condition of themselves and their several classes by judicious emigration. The recent financial panic in America has made no substantial difference with any of these facts.

But there is no disputing that the equilibrium of wages to which everything is gradually tending, means a very great increase of prices. If the purchasing power of labour as measured in sovereigns increases forty per cent., the purchasing power of a sovereign as measured in personal and household necessities and servants, will probably diminish on the average about twenty per cent., and the net gain of the working classes will be the difference. Profits will become more equalized. It will be more difficult for a man to amass several millions in a lifetime ; and what the public does not gain in this way and from improvements in production, will have to come out of fixed incomes. There is, however, fair reason to hope that

opportunities for profitable and sound investment abroad will rapidly increase, and materially modify what would otherwise be a very great evil. However this may be, and whether the suffering of special classes be much or little, the problem of emigration can be solved only on the principle of perfect free trade in labour; and although this solution will send large numbers of stalwart Britons to foreign shores, it will be of general advantage to the country.

ART. III.—GOETHE AND MILL: A CONTRAST.

IN an article on John Stuart Mill, published in the last January number of this *Review*, his life and character, as interpreted by himself in his *Autobiography*, were treated, so to speak, absolutely. In the present article we propose to compare him with another great man whose life and aims were equally distinctive, and who has also left us his own account of them. We are led to the comparison by the belief that a simultaneous reading of Mr. Mill's "*Autobiography*" and Goethe's "*Wahrheit und Dichtung*" will give rise to reflections, alike interesting and instructive, upon the numerous and striking points of contrast between two minds, which resembled each other in depth and power, in entire freedom from all those prejudices and littlenesses which dwarf the natures of ordinary men—and in nothing else.

Vast indeed was the difference in quality of mind which could induce two conceptions of a work in life, each noble and true, yet so essentially unlike, not to say antagonistic, as that of the Pantheist-poet, proclaiming culture to be the one great means of salvation for a world "dead in trespasses and sins," and that of the non-religious political philosopher, preaching to the same world that gospel of Utilitarianism which seems to spring from so low a basis, yet implies an "enthusiasm of humanity" so exalted, that society, as at present constituted, sneers upon it as a mere fanatic's dream.

This contrast of aim we see distinctly in the *raison d'être* of the two works. Mill thinks the "record of an education which was unusual and remarkable," and of the "successive phases of" a "mind which was always pressing forward," may respectively be useful at a time when "education and its improvement are the subject of profound study," and opinions on most matters are in a transition state. But still more clearly does the book

owe its existence to a desire to acknowledge its writer's "intellectual and moral" obligations to "other persons"—to the father whose "eminence" was "recognised," and to the wife whom, to its great loss, "the world had no opportunity of knowing." Goethe, on the other hand, tells us that the "*Wahrheit und Dichtung*" is "an attempt to complete a great confession, of which his published works are but fragments."* The egotism of the latter explanation seems to contrast unfavourably with the modesty of the former one, if we do not bear in mind the fact—which will be dwelt upon at some length below—that Goethe looked upon Art as the most important instrument of human development, and knowing himself to be, through his poetry, a great artist, considered that he was conferring a benefit upon the public in helping it to a right interpretation of his poems. He had, besides, been strongly urged to the task by his friends. A desire to benefit mankind was without doubt the motive power of both autobiographies, but it seems to work more *directly* in Mill than in Goethe; and certainly the buildings which rose from foundations so similar are in their utter diversity of plan and construction highly characteristic of their respective architects.

Deeply interesting and valuable as both these works are, they have the unavoidable defect of all autobiographies, that of not giving the whole truth about their authors. Of the two, Goethe's stands far the most in need of that "reading between the lines" which the writer's contemporaries alone can supply the means for doing. Mill, with his characteristic generosity and modesty, did himself far less, and his surroundings far more, than justice. Goethe wrote his life in old age, when the scenes to be described had lost much of their vividness. Looking down as from a height where "no sound of human sorrow mounts to mar the sacred, everlasting calm," upon his youth, like some far-off lake lying below, he saw, as it were, through a purple haze, and tranquillized by distance, those tumultuous waves which he had breasted in early manhood, and which now lay radiant in the mellow beams of sunset. In serene contemplation of the classic beauty of Helena, he could have but a dim perception of that wild time of "*Sturm und Drang*," when his dreams of passion and suicide had found expression in "*Wertber*."

Mill's autobiography is continued till within a year or two of

* It is important to notice that Goethe was in the habit of "translating into a poem or picture, anything that pleased or annoyed him, or particularly engaged his attention, and thus of coming to a conclusion with himself about it, so as both to set right his ideas of outward things, and to tranquillize his own mind." See "*Wahrheit und Dichtung*," Book 7, Part ii.

his death, while Goethe's stops at the early age of twenty-six. This, though provoking enough to us, who would fain know all that ever could be known of the greatest genius of these latter days, is really not such a deprivation as it would seem at first sight. That which we do gain a tolerably full knowledge of—though it is often intensely annoying that Goethe will give so many more details about his comparatively uninteresting friends than his superlatively interesting self—is that period of childhood and youth, of which, in its bearing upon the hereafter, Goethe himself has said :—"Altogether, the most important part of an individual's life is that of development, and mine is concluded in the detailed volumes of 'Wahrheit und Dichtung.' Afterwards begins the conflict with the world, and that is interesting only in its results."* An utterance so profoundly true, that we shall take it as the basis of what follows, and try to show how, from the development period in the lives of Goethe and of Mill, may be deduced some of those few points of likeness, and far more numerous points of unlikeness, in their "conflict with the world and its results," which strike us so forcibly as we compare their autobiographies.

Those who, like ourselves, see in evolution and its kindred hypotheses the most satisfactory explanation of seemingly mysterious diversities of organization, will not object to our assuming that both the spiritual and material parts of a human being—supposing the two *not* to be identical—are entirely the work of circumstance. By this, however, we mean, not merely the conditions in which a child is placed from the time it comes into the world, but also the long chain of ante-natal influences, reaching back into the dim Past, far beyond our power to trace them, and which, gaining more from the length of time they have been at work than they lose from being spread over a number of objects, must, as it seems to us, be even more powerful in effect than those influences of education and general surroundings, which, though acting directly upon the creature who is their subject, do this for so short a time in comparison. We imagine that it might be proved, supposing the necessary information to be accessible, that though external influences during childhood and youth are the chief agents in turning a human being's powers into some special groove, it is to a long anterior period that the quantity and quality of those powers are due. Those who object *in toto* to this assumption will hardly expect us to enter here into an exposition of our reasons for making it, since that would involve nothing short of a summary of some of the most important works of Darwin, Spencer, Galton, &c. &c.

* Eckermann's "Conversations with Goethe." Mr. Oxenford's translation.

“Vom Vater hab' ich die Statur,
Des Lebens ernstes Führen,
Vom Mütterchen die Frohnatur,
Und Lust zu fabuliren.
Urahn herr war der Schönsten hold,
Das spukt so hin und wieder,
Urahn frau liebte Schmuck und Gold,
Das zuckt wohl durch die Glieder.
Sind nun die Elemente nicht
Aus dem Complex zu trennen,
Was ist denn an dem ganzen Wicht
Original zu nennen ?”

So sings Goethe about his relation to his ancestry; and though to analyse the elements of this “complex whole” would, indeed, be impossible, it is possible, as well as useful, to mention a few of those points in which the parents of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and John Stuart Mill resembled their sons.

Goethe the elder was a stern, upright man, punctilious and pedantic, with mediocre talents, but much industry, with a cultivated mind, an enthusiastic love of classic art and of Italy, and in such pecuniary circumstances as to be well able to gratify his tastes. His wife had a bright, merry disposition, with much natural shrewdness and talent. Thoroughly genial, tolerant, and healthy-minded, she had a dislike of agitation and scenes of any kind, so strong as almost entirely to overcome that morbid curiosity which generally has overwhelming power over persons of unsystematic education like herself. Neither of the two were possessed of anything like genius, but the combination in Goethe of some of the above-mentioned qualities of both father and mother is very striking; especially such minor traits as his father's formal manners, which decidedly grew upon him with increasing years, and his mother's abhorrence of unnecessary emotions, which appears in his invariable refusal to see any dead body, and in that strong control over his instincts which had so much to do with the reproach of heartlessness which still clings to his great name.

The elder Mill was gifted both with unusual talents and with that unusual capacity for taking trouble which, as Lord Derby has lately reminded us, has been considered by some persons to constitute genius. In coldness, severity, and integrity of character he resembled Goethe senior, but was unlike him in almost everything else; notably in that originality and unconventionality for which he was so markedly distinguished, and in “the power of influencing others by mere force of mind and character.” As we contemplate the powerful and vivid picture of this grand and rugged figure which his son has given us, we

cannot but notice the strong likeness between father and son, in almost all mental, and in many moral, qualities; but how did Stuart Mill come by his tender sympathetic nature, and that unbounded capacity for affection, which seems to have been left out of James Mill's composition, and which only showed themselves in the son after years of repression? Were they inherited from that mother of whom her son tells us absolutely nothing? We can but conjecture.

And now to consider the manner in which the natural capacities of Goethe and Mill were developed.

Those who maintain—and they are not few in number—that geniuses come into the world fully equipped, like Minerva from her parent's skull, education counting for little or nothing, ought to notice that the two men who in this century have achieved most in the domains of poetry and political philosophy, were both the subjects of careful and well-considered systems of education; and that the special place in literature occupied by each is exactly the one which an examination of the post-natal influences brought to bear upon him, would lead us to expect. The exact value of these examples this is, of course, not the place to settle, but some value they must have. Both Johann Caspar von Goethe and James Mill desired that their sons should be brought up for the most part under their own eye, and instructed as much as possible directly by themselves. That remarkable system of training to which J. S. Mill from the earliest dawn of intelligence was subjected, has of late been so exhaustively written and talked about, that to describe it would be needless. Though few persons would advocate the general adoption of such a system in all its features, many would agree with ourselves that it only needs one or two—it is true, important—modifications to become admirable. It was certainly so adapted to its subject as to produce precisely the result desired; and that result, not perhaps a "mere reasoning machine," yet not far removed from what Wordsworth describes as

"One to whose smooth-rubbed soul can cling
Nor form nor feeling, great nor small;
A reasoning self-sufficing thing,
An intellectual all in all!"

Notice that this result could never have been attained by a system of mere cram, the mental results of which, like the physical, are first surfeit, and then exhaustion: Mill's "mental capacities were strengthened, not overlaid, by knowledge." Recollecting, too, how great those capacities were—for we entirely decline to believe, as Mill would fain have us, that "in natural gifts he was rather below than above par"—we lose in a great

measure that painful impression of overwork, though not that of excessive severity on his father's part, which the narrative of Mill's early years at first suggests. James Mill's teaching had, of course, a superabundance of "mere logic and analysis," and a lack of "poetical culture," which in some pupils would have tended to stunt that "high enthusiasm for ideal nobleness," which seems to have been innate in his son, and which his early education had probably no worse result than that of tempering by close practical thought. Although James Mill disliked all poems that in any way appealed to the emotions, and even failed to appreciate Shakspeare, he considered the power of writing *verses* to be such a useful acquirement that he imposed this sort of writing as a compulsory exercise on his son. The latter detested it; but wrote for his own amusement, at the age of eleven, a constitutional History of Rome!

How different, spite of some superficial points of likeness, were the influences that surrounded Goethe's childhood. His father had more assistance from others in the work of instruction than the elder Mill had, but was equally careful that there should be no cramming of the boy. Goethe was not systematically trained to reason and to think, logic and metaphysics entering but little, and political economy of course not at all, into his education, yet at twelve he was as great a prodigy in his own line as was Stuart Mill at the same age. Besides a fair acquaintance with Greek and Latin, in which last language some remarkably clever exercises written when he was six, seven, and eight years old, show him to have been a proficient, he knew English, French, and Italian. Italian he picked up merely from hearing his sister taught it by her father, while his knowledge of French was chiefly gained by frequenting the plays in that language which were performed at Frankfort during the French occupation. His interest in the French classic drama was so vivid and intelligent that he began at home to study the "Three Unities" in Corneille's treatise and Racine's prefaces, for which Unities he quickly conceived a profound contempt. We shall not be surprised to find him at this early age having an opinion of his own on pictures and art generally, when we recollect what his surroundings from earliest infancy had been. Out-of-doors there was the city of Frankfort, with its picturesque mediæval buildings, its wealth of historical association, its grand feudal pageantry, which last, at the coronation of one of the emperors, where Goethe "assisted," made a strong impression on the boy. Indoors he breathed an atmosphere of rare books and art-collections, copies of the finest Greek and Italian *chef-d'œuvres* constantly met his gaze; the "severe sublimity" of the Pantheon, the renaissance splendours of St. Peter's "vast and wondrous dome" having looked down

upon him from the walls of his father's house ever since he could remember anything. Add to this that his father was a warm patron of modern artists, that when the French were in Frankfurt, Count Thorane, one of their generals, and a great picture-fancier, was billeted upon them, and that the house was in consequence greatly frequented by artists, one of whom had a sort of studio there, where Goethe loved to spend a large part of his time. We are therefore more amused than surprised to read of the suggestions which this boy of twelve would make to some artist about the picture he was painting, suggestions which were actually adopted, as he says, "either from conviction or good nature." Hardly the latter, one would think! The mother had *her* share in stimulating the child's powers of invention. She had a remarkable faculty for story-telling, and she often found he had thought out and completed for himself some story which she had left half finished.

Of course all this was very unlike the complete and systematic teaching which John Stuart Mill received, and to this, as well as to what Mr. Lewes calls his "impatient susceptibility," was due the fragmentary nature of Goethe's knowledge of most of the subjects he had taken up in childhood. In later years he often severely blamed this defect in his own early education, indeed it is noticeable that Goethe constantly shows a want of respect and affection in his way of speaking of his father, caused probably by a certain degree of contempt for the elder Goethe's intellectual powers, as well as by the cold harsh manner under which, like Mill senior, the father thought fit to shroud his really warm affection for his son. But this want of tenderness did not prevent young Mill from being "loyally devoted" to that father whose great intellect could not fail to command his reverence. It is curious to contrast old Goethe's unconcealed admiration for the great powers of young Wolfgang—to whom he was always saying "that in his place he (the father) would have made a very different use of his talents, and not squandered them with the like prodigality," with James Mill's sober and uncomplimentary manner of assuring his son that "whatever he knew more than others could not be ascribed to any merit in him, but to the very unusual advantage that had fallen to his lot, of having a father who was able to teach him, and willing to give the necessary trouble and time."

Goethe went on developing himself till the age of sixteen at home by the study of art and literature, and by much thought upon religious matters, abroad by the society of some clever but not too respectable companions that he had secretly picked up. He got into a very unpleasant scrape, besides falling in love, and then into a state of deep despondency, caused chiefly by hearing

that his beloved—Gretchen by name,—had said “she regarded him in the light of a *little brother*.” He gradually regained his former tranquillity of mind by applying himself to the study of metaphysics, and by cultivating his newly-acquired love of natural scenery in constant walking excursions in the lovely Rhineland which lay so near his home. He became the centre of a circle of admiring comrades, who adored him, not only for his wonderful gifts, but for that indescribable fascination of manner which never left him, and which together with his kindly nature, procured him “troops of friends” to the very end of his life.

The “conflict with the world” may be said to have begun when he went to Leipzig at sixteen, though of course his “development” went on side by side with it. During the three years there, he spent more time in seeing life under the auspices of a wild fellow called Behrisch, than in study, gaining much experience which was useful to him in his works, at the expense of his health, and writing the plays “*Mitschuldigen*” and “*Laune des Verliebten*.” He returned home a wreck of his former self, went through a sort of mental and physical crisis from which he emerged stronger than before, and then went to the University of Strasburg. Here his career was, on the whole, satisfactory; he entered into the best intellectual society of the place, making friends with Herder—continued his law studies, finally taking his doctor’s degree—and became an ardent student of Shakspeare. At twenty-two, he returns to Frankfurt, and throws himself fervently into the “*Sturm und Drang*” movement, writing “*Goetz von Berlichingen*” and “*Werther*,” under the influence of what Lewes so happily describes as “its Titanic hopes,” “its unhealthy sentimentalism, its morbid unrest.” The two latter characteristics are but too obvious in “*Werther*,” the writing of which seems to have afforded him much relief at a time when the idea of suicide had gained strong possession of his mind. Werther, like most of his heroes, was in great part Goethe, but in a smaller degree than was Wilhelm Meister, the infinitely finer production of his maturity. Though, like most thinkers, Goethe had his seasons of depression, he was full of vitality, with a strongly developed animal nature and impetuous passions, which, however, became gradually, in spite of a certain irresolution which was part of his nature, “trained to come to heel by a powerful will.” His wild and not always respectable mode of life seemed to have small effect on his tenacious constitution; there was always something fresh and wholesome about him, he loved cold water and fresh air, and unlike the sickly, feverish Schiller, felt himself best able to work in the morning. Goethe’s autobiography, and therewith, as he himself considers, his period of development, close on his arrival at Weimar in

1775. His life-struggle had long since begun in earnest, and out of the turbulent "Sturm und Drang" movement he was fast rising into a clearer, calmer atmosphere. The great masterpiece, "Faust," was already in progress, whose first faint dawn may be traced to that melancholy time at home, between his Leipzig and Strasburg careers, but which must go on growing through thirty years more of patient toil and thought, before it should beam in full glory and sublimity upon the world.

It is curious to notice how very slightly politics had hitherto entered into a life which had been passed in an atmosphere of art and literature, or we may leave out the word literature, since the kind of literature to which Goethe chiefly applied himself belonged as purely to the domain of art as painting and sculpture do. But were those tendencies of French eighteenth century thought, which culminated in the revolution, utterly without influence upon one who had spent two years at the University of Strasburg, in France itself? Certainly not: it was impossible for Goethe to ignore them, but they inspired him and his circle with an intense aversion, and Mephistopheles, "der Geist der stets verneint," is the embodiment of his opinions about those whose inclination in literature as in religion was to criticise and to demolish, rather than to create. He was unable to sympathize with the burning indignation against tyranny and priestcraft which animated Voltaire and his school; he had never come in contact with a powerful priesthood and its perpetually irritating and often enraging influences, while he had so far enjoyed all the social and religious freedom he needed for his own development and enjoyment. To political freedom he was simply indifferent, having never felt the need of it for himself. "In our narrow circle," he says, "we did not trouble ourselves with newspapers and news; our business was to study the natures of men: we cared little to know what was going on in the outer world." Again, "in Germany it had as yet hardly occurred to any one to envy the enormous privileges of the aristocratic class, or to grudge them their good luck as regards worldly advantage." And Goethe, among the rest, could not realize that the concentration of this artificial "good luck" upon a few heads, might cause grievous wrong to a very large number.

Goethe's feelings and opinions about religion never seem to have lacked room to expand, judging from the Autobiography, where he from time to time enters into them at considerable length. From infancy he had been carefully instructed in what are called the great truths of religion, and these he soon began to test by the results of his own childish experience. One of his first religious puzzles was in connexion with the great Earthquake of Lisbon, which happened when he was six years old.

How was the fact that good and evil men were then alike destroyed to be reconciled with the first article of the faith, which tells of God who is "the Creator and Preserver of Heaven and Earth"? The thoughtful boy next became exercised at the disunion he noticed among the faithful. Brought up himself as an orthodox Lutheran, he began to lose confidence in his church system when he realized how many sincerely religious persons had separated themselves from it through disgust at its mere "dry morality." So he determined to try and approach directly "that great God of Nature, whose early anger-manifestations had long since been forgotten in the beauty of the world, and the manifold good which falls to our lot." How he set to work to build an altar in his own room, and with the aid of a pastille, offered upon it "natural produce," i.e., specimens from his father's valuable collection of minerals, is well known to all students of his life. This interest in religious matters did not flag as he grew older; for at thirteen we find him beginning to learn Greek in order thoroughly to understand the New Testament. About that time he wrote a curious summary of the early History of the Jews,* interesting for the essentially rationalistic spirit in which it is conceived. So that, in spite of his passing through the ceremony of confirmation, and of his intimacy with Fräulein von Klettenberg—a charming religious mystic, the original of the "Fair Saint," in "*Wilhelm Meister*"—we are quite prepared to read that he no longer believed in the miracles and other supernatural occurrences related in the Old Testament. The words, "destitute of faith, yet terrified at scepticism," would describe his feelings on this subject for some years to come. At Strasburg we hear much of his detestation of the attitude towards religion assumed by the French encyclopædists, which was strengthened by reading the "*Système de la Nature*," which he spoke of with some contempt as the "quintessence of senility," though he owned that it repelled him like some "grey, death-like shadow." At the same time we see in his strong admiration for Bruno's works, that fast-growing tendency to Pantheism, which dates from his earliest childhood. However, soon after he left Strasburg, he seems to have made an attempt to settle his ideas about the Bible, taking his stand upon its value as a whole, which he contended that its obvious contradictions had no power to injure, and insisting that every lover of truth should endeavour to arrive at "its original, divine, practical, indestructible essence," by means of something like that "verifying power" which the Broad Churchmen of our day set so much store by. Yet at twenty-three he is described by a friend

* "*Wahrheit und Dichtung*," Part i. Book 4.

as venerating the Christian religion, but far from orthodox, not going to church or sacrament, and praying seldom. For the next two years he was much under the religious influence of his two friends, Lavater and Fräulein von Klettenberg, the former of whom seems to have depended mostly on evidences, the latter on feeling, or, as Goethe himself puts it—Lavater treated his Saviour as a friend, Klettenberg hers as a lover. Charmed by the apostolic enthusiasm and sincerity of the Moravian brethren, Goethe was on the point of joining them, when he was arrested by the strong repulsion he felt for one of their cardinal beliefs—the dogma of original sin. How could the child, the lover of nature, accept the doctrine of its depravity?

“From all sides I had been drawn towards nature; she had appeared to me in her glory; I had known so many good and brave men who had endured hardship in carrying out their duty to her; to renounce them, to renounce myself, seemed impossible to me. I saw plainly how wide was the gulf that separated me from that doctrine.”

Now for the first time did he seem fully to realize the utter impossibility of his ever accepting the Christian faith. He had long been a warm admirer of the works of Spinoza, in reading whose “Ethics” he felt “his passions” calmed, and “an expansive view over the world of feeling and of morals opened out to him.” His period of religious development was over; he had finally ceased to be a Christian; and the beautiful religio-philosophy of Pantheism was henceforth to be his support during the long struggle with the world that lay before him. We shall presently see how excellently it was adapted to his nature and its needs.

Little or no allusion has so far been made to a very important part of Goethe's life and character—namely, his relations with the female sex. Goethe had from “the cradle to the grave” the widest possible experience of women. His home education had led him, far more than is usually the case with boys, to make companions of his mother and sister, in whom he seems to have found an intelligent appreciation and sympathy such as a great genius rarely meets with in his female relatives. How affectionately he speaks of “his mother, still almost a child” (she was only eighteen when he was born) “as first growing up to (intellectual) consciousness in and with her two eldest children,” and of his sister, only a year younger than he was, as living “the same life with himself from the earliest dawn of consciousness, and thus united to him by the closest ties.” He goes on to describe this sister as a very remarkable person, “of uncommon depth of character, too little understood, though much loved, and

prematurely lost." We have already mentioned his close and long continued friendship with *Fraülein von Klettenberg*, whose refined mysticism we can well understand having a strong attraction for one who, like Goethe, was by nature a Pantheist—as well as his first boyish love, the beginning of a long series that ended only a few years before his death at the age of eighty-three. Then at Leipzig we hear of an affair with one *Aennchen*,—we fear only one of many—then at Strasburg of the two sisters who fought about him before his own eyes; and then, with fullest detail of all, of *Frederika*, the pastor's daughter, for his conduct to whom, in gaining her affections, and then deserting her, he has been severely blamed. This is not the place to attempt a regular vindication of him, though we think it would not be difficult to show that his error proceeded far more from "want of thought, than want of heart." His case was the very common one of a young man falling in love with a pretty amiable girl, and after a half-betrothal, discovering that he had over-estimated the strength of his affection, and under-estimated the worldly, and still more the intellectual obstacles to their union. Instead of keeping his promise in the face of everything, he broke it, very much probably to her advantage, and without doubt, immensely to his own. When we think of what might have been lost to the world, had Goethe fettered himself at the age of twenty-one with a wife and family, the support of whom must have been his first care, we cannot but feel thankful for what *Lewes* calls, "his intellectual egoism"—certainly it deserves no harsher name, especially when we recollect that *Frederika* did not in the least resent his conduct. We next hear of two platonic attachments—to "*Lottchen*," who was the betrothed, and to *Madame Brentano*, who was the wife of another man, as well as of a strong flirtation with a certain *Anna Sybilla Mönch*, greatly encouraged by his parents, but which ended in nothing.

The last, and next to the *Frederika* episode, by far the most important of the love affairs mentioned in the *Autobiography*, is that with "*Lili*," a gifted and lovely girl of aristocratic family, and sixteen years old, for whom he seems to have had a very passionate affection. Soon after entering into a real engagement with her, he began, as he had done with *Frederika*, to see grave objections to marrying her. The worldly position of *Lili*, he thought, was as much too high as that of *Frederika* had been too low, to be compatible with his intellectual advancement, so he rushed off to Switzerland, in order if possible to drive away all thought of the too fascinating maiden—came back again—again became her captive—at last, once for all, freeing himself. *Lili* too, like *Frederika*, does not seem to have looked upon herself as injured. Goethe had other lady-loves in those days, but

the above were the principal, and are the best known. So much for the influence of women over him during his development period.

Though the inner life of John Stuart Mill during youth and early manhood is full of interest and suggestiveness, it is so poor in external incidents that only an occasional reference to them is needed in sketching the influences which tended to develop modes of thought and action in after life in the matter of politics, women, and religion, so entirely antagonistic to those adopted by Goethe.

Of the influences which developed his ways of thinking about Art we can only speak negatively, because, until his twentieth year, all æsthetic ideas may be said to have been discouraged, or absolutely ignored, in his surroundings. In a passive sense they were discouraged, because Mill was reared "in the mean and cramped externals of English middle-class life," at a time when artistic culture of any kind was unknown, except among the aristocracy, and even with them it was but a forced, unhealthy exotic, transplanted from its fatherlands of Italy and Greece into the smoke and fog of England, where it had become untruthful and unbeautiful through its utter incongruity. What was to be seen in the streets of London of this unattractive form of Art could have little power over the truthful and vigorous mind of young Mill, compared with those ever active influences (to say nothing of an immensely strong hereditary predisposition) which from his babyhood had drawn him to the study of philosophy, science, and history in their bearing upon politics. What wonder that the absorbing nature of these pursuits should for long have excluded every other thought from his mind? That love of natural scenery which in later life strongly characterized him found, however, some nourishment in his childhood from short country expeditions with his father, as well as from a long residence at Ford Abbey, in Somersetshire, but still more from a tour in the Pyrenees at the age of fourteen. His year's stay in France, during which this tour occurred, must have given a great impulse to his education in every sense of the word, and not least that part of the time which he spent in the house of M. Say, whom he describes as "a fine specimen of the best kind of French republican." Soon after his return to England, he became an enthusiastic disciple of Bentham, whose teachings his previous education, illustrated as it had been by intercourse with such men as Bentham himself, Ricardo, Hume, Say, and his own father, had well fitted him to appreciate. Bentham's system gave food to his high aspirations, while it satisfied his strict habits of thought by its sobriety and "appearance of superiority to illusion. It gave unity to his conceptions of things,"

and during the next six years this philosophy served him as "in one among the best senses of the word, a religion." He now put his mind through a careful course of training, and studied metaphysics and logic, both in private and in discussions with congenial friends, writing articles for the Liberal journals, helping Bentham in the work of annotating and preparing for the press his "Rationale of Judicial Evidence," and joining a debating society. Like Goethe, he spent much of his time with grown-up men, whose friendship with his father was in itself a guarantee of intellectual excellence. He had besides many companions nearer his own age, several of whom have since become known to fame.* At seventeen he got an appointment in the India Office, where, at the end of thirty-four years, he had risen to the position of Chief Examiner of Correspondence, described as "involving the responsibility, if not quite the dignity, of Secretary of State." The admirable effect which this kind of work had in giving him that thorough practicality which so eminently distinguished him among philosophers, is well explained in the Autobiography. At the age of twenty came on with Mill that painful mental state, when Feeling, which he had too long despised, or perhaps ignored, began to vindicate itself.† There can be no doubt that what he calls "the over-cultivation of the analysing spirit, without its natural complements and correctives," greatly added to the severity of that crisis which, at some period of his life, every thinking man has to pass through in one form or another. After some months of deep dejection, a casual occurrence discovered to him that he still had feelings, hopes, and aspirations; and thus consoled, he set to work to remedy those previous deficiencies which he was now quite conscious of, and to join other kinds of cultivation, especially poetry and music, to that of the intellect alone. He began to perceive all that was valuable in what he terms "the nineteenth century reaction against the eighteenth," became intimate with some of its English promoters, especially Maurice, Sterling, and afterwards Carlyle, and now first felt a decided attraction towards the St. Simonian school of socialists.

It is just worth while to remark the superficial resemblance

* The simple fact that Austin, Grote, Sterling, Carlyle, were among Mill's intimate friends, now or at a later period, is a sufficient refutation of a malicious insinuation in a late article in *Blackwood*, to the effect that Mill only cared to have second-rate men for his friends!

† We who live in the days of pilgrimages and adorations of the Sacred Heart, of spiritualism, revivals of confession, and "missions," every variety, in fact, of hysterical emotionalism, may well feel some sympathy with the disgust of the utilitarian school for "the frequency with which feeling is made the ultimate reason and justification of conduct," even though we grant it to have been to some extent exaggerated.

between this "crisis" and that which Goethe underwent after he left Leipzig. The contrast between the kind of life which John Stuart Mill led during youth and manhood, which might be described in the words of the Church Catechism as one of "temperance, soberness, and chastity," or in those of the poet, as one of "plain living and high thinking," and that of Goethe during both the "Sturm und Drang," and what Mr. Lewes so significantly names "the Genialisch period at Weimar," is so intensely suggestive, that we dare not trust ourselves to enlarge upon it. It is instructive, as showing the very slight *necessary* connexion between the most elaborate feelings and thoughts about religion, and every-day morality. Both Goethe and Mill found recreation in natural scenery and in botany; but these simple pleasures did not alone suffice for Goethe. Of course the widely different constitutions and temperaments of the two men must in some degree be considered responsible for the difference in their modes of life. Mill had not the splendid vitality of Goethe, and was thus spared many of the sensual temptations to which the latter too often yielded. But we wholly disagree from an article in the *Spectator*, which asserts that "the general effect of Mill's nature is one of meagreness and pallor." Was his power of affection feeble or meagre? and is there any lack of light and colour in that deep indignation against oppression, which shines out of everything he wrote? Of "reason divine, red-hot with passion pure" (to quote the beautiful words of a sonnet which appeared shortly after his death) Mill was the very embodiment; and this appears not only in his exertions for the good of the human race, but also very strongly in the story of his relations with that fortunate woman who, for twenty-eight years of her life, was "all in all to him," and whose "memory was to him a religion." His friendship with her began when he was twenty-four, and she twenty-three years of age; and though it is probable that in the depth of his passionate devotion Mill has unconsciously invested his wife with greater genius than she actually possessed, there can be no doubt that she was a most remarkable woman, and that her influence upon his development was very strong and also very beneficial, both in a negative and positive sense. Mrs. Mill did *not* merely abstain from acting as "a dead weight upon every aspiration of her husband to be better than public opinion required him to be," or from "trying to lead him to become much more indulgent to the common opinion of society and the world," and keep him down in a "mediocrity of respectability," in which direction the influence of a woman generally tends. She went far beyond this. She helped to entirely free Mill from a certain hardness and coldness which always clung to the Benthamite School, and to stimulate everything that was high and noble in

his nature, that "unselfishness," that "simplicity and sincerity," that "utmost scorn of whatever was mean and cowardly," that "boundless generosity and lovingness," that "emancipation from every kind of superstition and conventionality," in all of which qualities attributed by him to his wife in the Autobiography, she would have been the first to own that her husband exceeded her. But what is a still more surprising feature in one of a sex whose minds have until now been systematically stunted and left untrained, while their feelings have been cultivated into an unhealthy rankness, her intellectual influence was also beneficial. Mrs. Mill contributed to bring both more practicality and more of a "human element" into his works, especially into the "Political Economy," thus giving it one amongst other decided points of superiority over other manuals, that, briefly stated, of treating certain "economical generalizations" not as "final," but "provisional." Mr. Mill's step-daughter, Miss Taylor, seems, after her mother's death, to have in some degree succeeded to her place of literary helper and inspirer.

Now comes the question—What had been going on in Mill's mind on the subject of religion during all these years? *Nothing at all*, would be the very natural answer of that large number of persons who plume themselves upon having reached a state of absolute certainty about religion; an answer which will nevertheless require some modification. Yet it is a fact, and a very extraordinary fact, that young Mill grew up to manhood, in Christian England, during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, perfectly untouched by any kind of religious influence, or at least any that would be acknowledged as such by that large portion of the British public which regards Christianity and religion as convertible terms. What may strike us as stranger still, is that this method was pursued without any important collisions with the outside world, so carefully was the boy instructed to "keep his thoughts to himself," a precaution which we cannot but think might have had a very unwholesome effect upon some pupils. Strangest of all will it appear to many persons, that this negative attitude towards religion—or we prefer to say, theology—was successfully combined with a very positive attitude towards morality. The virtues of "justice, temperance (with James Mill almost 'the central point of educational precept'), veracity, perseverance, readiness to encounter pain, and especially labour; regard for the public good; estimation of persons according to their merits, and of things according to their intrinsic usefulness—a life of exertion in contradiction to one of self-indulgent ease and sloth;" all these things were inculcated upon Stuart Mill by the precept, as well as the example of a father, who himself bore a strong resemblance to some ancient

Greek philosopher. The moral and intellectual unsatisfactoriness of the common beliefs, and of these, more especially that "dreadful conception of an object of worship," which prevailed among Christians at the time of Mill's boyhood, though at present we have good reason to hope that it is rapidly ceasing to be identified with Christianity, was carefully demonstrated to the boy. The outcome of it all was, that Stuart Mill "never had religious belief : he grew up in a negative state with regard to it. He looked upon the modern exactly as he did upon the ancient religion, as something which in no way concerned him." The Autobiography is thus entirely destitute of those records of religious experience and religious doubts which occupy so important a place in the lives of most thinkers. Mill is very sparing of words on this subject, yet we may gather from various hints of his own opinions and those of his wife, occurring here and there in the Autobiography, that, though no Atheist, he, like his father, was unable to find a "halting-place in Deism."

We have now traced the progress of Mill's mind up to the commencement of "the most valuable friendship of his life," and have also dwelt upon the influence of that friendship upon after years. In doing this, we have, perhaps, gone somewhat beyond the limit marked out at the beginning. But this has been rendered necessary both by the immense importance of this friendship in modifying and developing his previous opinions, and by that peculiar readiness which he always showed "to learn and to unlearn"—a flexibility which never degenerated into volatility—which made the development-time last much longer with him than it does with most men. Of course Goethe's dictum that his own development concluded with the conclusion of the "*Wahrheit und Dichtung*," that is, at the age of twenty-six, though truer of him than it is of Mill, was never intended to be accepted except as an approximation to the truth. It comes, however, far nearer the truth than hard-and-fast lines generally do, and is sufficiently near it in this case to enable us to show that in that period of Goethe's life, as in the same period, though extended by a few years, of the life of Mill, we must seek the primary causes of those points of contrast which strike us most forcibly in their "conflict with the world and its results." These points of contrast, as has been hinted previously, may be roughly divided into three heads :

Their theory and practice with reference to

1. Art and Politics—best treated together.
2. Women.
3. Religion.

And we think a little consideration will quickly show how their modes of thought and action in these matters are precisely what

one would expect to be evoked by the widely different circumstances under which they had lived from their infancy to their prime.

1. *Art and Politics.*—We have seen that nature and education had made Goethe before all things an artist, and as such, the peaceful contemplation of beauty formed his idea of the best happiness, the attainment of perfection in form one of his highest aspirations. This tendency grew upon him; he became more and more wedded to the tranquil beauty of Greek art, and ever more alienated from the striving and unrest of the Gothic, the modern spirit. It is easy to see that such a man will naturally tend towards conservatism, still more when, as in his case, it coincides with his early habits and ways of thinking. What does he care for outward reform and progress? His "mind to him a kingdom is," and so long as no tyrant disturbs him in his work of contemplation and creation, the disposition of the genuine artist is to rest and be thankful, and to keep his mind quite clear of disturbing thoughts such as would be engendered by longings after a political freedom which individually he would be little the better for. And Goethe was led to this conclusion by something stronger than the mere artist tendency, by his high idea of the proper mission of art. Schiller and he "believed that Culture would raise humanity to its full powers; and they, as Artists, knew no Culture equal to that of Art."* Goethe saw for himself the destructive effect upon culture of the French revolution, while his powers of prevision were not strong enough to show him that this great emancipation, being mental as well as physical, would in the end stimulate culture, by giving it width and free play, far more than it had momentarily retarded it. Goethe had felt most keenly the severity of the remedy, he did not live to realize the greatness of the cure: he said—

"Franzthum drängt in diesen verworrenen Tagen, wie ehemals
Lutherthum es gethan, ruhige Bildung zurück,"

and his advice was—

"Willst du, mein Sohn, freibleiben, so lerne was Rechtes, und halte
Dich genügsam, und nie blicke nach oben hinauf."

Not that he by any means lacked sympathy for the sufferings of the poor: he showed this sympathy very practically, if not always judiciously—and we must recollect that the principles of political economy were to him entirely unknown—by frequent, and we believe, often self-denying charities. Neither did he entirely fail to appreciate the benefits of political liberty. He

* Lewes's "Life of Goethe."

called himself a moderate Liberal, and went so far as to say, "if there exists an actual necessity for a great reform amongst a people, God is with it, and it prospers."* But he was strongly of opinion that this necessity did not then exist in Germany, the time, he thought, was not yet ripe, and so he said, "Let every one according to his talents, according to his tendencies, and according to his position, do his utmost to increase the culture and development of the people . . . that the people may not lag behind other peoples, but become competent for every great action when the day of its glories arrives."† And though Goethe's political prevision was at fault when he passed sentence upon the French revolution, was he far wrong in the advice that he tendered to his own nation? Now that the "day of its glories" has indeed arrived, have the German people carried on their splendid struggle any the worse—rather was it not carried on better?—for the "tranquil culture" that they had been pursuing for so long, and which their great poet had so strongly insisted on?

It must be remarked before we leave this portion of the subject, that the beneficial effect on Goethe's later writings of his growing devotion to the Greek ideal, has been much questioned; indeed a comparison of the first part of "Faust" and "Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre" with the second part of "Faust" and the "Wanderjahre," which last bear strong traces of this Greek influence—though, of course, old age must be credited with some share in their inferiority—places the matter, in our opinion, beyond dispute. This is well put in a spoken criticism of Mr. Mill's, who said:—"Goethe tried as hard as he could to be a Greek; yet his failure to produce anything perfect in form, except a few lyrics, proves the irresistible expansion of the modern spirit, and the inadequateness of the Greek types to modern needs of activity and expression."‡ In his great attempt at a reproduction of the Greek tragedy, "Iphigenia," there is something intensely cold and constrained; we miss that charm which pervaded almost everything else he wrote, and pre-eminently the first part of "Faust," which, full of vitality, and breathing out in every line the complexity of modern thought, shows plainly where Goethe's true strength lay.

Nature and Education had worked together to make Goethe an Artist; they also united to make John Stuart Mill a Radical Philosopher. There is strong ground for believing that Mill inherited almost all his father's finest qualities of head, without any of his unloveable qualities of heart; and when we add to this the

* Eckermann's "Conversations."

† Lewes's "Life of Goethe."

‡ From Mr. J. Morley's notes of Mr. Mill's conversation during the last day they spent together. See *Portnightly Review* for June, 1873.

facts that he possessed a rare capacity for sympathy and affection, that he was trained to love and worship Truth before all things, and carefully taught the best human means of finding out what the Truth was, is there any room for surprise that the result was a political and social reformer of the highest order? True, it was needful for him to go down into the depths, to feel all his youthful dreams and aspirations dispelled and crushed under a weight of "dry heavy dejection," before he could rise to full completeness and fitness for the great work that lay before him. Then first did he begin to "give its proper place among the prime necessities of human well-being, to the internal culture of the individual;" thus coming into collision with some of his Benthamite friends, and notably with Mr. Roebuck, who was then, whatever he is now, "the kind of Englishman who seems to regard the sympathies almost as necessary evils required for keeping men's actions benevolent and compassionate;" seeing "little good in any cultivation of the feelings, and none at all in cultivating them through the imagination, which he thought was only cultivating illusion." One can hardly help wondering if Mr. Roebuck's career might not have been very different, and far more satisfactory, had he, like Mill, accepted while young a truer and less one-sided view of life than the one here glanced at. There is much that is characteristic in the mode of "culture of the feelings" to which Mill felt himself drawn. We can picture the disgust with which he would turn away from the "raptures and roses of vice" which Byron sang in such melting strains; while he was repelled, as we know, by the cynical spirit of these poems. It was in Wordsworth's poetry that he found "a medicine for his state of mind; in it he seemed to draw from a source of inward joy, of sympathetic and imaginative pleasure, which could be shared in by all human beings; which had no connexion with struggle or imperfection, but would be made richer by every improvement in the physical or social condition of mankind." Yet though Mill was now able to perceive the "other half of the truth" to which he had hitherto been blind, he never became "a recreant to intellectual culture;" his habits of reasoning stood him in good stead, and prevented him from yielding too far to the reaction. To the very end of his life he was firm to Utilitarianism; he had a strong perception of its excellence, not as "a mere matter of abstract speculation," but in its "practical consequences." But he introduced some important modifications, which, while leaving its central principle untouched, helped to develop it into something far higher and nobler than it had ever entered into the hearts of Bentham and James Mill to conceive.

The opponents of the Experience school in philosophy and the

Utilitarian school in Ethics are naturally irate at the fervour with which Mill adhered to the tenets of these schools, even after he became aware of the need of certain modifications in them ; and it is amusing to read the gentle sneer of the *Spectator* at the "curious slightness of the permanent instruction which this experience" (the crisis) "left behind." "Surely," it exclaims, "a profound sense of the inadequacy of ordinary human success to the cravings of the human spirit, was never followed by a less radical moral change."* Slight, however, as this change may seem to some, it was, together with Mrs. Mill's influence, instrumental in leading him beyond the "democracy pure and simple" and the narrow political economy of his youth, to advocate a check upon the former by means of "proportional representation," and an enlargement of the latter so as to admit the feasibility of a kind of socialistic system which, while "energetically repudiating that tyranny of society over the individual, which most Socialistic systems are supposed to involve," should finally solve the great Socialistic problem of the future—namely, "how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labour." Though he "saw clearly that to render any such social transformation either possible or desirable, an equivalent change of character must take place both in the uncultivated herd who now compose the labouring masses, and in the immense majority of their employers," he never ceased to believe in its feasibility ; and his life was henceforth one consistent struggle, in deeds as in words spoken and written, for those principles whose establishment he knew could alone hasten the advent of this great change. Here we have the real clue to his Parliamentary career. During that time he succeeded in thoroughly embittering, through his vigorous advocacy of such unpopular causes as the rights of Jamaica negroes and English women, and of full liberty of thought and speech even for the professed atheist, all those social, religious, and political Conservatives, who—at any rate, the last—"had not been without hopes of finding Mill an opponent of democracy ; as he was able to see the Conservative side of any question, they presumed that, like them, he could not see any other side."

Mill had in the highest degree "the enthusiasm of humanity" in the abstract, yet he certainly, in spite of his unbounded charity and forbearance, had no enthusiasm *for* humanity in the concrete. This is particularly seen in his detestation of general society, another respect in which he differs from Goethe, though

* *Spectator*, October 25, 1873.

it is possible that if the circle in which Goethe moved had in any way resembled the "insipidity" and "supreme unattractiveness" to any person of a high class of intellect, of "general society as now carried on in England," the contrast between them in this respect would turn out to be only a superficial one. Let us just for one moment try to imagine either Goethe embracing semi-socialistic principles, or Mill lavishing money upon any beggar who succeeded in working upon his feelings! Our instant perception of the ludicrous impossibility of imagining either case illustrates the ground-difference between them far better than pages of analysis and description.

There has been much condemnation of Mill's exclusiveness in holding aloof from ordinary society. In defence of his practice in this matter, it is enough to notice the impossibility of a professional man like Mill entering into society at the same time that he was engaged upon such works as the "Logic" and the "Political Economy," without entire neglect of his health. To justify his theory to ourselves, we have only to reflect upon, and try to realize the enormous waste of human time and health, in the present state of English social life, upon what certainly "deserves the name of neither business nor pleasure." A more general adoption and reduction of Mill's theory to practice would probably have the desirable effect of bringing into discredit some of those weary social duties which are a labour and sorrow to almost all concerned, especially to women, who have fewer means of escape from them than men, and of gradually founding a higher type of society among those whose disgust at the "low moral tone" of the old one, had induced them to relinquish it.

2. *Women.*—Goethe's relations with women, after he attained his full intellectual stature, were of much the same character as during his time of growth. He still went on "gathering the thousand flowers which richly filled the valleys," and, as a natural result, too often left them behind to wither. Soon after he went to reside at Weimar began the most important of his numerous *liaisons*—that with Lotte von Stein, a married woman seven years older than himself, who, according to a German writer, joined "solid cultivation," "breadth and clearness of perception," and an "equable temper," to much fascination of manner and appearance. He loved her devotedly for about twelve years, though this did not prevent his consoling himself for their separation while he was in Italy, by various small *affaires de cœur*. The mere fact, that this intimate relation—being as it was throughout of a purely spiritual nature—should have lasted so long, when one of the persons concerned was a man of Goethe's temperament, is sufficient proof that Frau von

Stein must have been peculiarly suited to him. One cannot help thinking how much happier and more dignified Goethe's domestic life might have been, had she been younger and in a position to marry him. However, the actual result was a breach, caused by her discovery that Goethe had taken for his mistress a pretty, clever girl, of low birth, called Christiane Vulpius, an arrangement to which Frau von Stein very naturally objected. A modern German Goethe-worshipper says that she dismissed him in a "fit of vulgar jealousy," and evidently thinks she had ill-treated him throughout. Her reason—but of course love prevented her listening to it—ought to have taught her that some such *dénoûment* must, under the circumstances, sooner or later happen; but surely we must applaud the womanly dignity and strength of mind which made her decline to go halves for Goethe with another woman, least of all such a woman as Christiane Vulpius. And it should be recollected that the then state of morals in polite German society was by no means such as to brand a similar arrangement as the flagrant breach of decency which it would be considered now. It is unfortunate that Lotte von Stein could not afterwards restrain her feelings sufficiently to prevent an exhibition of her disappointment to the world, such as was little calculated to win its respect. There is no need here to enter into the unpleasant details of Goethe's connexion with Christiane, which ended only with her death in 1816, some years after he had made her his wife. She bore him a son, and seems to have been faithful to him, acting as a sort of good working-housekeeper. His kindness to, and forbearance with her, after her disgusting habits of intemperance had become a perpetual annoyance to him, were quite admirable—indeed, one would wish that he had practised upon this woman some of that "intellectual egoism," which had made him in early life cast away the love of a Frederika and a Lili. Probably it was only the force of habit which prevented him from doing so.

Frau von Stein being unattainable, what a pity it seems that Goethe had not long ago married Lili! It is true that Mr. Lewes and other of Goethe's biographers have come to the conclusion that he never had any deep affection for her; but great as must be our respect for Mr. Lewes's opinion, and undeniably strong as are the grounds upon which it is founded, Goethe's own testimony is still stronger, and he made use to Eckermann of the following emphatic words:—

"She was the first whom I deeply and truly loved. I may also say that she was the last; for all the little affections which I have felt, in the after part of my life, are when compared with this first one, only light and superficial. I have never been so near a happiness after my own heart, as during the time of this love for Lili. The

obstacles which separated us were not really insurmountable, and yet she was lost to me."*

Is not this tolerably conclusive evidence, though given when Goethe was eighty-one? We may add that the inconvenience proceeding from the above-named "obstacles" would have been slight indeed compared with the serious mental and moral injury which even the greatest of men could not but have sustained from perpetual association with a coarse-minded and uncultivated woman. But long before he met Christiane Vulpius, Goethe had passed—to quote the beautiful words of George Eliot—"the freshness of our time, when only the choice is possible which gives unity to life, and makes the memory a temple where all relics and all votive offerings, all worship and all grateful joy, are an unbroken history sanctified by one religion." He could now only go on as he had begun. During his wife's lifetime, as well as after her death, Goethe's susceptible heart was touched again and again—at the age of fifty-eight by the pretty, malicious sprite, Bettina, daughter of his old flame Madame Brentano, by a young girl called Minna Herzlieb, who seems to have left a very strong impression upon him, and by one Fräulein von Lewezow, whom Goethe, when seventy-six years old, would, but for fear of the world's ridicule, have certainly married. These are only some among several others.

Mr. Mill has "wondered how a man who could draw the sorrows of a deserted woman like Aurelia in Wilhelm Meister should yet have behaved so systematically ill to women."† It is curious to compare this opinion with that of a recent Goethe-worshipper (the same who is so angry with Frau von Stein), who thinks Goethe's "unfaithfulness to individual women has been condoned by the number of charming portraits of the sex with which he has adorned the sanctuary of beauty!" May we venture to suggest the following medium between the above

* Eckermann's "Conversations."

† From the same conversation with Mr. Morley, mentioned above. For another charming description of the sorrows of a lonely woman, see the last Act of "Iphigenia."

"Der rasche Kampf verewigt einen Mann:
Er falle gleich, so preiset ihn das Lied.
Allein die Thränen, die unendlichen,
Der ueberbliebenen, der verlassenen Frau,
Zählt keine Nachwelt, und der Dichter schweigt
Von tausend durchgeweinten Tag-und Nächten,
Wo eine stille Seele den verlor'nen
Rasch abgeschied'nen Freund vergebens sich
Zurückzurufen bangt, und sich verzehrt."

extreme opinions about Goethe's behaviour in this matter? Granting that he did ill-treat certain women, and that the exquisite female delineations which he has given to posterity would not tend very effectually to console them, we cannot allow that the ill-treatment was either heartless or "systematic." May we not find a key to his conduct in his determination that Art should, and Love should *not*, be "lord of all," which his immense power of self-restraint enabled him to carry into effect? Why should we English applaud the sentiment of the beautiful old lines—

"I could not love thee, dear, so much,
Loved I not honour more,"

yet pass severe censure on Goethe because he preferred his Art to his Love? Why, but because the æsthetic feeling is so much rarer in England than the feeling for honour? In sacrificing himself and all he loved to Art, Goethe was only acting strictly up to his own idea of its exalted mission; and surely, if we measure things by their intrinsic value to mankind, Art and Culture ought not to occupy a *lower* place in our estimation than military honour and loyalty. Whether Goethe always judged correctly in making these sacrifices is an entirely different matter, and, as was said before, there is strong ground for believing that in one case, at any rate, he made a mistake, even taking into account only his own artistic development. His experience of women was wonderfully wide, but from the very nature of his intercourse with them he only knew (excepting, perhaps, in the case of Lotte von Stein) "one narrow department of their nature"—an important department no doubt. The only woman whose character he can have had any deep knowledge of was neither good nor worthy; and this fact alone enables us to comprehend the cynical and flippant remarks about female education, and the best mode of preserving female virtue, which we find in his "Second (poetical) Epistle to a Friend."

Yet there hardly exists any writer whose inspiration we *know* to have been so much indebted to women. When we remember that to Lili we owe, among other charming love songs, the "*Herz mein Herz*," wedded as it has been by Beethoven to the most exquisitely expressive music—to Lotte von Stein that beautiful dedication of the "*Poems*," which shows a purity of thought not always characteristic of Goethe's poems to women—to Christiane, many of the splendid Roman elegies—to Minna Herzlieb, the lovely series of sonnets, and the character of Ottilie in the "*Elective Affinities*," we can realize how truly he, of all men, might write, both in the literal and the mystical sense,

“Das Ewigweibliche zieht uns hinan.”*

It is impossible to imagine a greater contrast to all this than was Mill's experience of women. “He loved one only and he clave to her.” It seems to us that even as regards *quantity*, his knowledge of women was little inferior to Goethe's, for it made up in depth what it lacked in extent. Some time before the publication of the *Autobiography*, we had been able to draw an inference as to the *quality* of that knowledge from certain glimpses of it given in “The Subjection of Women,” where we have an ideal picture of what married life might be “in the case of two persons of cultivated faculties, identical in opinion and purposes, between whom there exists that best kind of equality, similarity of powers and capacities with reciprocal superiority in them, so that each can enjoy the luxury of looking up to the other, and can have alternately the pleasure of leading and being led in the path of development.” No one can now doubt that this picture was drawn from Mill's own experience, but he justly adds, “to those who cannot conceive it, it would appear the dream of an enthusiast.” Such, we fear, it would have appeared to Goethe, and that such it appears still to the large majority of people we have a painful proof in the plentiful crop of sneers that have sprung up in the friendly soil of the *Saturday Review*, and other periodicals, now that the *Autobiography* has granted us the privilege of a fuller view into its writer's inner life. We need do no more than remark upon certain obvious points of resemblance between the relations of Goethe with Frau von Stein, and those of Mr. Mill with Mrs. Mill, during the lifetime of her first husband, Mr. Taylor. Although neither morally nor intellectually worthy of a comparison with Mrs. Mill, Frau von Stein seems to have been in every way superior to all the rest of the women whom Goethe loved, and to have exercised a proportionally stronger influence over him. But both externally and internally they were circumstanced far less favourably than their English counterparts, whose deep union of heart and mind, founded as it was on the rock of purity and steadfastness, enabled them to treat the slights and misconstructions of society with absolute indifference. Amid the torrent of detraction which Mrs. Grundy, constituting various reviewers her mouthpiece, pours upon the heads of these two persons who once for all declined to burn incense upon her altar, the absence (as we believe) of any attempt to throw doubt upon Mill's assertion that the twenty years' friendship between himself and Mrs. Taylor was of a purely

* Translated literally, “the eternal-womanly,” or “the Eternal Womanhood draws upwards,” or “heaven-wards.” *Faust*, 2nd Part.

platonic nature, forms a striking illustration of the influence exerted by Mill's simple truthfulness and singleness of mind over the bitterest opponents of his system, social and political. In the course of action which Mill here pursued, he especially showed that "devotion to the two cardinal points of liberty and duty" which were so strongly insisted on by him ; together with his "incomparable friend," he resolutely asserted his liberty by "declining to consider the ordinances of society binding on a subject so entirely personal" as their own friendship, and at the same time they were strictly faithful to duty.

One direct effect of Mill's singularly happy experience in women was his vigorous assumption of the championship of their right to be represented in parliament, a right which of course includes all their other "rights," or we should perhaps rather say, a redressal of all their wrongs. The germ of the idea could hardly fail to have existed, and as we know had actually long existed in a mind so peculiarly distinguished by a keen sense of justice as that of Mill ; but it might for some time longer have lain dormant without the fructifying influence of that friend and wife to whom, in this matter, English women owe a debt of gratitude only second to what they owe to Mill himself.

3. *Religion.*—Nature and education had joined to make Goethe a Pantheist, as they had joined to make him an Artist. Take Mr. Ruskin's eloquent description of the great humanistic, or as he calls it, naturalistic school of artists, every word of which fits Goethe to such a nicety that we may be excused for making use of it instead of our own halting words:—

"The great naturalist takes the human being in its wholeness, in its mortal as well as its spiritual strength. Capable of sounding and sympathizing with the whole range of its passions, he brings one majestic harmony out of them all ; he represents it fearlessly in all its acts and thoughts, in its . . . anger, its sensuality, and its pride, as well as in its fortitude or faith, but makes it noble in them all ; . . . there is nothing which he is reluctant to behold, nothing that he is ashamed to confess ; with all that lives, triumphing, falling, or suffering, he claims kindred, either in majesty or in mercy."*

Is not Pantheism the religion exactly suited to such a man as this? May we not go even further, and say, is it possible for the naturalistic Artist to be of any other religion, seeing that the above description is simply Pantheism applied to Art? Already as a youth Goethe had been fascinated by the "boundless disinterestedness which shines forth from every sentence of Spinoza's 'Ethics.' The wondrous axiom—'He who truly loves God, must not ask that God should love him in return,' with all the premises upon

* "Stones of Venice."

which it rests, with all the results which derive themselves from it, filled my whole thoughts." In later years, his own experience as an Artist and a man of the world, taught him the truth that "our physical as well as social life—our morals, habits, worldly wisdom, philosophy, religion, even many an accidental occurrence—call us to self-sacrifice." Pantheism satisfied his physical leanings by consecrating his almost Hellenic admiration for the human body; and his moral breadth of view, which led him to trace the "soul of good" which exists even in "things evil." It taught him to regard all religions with respect, while attributing absolute perfection to none. Detesting as he did all demolition, he was far from wishing to overturn Christianity; and yet no one could see more plainly than he did some of its weak points. His theory about it was, that

"Christ thought of a God, comprising all in one, to whom he ascribed all qualities which he found excellent in himself. This God was the essence of his own beautiful soul, full of love and goodness, like himself. But as the great Being, whom we name the Deity, manifests himself not only in man, but in a rich, powerful nature, and in mighty world-events, a representation of him, framed from human qualities, cannot of course be adequate, and the attentive observer will soon come to imperfections and contradictions."*

His faith in our Immortality was very strong.

"Man" he said, "should believe in immortality: he has a right to this belief; it corresponds to the wants of his nature, and he may believe in the promises of religion. But if the philosopher tries to deduce the immortality of the soul from a legend, that is very weak and inefficient. To me the eternal existence of my soul is proved from my idea of activity; if I work on incessantly till my death, nature is bound to give me another form of existence when the present one can no longer sustain my spirit."†

Yet he was fully conscious how great a mistake it is to make such ideas "a theme of daily meditation and thought-distracting speculation. An able man, who has something regular to do here, and must toil and struggle and produce day by day, leaves the future world to itself, and is active and useful in this."‡

The best idea of Goethe's thoughts about (to use his own words)

"Him, who, seek to name him as we will,
Unknown within himself abideth still,"

will be given by a quotation from his "Proenium" to "Gott

* Eckermann's "Conversations of Goethe."

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

und Welt." It is an exact exposition, too, of the Pantheistic creed:—

"What were the God who sat outside to scan
The spheres that 'neath his finger circling ran?
God dwells within, and moves the world and moulds,
Himself and nature in one form enfolds:
Thus all that lives in him and breathes and is,
Shall ne'er his puissance, ne'er his spirit miss.
The soul of man, too, is an universe:
Whence follows it that race with race concurs
In naming all it knows of good and true
God,—yea, its own God; and with homage due
Surrenders to his sway both earth and heaven;
Fears him, and loves, where place for love is given."*

As Eckermann truly says:—"His opponents have often accused him of having no faith; but he merely had not theirs, because it was too small for him."

But we can hardly imagine Pantheism being the religion of the practical Reformer. One whose inmost heart is so penetrated with the sorrows of humanity, that his life must, if he be true to himself, be one long struggle to cure them, cannot by any possibility regard this as the best of all possible worlds. And he is pretty sure to do one of two things: either he will give up as hopeless all idea of effectually curing the ills of this life, and devote himself to the task of preparing himself and his fellows to inhabit the new heavens and the new earth which he has taught himself to look upon as certainties; or he will set all his powers to work to improve the present condition of the world and its inhabitants, so as to bring them, if possible, somewhat nearer an ideal state, leaving the future to take care of itself. We need hardly say that the latter was the line actually taken by a philosophical as well as practical Reformer like Mill. He regarded speculations about the unseen world as, on the whole, unprofitable, seeing that we can never, by any possibility, arrive at the faintest approach to certainty about it, while alive. Still he could not but have opinions of some sort on the subject; and though we have as yet no complete exposition of them, we may obtain a tolerable idea what they were by piecing together various passages from his writings, especially from the Autobiography. We can discern a strong feeling of sympathy and agreement with his father's religious, or rather non-religious, views in the wonderfully powerful and striking account of them given in the latter work. His own carefully cultivated

* From an admirable translation by J. A. S. in the *Spectator* of September 24, 1870.

powers of reasoning taught him, as he grew up, to see the justice of that negation of all established beliefs which from his earliest years had been infused into his mind. Yet there are certain indications that, to these negative opinions, he added some positive ones, which, through all his reticence, we can see were very precious to him. We cannot but feel that he is stating his own belief when he says, "of many whose belief is far short of Deism," that

"though they may think the proof incomplete that the universe is the work of design, and though they assuredly disbelieve that it can have an author and governor who is absolute in power as well as perfect in goodness, they have that which constitutes the principal worth of all religions whatever, an ideal conception of a perfect Being, to which they habitually refer as the guide of their conscience ; and this ideal of God is usually far nearer to perfection than the objective Deity of those, who think themselves obliged to find absolute goodness in the author of a world so crowded with suffering, and so deformed by injustice as ours."*

We shall be better able to comprehend this passage by comparing it with the hint, given a few pages before, of a possible solution of that greatest of all difficulties, the origin of evil, in "the Sabæan, or Manichæan, theory of a Good and an Evil Principle, struggling against each other for the government of the Universe." This hypothesis James Mill regarded as a harmless one, and both intellectually and morally far preferable to that which ascribes the creation of a "world full of evil" to a being "combining infinite power with perfect goodness and righteousness." Those who are acquainted with Miss Cobbe's writings will know that James and John Stuart Mill are not the sole modern thinkers to whom this solution has suggested itself.

Mr. Mill's later works are symptomatic of the growing influence over him of that "religion of humanity" which some of the clearest and most impartial thinkers of our day declare to be the coming creed, and that philosophers are to be its priests. But in Mill it was entirely separated from Comte's "system of spiritual and temporal despotism," which Mill pronounced to be "a monumental warning to thinkers on society and politics of what happens when once men lose sight in their speculations of the value of liberty and individuality." The most direct, if slight, enunciation of his views may be found in his last conversation with Mr. Morley (previously quoted from), where he

* Our repetition of this, and one or two other quotations given in the former article on "John Stuart Mill," may be excused on the ground that they are used to illustrate points other than those for which they were required in that article.

spoke of Theism as a "useful provisional belief," and of his own opinion that "the coming religion would rest upon the solidarity of mankind." His thoroughly reasonable and thence consolatory reconciliation of the doctrines of free will and of necessity ("Autobiography," pp. 169-70), show Mr. Mill to have been no fatalist. We have as yet no intimation whatever as to Mill's belief about immortality. And yet he could not have banished all thought of it from his mind. Were there no hours of bitter agony during the long fifteen years that he lived to mourn his unspeakable loss, when the philosopher's heart would give way, and he would feel how willingly, were it possible, he would change places with "the weakest saint," who, strong in faith, could say, "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and therefore I too shall live again?" Such moments of weakness, we cannot but think, there must have been, but they could only be moments. The thought that the truth makes us free would alone be sufficient to drive such vain longings from a mind which had never known the yoke of spiritual, of "other worldly" bondage, without the recollection that the Christian belief in an immortal life by no means implies the certainty of an immortality of love. We have not yet met with any explanation of the words, "They which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage," that could be really satisfactory to those who have loved and lost, most of whom would prefer absolute annihilation to an immortality combined with a separation from, or an entire change of feeling towards, their dear ones. Far better than the chance of such change is the creed of Positivism, chilling though it may seem when first presented to us. The Positivist keeps "a solemn silence" as "to the life of sensation or consciousness" hereafter, and is content to know that "not a true life really dies; not a true thought, word, or deed is wasted; not a true being ceases to be." He will be "incorporated, but not absorbed;" he will "live for ever, but in a finer, purer way, with all that is poor and mean in him passing into oblivion, and all that is solid and humane in him deepening in power."* We have dwelt a little upon this Positivist theory of immortality, because we have a strong suspicion that it would embody Mill's own views on the subject. Of course this is merely an inference, perhaps nothing more than a guess, for, as we said before, we have nothing that deserves the name of evidence on the subject. Though Goethe felt a certainty about the existence of a future life, which Mill was far from entertaining, their

* From "The Religion of Inhumanity," by Mr. Frederic Harrison, *Fortnightly Review*.

conclusions as to the practical inutility of constantly dwelling upon it were identical. To the students of St. Andrews Mill said: "I do not attempt to instigate you by the prospect of direct rewards, either earthly or heavenly. The less we think about being rewarded in either way the better for us."

Some critics of the *Autobiography* assume a tone of profound pity for the "monotonous joylessness" of its writer's life, which would be amusing, but for the irritation excited by their extreme presumption. Any solid reason for such a supposition we entirely fail to perceive. Mill certainly was not a jovial, light-hearted man. One does not look for the qualities of a Mark Tapley, a Cheeryble, or a Mr. Pickwick, in a man of such intense earnestness, and such serious views of life and its purposes, who had such deep sympathy with the sorrows, and felt such burning indignation at the wrongs of his fellow-men. But there is no cause for thinking he was an unhappy man. His profession and pecuniary means were favourable to the carrying on of his especial pursuits, and his domestic ties were such as it falls to the lot of few men to be blessed with. His influence and fame increased with his years, and he never lacked devoted friends. He did not look upon the world as an abode of misery, or he would hardly have called it "a world where there is so much to interest, so much to enjoy, and so much also to correct and improve," where "every one who has a moderate amount of moral and intellectual requisites is capable of an existence which may be called enviable."*

"Is it so small a thing
To have enjoyed the sun,
To have lived light in the spring,
To have loved, to have thought, to have done,
"To have advanc'd true friends, and beat down baffling foes?"†

Finally, his oft-expressed wish, that his last illness might not be a long one, was realized; and to the very last he retained full possession of his glorious intellect. There are not many human beings who obtain a fuller share of happiness than this, though of course no argument is of much avail with those who have come to a foregone conclusion, to the effect that a belief in revealed religion is necessary to a human being's happiness. That the very highest and noblest morality may co-exist with a rejection of all revelation, Mr. Mill's life and writings have given overwhelming proof, and it is to the fact of this being brought so conspicuously before the world in the *Autobiography*, that we

* "On Utilitarianism."

† Matthew Arnold's "Enopedocles."

may attribute the mass of abuse and misrepresentation which, since its publication, have been aimed at its illustrious author.

John Stuart Mill never made Goethe's acquaintance, though they inhabited the same world for twenty-six years; and we may venture to say that they could never have become friends, had they been brought together. Goethe looked upon Bentham as a Radical madman, and Mill was but a spiritualized Bentham, while Mill had a "deep dislike of Goethe's moral character." A wide gulf, which put all sympathy out of the question, separated them on earth, and yet there was, as we have been attempting to show, between these two essentially antagonistic natures, one strong point of union—a genuine love for the human race, and a consequent desire for its improvement—a profound conviction of the truth, as Goethe has finely expressed it, that "the true man is humanity in its entirety, and that the individual can be joyous and happy, then only, when he has the courage to feel himself a part of the great All."

ART. IV.—THE ADMIRALTY AND THE NAVY.

Mr. Ward Hunt's Speech on the Navy Estimates, 1874-5.

BY chance or design the right thing may be done in the wrong way. To do evil that good may come, is always morally bad, and often worse than merely bad, because it may be a logical blunder. But the good it produces may live on for all that; while the generating evil, and the blunder it marks, may show their vitality only by recoiling on the heads of the actors.

A blunder of this nature was committed on the occasion of the introduction of the Navy Estimates for this year. "A scare" was got up ostensibly to improve the Navy, but in reality for party purposes. The evil had no vitality, but the good it effected was to draw public attention to the state of the Navy; and we hope to intensify and continue that good result by showing that although the reasons assigned were wrong, the conclusion was right.

The attempt at any time to make the Navy a *cheval de bataille* for party warfare is much to be deplored. If something of that patriotic spirit, which to the credit of English political antagonism always characterizes the discussion of our foreign relations, were allowed to enter into the consideration of a question so intimately connected with those relations, it would be as wise as it would be consistent. The clatter made by Mr.

Ward Hunt about a few worn out boilers was very effective no doubt, like stage thunder; and the changes rung upon the necessity to ask the House for a supplementary vote of 150,000*l.* for certain repairs, produced an impression like the marching and counter-marching of a few supernumeraries in a theatrical battle; but between Mr. Hunt's party pyrotechny, and Mr. Childers' personal fencing, the true cause of naval inefficiency was altogether overlooked.

In the debate to which we have alluded, we may easily sift the wheat from the chaff. We may take the political part of it as "sound and fury, signifying nothing." We may dismiss the demand of the members for Dockyard boroughs, for more ships to be built, before we really know whether our latest type will either swim or fight, with the rejoinder of Sganarelle to the goldsmith's suggestion,* "Vous me conseillez fort bien—*pour vous.*" We may estimate the arguments of place-hunters and party hacks as Burns interpreted the overzeal of the political parson—

"For faith, the birkie wants a manse,
Sae cannilie he hums them :"—

but we cannot overlook the fact that the whole tone of the debate was low; that it was pervaded by the mistake that the remedy for naval inefficiency is the easy one of expenditure; and that it foreshadows on the part of the Ministry a disposition to return to the heroic policy of building "numbers of ships;" good ones if possible, but under all circumstances plenty of them! Least of all can we ignore the dismal conclusion that our present fleet is only "a paper fleet," and our ironclads, in the main, merely "dummies." We concur in this conclusion, not because a few ships are temporarily laid up for repairs, but because with the exception of a few ships our first line of defence is for all practical security a mockery; and we trace this dismal result, not to the failure of boilers, but to the failure of the system under which our Navy is built, and managed.

The facts we shall adduce will, we believe, clearly prove the anomalous and defective system of the Admiralty administration. The history of the last fifteen years is the detail of failure pointing logically to inherent weakness in the constitution of the governing body. It will show that while our constructive policy has been neither bold enough to confer on the country a real security, nor experimentally cautious enough to prevent inordinate expenditure, it has been so unscientific and merely initiative, as to have left unsolved and unsettled yet, the problem of the

* Molière's "L'Amour Médecin."

best type of war ship. It will show also that in the Constructive department, those who deliberate are practically irresponsible, while those technologically skilled are virtually powerless. And it brings us to the conclusion that the Board of Admiralty controls without knowledge, the Controller manages with no real authority, and that the subordinates work under no stimulus of direct self-interest; in short, that the system is cumbrous, anomalous, and defective, and the result a condition of the Navy which luckily for the future security of the country has produced "*a scare*"!

The active superintendence of the Admiralty extends over two distinct departments, that of building and repairing the Navy, and that of sailing the fleet—in other words, the Constructive service and the Service afloat.

The estimated expenditure for the present year may be taken as follows:—

Constructive Service.

Vote 6. Dockyards	... ..	£1,180,326
" 10. Section 1.—Naval Stores for building, repairing, &c.	... ..	1,143,159
Section 2.—Contract ships and engines	... ..	707,904
" 11. New works, machinery, &c.	... ..	682,061
" 13. Law charges (part)	... ..	5,000
" 14. Miscellaneous (part)	... ..	5,000
" 3. Admiralty Office (half)	... ..	89,033
" 16. Civil pensions to artificers and part of officers' pensions, being in reality "wages"	... ..	174,536
		£3,987,019

Service Afloat.

Vote 1. Wages to seamen, &c.	... ..	£2,602,757
" 2. Victuals and clothing	... ..	1,064,264
" 3. Admiralty Office (half)	... ..	89,033
" 4. Coast Guard, &c.	... ..	163,311
" 5. Scientific branch	... ..	111,170
" 7. Victualling yards	... ..	72,885
" 8. Medical establishments	... ..	63,701
" 9. Marine divisions	... ..	18,720
" 12. Medicines, &c.	... ..	70,520
" 13. Martial law, Law charges	... ..	10,605
" 14. Miscellaneous (part)	... ..	108,510
" 15. Half-pay, active list	... ..	172,759
		£4,548,235

The totals represent the portions of the annual cost of the two departments over which the Admiralty has a dispensing and controlling power. The balance of the whole sum voted is for pensions, superannuations, &c. Over this portion death alone, *equo pede*, has any immediate influence.

The importance of our fleet cannot be over-estimated; but our appreciation of this part of our national defences must go deeper and further than traditional sentiment. The beauty of utility has over-riden all visual prettiness in the individual ship, and we must further be content to gauge the value of the fleet by what it will do in the hour of need, and not by names, numbers, and mere show. Our position is insular; we have the largest mercantile marine afloat; we are the most extensive shipbuilders in the world: and our commerce penetrates to every port on the globe. Should war break out these several interests must look to the Navy for protection; it is the buckler to guard our shores from invasion, and what else is there to turn back the tide of war to our enemies' waters, and to preserve untarnished the honour of England's flag? Not in one, but in all respects, therefore, our chief reliance would rest upon the operations of the Navy.

But insular, maritime, and commercial England, with all her pressing necessities, and all her glorious opportunities, has been content, so far, to take a subordinate place in the race of naval improvement. The skill and energy, backed by the vast material resources of this country, have never been allowed to measure her wants and exercise their capabilities *by her own standard*. Native skill has been confined to detail, and our progress has been by fits and starts, under alternate phases of apathy and panic, with no higher aim than to better the best of our weaker neighbours!

The French set us the example of propelling war ships by steam. We, thenceforth, in hot haste, set about the task of converting the sailing ships we were then so proud of, into screw steamers. When we were about to draw breath and felt ready to congratulate ourselves that we had beaten our neighbours at their own game, they doubled upon us with a new idea, and initiated the era of ironclads by the success of *La Gloire*.

First sceptical, then startled, then reckless, we harked back, and set about superseding our new wooden steamers by enormous, but weak ironclads.

Then, having treated Captain Coles, in regard to the turret principle, as prophets are usually treated in their own country; having no policy but imitation, and distracted by the fact that the country we usually copied clung to broadside ships, while the Americans, whose rivalry we most dreaded, cultivated the Monitor

type, we were, like Issachar, "crouching between two burdens." We dreaded to neglect either, and half-heartedly we have tried, and failed to take up both!

"Wax to receive—(in panic), and marble to retain"—(in obstinacy) our practical translation of the naval motto *semper paratus*, has been *too late*. In 1859, we were struggling to reach the French standard in the development of our steam Navy, and before the end of 1861, we had converted sixteen sailing ships into screw steamers, at a cost of 983,126*l*. But in spite of this best possible evidence of our convictions that no type would answer but steam war ships, in the programme of work for 1861, new wooden sailing vessels were actually ordered to be built.* It would hardly have been worth while to call attention to this little episode in Admiralty management, had the infatuation stopped here; but while this process was going on, we were positively reconverting wooden screws into armour-plated ships.† Thus we were building sailing ships while we were converting sailing ships into steamers, and while we were laying down and building wooden screws, we were simultaneously pulling wooden screws to pieces to re-convert them into ironclads, protected by armour plates, already rendered obsolete by improved artillery!

In 1859, notwithstanding our fever of "reconstruction," we were fairly committed to the building of ironclads. Experimental hesitation was for awhile discarded, and by April, 1861, we had four large ships partially protected by 4½ inch plates, completed at a cost of 1,288,788*l*.

In rapid succession followed three more partially protected ships, costing 1,147,829*l*.; and thus, before 1863 had expired, we were enabled to boast of seven huge ironclads afloat, on which we had expended a total of 2,436,117*l*.

Simultaneously we were altering four large wooden screw steamers, upon which we introduced the plan of complete protection, and one partially protected, at an expenditure of 1,419,411*l*.

We were also building three larger ships with 5½ inch armour, but with reduced backing of wood, the combined resisting efficacy of which was stated to be, by the late Chief Constructor, "in all probability at least equal to that of the *Warrior*." They therefore belong to the 4½ inch or *Warrior* class. These vessels cost 1,389,265*l*.

* Eighteen sailing ships were laid down after conversion began, and cost 295,367*l*. Of this amount 165,453*l*. was returned into store. The absolute loss to the country was 129,914*l*.—Mr. Seeley's Committee "Report."

† *Caledonian*, *Ocean*, *Royal Alfred*, *Royal Oak*, and *Prince Consort* were ordered to be altered into armour-clads from May 14th to June 5th, 1861.

From 1863 to 1866 several smaller ships of Mr. Reed's designs were launched, all having $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch plating, and one, the *Bellerophon*, with 6 inch, and costing, with the two small turret ships, bought from the Messrs. Lairds, and one of Captain Coles' design, 2,236,825*l*.

From the year 1859 to 1866, therefore, we built or purchased twenty-five broadsides, and three turret ships, at a total outlay of 7,481,618*l*., all with one exception having $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch plates, or their equivalent, *and every one of which was as little defended from the guns which were in use during the time of their being built as the old wooden ships were from the 68-pounder!*

The last phase of building in batches was consummated by the late Mr. Corry. In two years, 1867 and 1868, eleven ironclads were commenced. In the "disquieting debate," as it was termed by *The Times*, on the last Navy Estimates, this heroic treatment of the Navy question was pointed to with pride by the dominant party as the *ne plus ultra* of administrative wisdom. It was in this spirit that Mr. Ward Hunt triumphantly asked, "Where should we have been as regarded our fleet, had that policy not been pursued by the late Mr. Corry?" As regards the past, the exultation is harmless; but as an indication of the policy to be pursued by the party now in power, the question is a serious one indeed. Seven of the eleven ships laid down by Mr. Corry were inefficient specimens of an obsolete type. They were broadside ships, and the prevailing weight of opinion of naval architects and seamen was then in favour of turret ships. They were armoured with 6 inch plates, when 6 inch plates had been proved to be incapable of resisting the guns already afloat. They are indeed useful to swell the list of our ironclad ships. They help now to make up a goodly array of tons, guns, horse-power and men afloat. They furnish excellent material for a First Lord's annual "Song of Triumph;" but for fighting purposes they might as well be a part of Homer's catalogue of the Grecian ships.

The remaining four ships commenced by Mr. Corry are on the turret principle, one of them being the ill-fated *Captain*, another the *Hotspur*, whose turret does not revolve, and another the *Glutton*, the latter having 12 inch armour generally.

During the fever of broadside, insufficiently protected ironclad shipbuilding we have described, Captain Coles was persistently urging upon the Admiralty the advantages of his turret system, and was so successful because of his importunity that he induced the authorities to order the *Royal Sovereign* to be converted from a wooden screw into a razeed turret ship. She was finished and tried in 1864, and Captain Sherard Osborne reported her to be "the most formidable vessel of war I have ever been on

board of. She could easily destroy, if her guns were rifled (she had only smooth bore guns and the old wooden carriages) any of our present ironclads, whether of the *Warrior*, *Hector*, or *Research* class. Her handiness, speed, weight of broadside, and the small target she offers, increase tenfold her powers of assault and retreat." In 1867—Mr. Corry's red-letter year—the Controller of the Navy in reporting upon the competitive designs furnished by seven shipbuilding firms, in reply to an Admiralty circular, remarks:—"I have so repeatedly expressed my opinion as to the essential merits and qualities of the turret system of armament, that I am loth to repeat it here; but as I still hold that for coast defences, for the attack of fortresses and arsenals, for inland waters, rivers, &c. &c., the turret system of armament properly designed in vessels known as the *Monitor* type is superior to all others, and the most formidable engine of war that can well be conceived, so I still maintain that combining a sea-going vessel with masts, rigging, and sails, and this kind of armament, entails a sacrifice of a large portion of its efficiency and compels a choice to be made between serious difficulties, the solution of which in a satisfactory manner has not yet been accomplished."

Mr. Reed, in his work on "Our Ironclad Ships," concurs generally in this opinion, but intimates that he nevertheless possessed the key to the solution of the difficulty. He says (p. 229), "The only description of rigged turret ship which I believe would be at all likely to succeed sufficiently to justify its large adoption is one which I contrived at the Admiralty some years ago, but of which no example has yet been built." As to the more important question of the sea-going qualities of turret ships, the *Royal Sovereign* was, in 1864, already afloat, and in commission, and a cruise in heavy weather would have done much to solve this *questio vexata*. But the Admiralty was content to leave the point undetermined. Her calm weather trial was all she was subjected to, and with all her reported good qualities, and with the power which she alone at that time possessed to settle the turret controversy, she was laid aside, and naval architects were thus left to wrangle on.

This is not the only case of neglected opportunity as regards the turret system. The *Captain* and *Monarch*, costing 334,016*l.*, were ordered to be built as sea-going turret ships, in spite of the strong opinions of the Controller and the Chief Constructor. It is just possible, but hardly probable (else why was the *Royal Sovereign* converted at all?) that the case of a converted ship might have been deemed to be an insufficient test. It might therefore be held that a more searching and complete experiment should be made before the important case of turrets *versus*

broad-sides should be decided, or at least before the best type of turret ship could be determined. The logic of Boards of Admiralty being peculiar, the country could only submit and wait. But surely self-contradiction is substituted for bad logic when, on the eve of conclusive trial of the two new turret ships, and when all controverted points were yet in doubt, the Admiralty resolved to commit the country to the expenditure of 1,000,000*l.* to build four other turret ships respecting which an ex-First Lord of the Admiralty stated at the Institution of Naval Architects (March, 1869), that they were "such as I may say with confidence have never before been heard of!" This decision (to build) seems all the more strange to the unofficial mind, because it was taken, so far as time at least was concerned, in opposition to strongly expressed professional opinion. The following extract from a "circular" addressed to a number of Naval officers, explains itself:—

"You know there is to be a debate in the House about the turret question, on Mr. Samuda's motion, to substitute two turret ships instead of two broadside ships building, without waiting to try the *Captain* and *Monarch* at sea. Mr. Corry would like to have all the information he can on the subject . . . for or against the turret as a sea-going ship."

The following replies were received. Captain Willes writes:—"I think the Admiralty quite right in not substituting two turret ships for the broadside ones in the building programme, until the *Captain* and *Monarch* have been properly tried at sea." Captain Hall "sincerely trusts that no pressure of irresponsible opinion will tempt the Board of Admiralty to order other sea-going turret ships to be built, until the *Monarch* and *Captain* have been fairly and honestly tried, their defects discovered, and improvements suggested." Admiral Yelverton says, "All things considered, I am clearly of opinion that the two turret ships *Captain* and *Monarch* ought to be fairly tested as sea-going ships before we venture on building other vessels of the sort." Rear-Admiral Warden states it to be "quite open to doubt whether it is wise at the present moment to commence building two more turret ships when there are two so near completion, and which will soon be on trial." Captain Foley writes:—"I think it would be extreme folly to do so (*i.e.*, build two more turrets), until such time as the *Captain* and *Monarch* now building have had a trial at sea."

These opinions were lessons of wisdom when they suited party purposes. They enabled a First Lord "to dish" a troublesome opponent. But when applied to purposes of practical guidance they were altogether ignored. It must be borne in mind that the *Captain* and *Monarch* were not only turret ships, but also

fully rigged sea-going turret ships. One desideratum in a sea-going war ship is obviously, that she shall efficiently combine sail power with steam propulsion. It is equally obvious that the possession of this desideratum should not compromise the essential qualities of a fighting ship, nor encounter the risk of dangerous disturbance to her seaworthiness. Coals are a limited element on shipboard, and coals ought to be economized on board a cruiser. But to neutralize the general efficiency of the vessel by the preponderance of one set of considerations, is only the beginning of that chain of reasoning which would never send the ship to sea at all.

Theoretically, we believe, the principle developed in the *Devastation* class of war ship (the four we have adverted to) as an unhampered fighting machine, to be sound. For battle at sea, masts, spars, and rigging are an anomaly. Had steam propulsion preceded that of sails, a proposition to fit up a fighting ship with a small grove of masts and spars, with their maze of ropes and complication of bitts, blocks, and fittings, would be very properly scouted as a craze. The whole complication has grown with our apprehension as part of the nature of a ship, not conformable to reason, but to custom and a foregone necessity, and as little to be questioned as the mane and tail of a horse. By the trial of the two-rigged turret ships, light might have been thrown upon this question, and the trial was near at hand. And yet, notwithstanding the strongly expressed and unanimous opinions we have quoted—notwithstanding the importance and difficulty of the problem to be solved, and the imminence of its expected solution, the Admiralty determined to build four large ships dependent solely upon steam propulsion; and for two of them provision was made in the Navy Estimates in March, 1869. The verdict was thus given first and the evidence heard afterwards!*

We have already said that we believe the theory of mastless

* Sir Spencer Robinson remarks upon this point :—"The several objections made to the design are thus disposed of. They were, first, the necessity of waiting for the trial of the *Captain* and *Monarch*. It has been shown that the trial of these ships will tell us nothing about the new design."—And yet the *Captain* and *Monarch* were built to "ascertain the advantages or disadvantages of central armament in a sea-going ship." (See "Minute of First Lord of the Admiralty with reference to H.M. ship *Captain*.")—The "new design" was stated by Sir S. Robinson himself, March 24th. 1869, at a meeting of the Committee to which a design of the *Devastation* class was submitted, to be "*specially designed as powerful sea-going ships*."—Hence the *Captain* and *Monarch* and the "new design" were classes of ships similar in aim, so far as being "sea-going" went. The same end was, however, to be differently attained. Which means of attainment was best, a single experimental ship would have proved. To commit the nation to an outlay of 1,000,000*l.* before proof of any kind was reckless.

unhampered fighting ships to be sound. But we freely admit that in naval matters theory is apt to be disturbed by fact. The incidence of a particular law under certain circumstances may be easily and correctly estimated. But the combined result of the mutual interference of a diversity of laws under varying conditions, is not readily to be determined, if at all, by any *a priori* reasoning. Experiment, trial, experience, gathered it may be through partial success or absolute failure, are necessary steps to naval perfection. Some slight unknown cause may disturb the surest calculations, and no one can be certain of precisely similar qualities even in ships built on identical lines, and sent to sea under the same conditions. The decision, therefore, in the case of the turret ships to act independently of experience, showed an empiricism above and beyond scientific deduction; and the condemnation of this decision is to be found in the supervening caution which modified portions of the design of some, and altogether changed the conditions of others, of the four "never before heard of" ships.*

During the fifteen years the ship building operations of which we have reviewed, we find distinct processes of building, reconstruction, conversion and supercession, *each overlapping the other*, and all crowned by waste and failure. We have noted some of the most important steps taken in direct opposition to the most competent technical and professional authorities; and we have seen in the face of doubt and controversy that the means to remove that doubt, and terminate such controversy, were overlooked and neglected. The results we may summarize in the words of Mr. Ward Hunt. We have obtained a magnificent ironclad "*paper fleet*;" our ships are "*dummies*," and not "*real and effective*." But this result is due, not as he puts it, because they are under repair, or even worn out, but because they always were intrinsically worthless for fighting purposes. His remedy is to build—build! Where should we have been (he asks) if Mr. Corry had not given us a number of 6 inch plated ships? The inference therefore is that he will, as soon as he can, lay down a number of the best ships according to the lights of Admiralty

* Not only were such ships "never before heard of" as regards their absence of masts, but they also initiated a principle never before heard of amongst Boards of Admiralty—viz., "that the defensive armour, if carried at all, must be able to resist the artillery it was likely to meet!" This is a naïve confession for a Controller to make in 1869. Startling as it is, we might have ascribed the neglect of such a principle as that protected ships should be protected, to the fact that Boards of Admiralty had no technical knowledge of the subject, were it not for the astounding statement which follows—viz., "*This great and valuable concession on the part of the Admiralty was not obtained without great resistance!*"—Memorandum by Sir Spencer Robinson on New Designs for Ironclad Ships. "Appendix to Report of Committee on Designs."

experts, which ships the general experience of the last fifteen years fairly proves, will be obsolete before they are launched !

With such a result before us, and knowing Mr. Hunt's interpretation of the lesson it conveys, it is worth while to trace the cause. No argument should be needed to show that to insure an effective Navy, and to dispense economically the vast sum this branch of our service annually absorbs, a competent knowledge of the processes and results this outlay is intended to work out is required. Shipbuilding is essentially one of the most complicated and recondite of all constructive arts. It requires the artist's eye, the mathematician's analysis, and the technical skill of the mechanic. No one can direct the varied agencies employed in shipbuilding without a certain amount of professional training ; or can accomplish its aims, and utilize the materials employed, without the practical aptitude which can only be obtained from a familiarity with the details and management of a well organized establishment.

The country possesses five of the largest shipbuilding and repairing establishments in the world. The fixed capital is not far short of 10,000,000*l.*, and the average quantity of material kept in stock was four and three-quarters millions when timber which required seasoning was used ; and now in the days of iron building, about two and a half millions, for the production of work worth some 4,000,000*l.* annually.

To conduct with economy and efficiency constructive establishments so extensive, and to deal with sums so vast, common sense would surely say, "obtain at any cost the highest possible professional ability, and endow it with full and direct personal responsibility." Only the most disastrous joint-stock incapacity, or ignorance the most crass, or indifference the most fatuous, could suggest—*a priori*—the possibility of entrusting these vast, varied, and complex interests to the control of a shifting political body, bereft of all professional training !

But what is the fact ?

The absolute and responsible superintendence of the shipbuilding and repairing departments of the Navy (as distinguished from the political and financial departments and the service afloat) is put into the hands of a board, not one member of which is required to have undergone, or to possess any professional training.* None of the members of the Admiralty has had, or was expected to acquire any practical acquaintance with the

* "I never did feel at the Admiralty that I had either the knowledge, or the control, or the responsibility which I think the Minister who is the head of so great a department ought to have."—Sir John Pakington : "Evidence before Committee on the Board of Admiralty," p. 179.

designing or building of sea-going ships. The permanent practical but irresponsible head of the five gigantic shipbuilding establishments of the country—the Controller—has always been *not* a naval architect, or civil engineer, or mechanic, *but a seaman*. The chief superintendents of all these establishments are also seamen, whose professional training has been at sea, superintending sailors, not shipwrights; engaged in navigating, not in constructing, ships of war!

It is no answer to these statements of fact, that the highest technical skill may be, and probably is, obtained in the subordinate departments, and that this also takes place in large private establishments. Principals in private firms are, as a rule, masters of their business, which from its constitution a Board of Admiralty is not.* They possess the digestive and assimilative function. They hire capable managers to supplement their own brains with efficient hands. They hear, and see, and at times consult, but they have the trained capacity to *form their own opinions, use their own judgments, and determine their own course*. If the members of a Board of Admiralty acted with the vigour and independence of partners in private establishments, in the exercise of their own judgments, the inevitable result would be to dislocate or deadlock the whole system. If, on the other hand, they merely endorse and register the opinions of subordinate advisers, the result is likely to be equally disastrous by taking away all responsibility to Parliament and the country from those who practically govern in Whitehall.

Mr. Goschen explained the Admiralty theory of personal responsibility (July, 1872), stating that Mr. Childers "had made every man responsible for his own work." But to whom? If a servant acts on his own conviction, he is responsible to his master for such acts; but if a servant advises his master to take or permit a certain course, and the master after inquiry and consideration adopts that advice, the servant clearly shifts the onus upon his superior. He may lose prestige in case of failure, and his opinion in future have less weight; but direct punishment or censure is out of the question. And as Mr. Childers' system was to gather the power to decide into his own hands, and as he did so decide, we cannot understand the co-existence of inferior personal responsibility under any fair interpretation of the term. On the other hand, let the theory be what it may, no one supposes that a civilian unprofessional First Lord is

* We speak, of course, of the Constructive Service only. The Board of Admiralty is composed as follows:—First Lord, First Naval Lord, Third Lord and Controller (since separated), Junior Naval Lord, Civil Lord; or two Civilians, and three Naval Members. The professional constructive element is entirely absent.

responsible for the structural errors of any ship, or class of ships, and the First Lord must know it. The mind's eye rests at once upon the skilled adviser; and the colourless theoretical responsibility serves no other purpose than to round off a sentence in a party speech. It is to this absence of knowledge in those who decide, and to the elimination of responsibility from those who advise, an arrangement at once weak, irritating, and anomalous, that we may in a great measure ascribe the tissue of continuous waste and error which has produced our present costly, but useless fleet. This system we condemn, without in the remotest degree blaming the individuals who are the component parts of that system. Moreover, in justice to the naval profession, some of whose members' lines have fallen into pleasant Admiralty places, it must be said, that in general intelligence, and in the command of mental resources in emergencies, no other profession is superior. But the argument is simply this: that common sense people don't go to a clever lawyer to cure their ailments, nor to a medical celebrity to teach their children; and in the case before us the absurdity may be brought home, by supposing a smart foreman shipwright to be made captain of an ironclad, or Mr. Barnaby to be offered the command of the Channel Fleet.

But, "not to be worst, stands in some stead of praise." Bad as our case may be, we are told to take heart of grace because all other nations are worse. We have had the argument, *ad nauseam*, that our fleet is more numerous, more powerful, and more efficient than all the navies put together of all the world. We are told, to reassure the timid, and to make bolder the bold, that we have thirty-six broadside ironclads, one ram, and thirteen turret ships; in all, fifty armour-plated ships afloat, and five building. But quite independently of the boiler epidemic, there are, as we have already intimated, "disquieting" influences at work which will upset the numerical value of this imposing array. Mr. Reed was not far from the mark when in his letter to the *Times* of October 21, 1872, he said:—"In these times of rapid change, superiority lies mainly in the growing power of *individual ships*, and while even a single power may easily surpass you, the simultaneous construction of very powerful (individual) ships, in several navies, may rapidly jeopardize your position." We may add to this an opinion as to the peculiarity of that individual power—namely, that it gives not only a superiority of *aggressive force, but of simultaneous defensive security*. Mr. Reed has permitted his imagination to realize the possibility of the Russian "bogey"—the *Peter the Great*, when finished, and if a success, steaming into English ports. Of course, before she could penetrate our harbours, our civilia First Lord would order

out the whole of our $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch plated ships, aided by our 6 inch plated ships, and backed up by our few 7 inch, 8 inch, and 9 inch plated ships. These altogether would make up a total of forty-one, out of our redoubtable fifty.

Now if we suppose the *Peter the Great* to have on board four Krupp guns, equal to our Woolwich infants—(or, as there is, according to Mr. Goschen, something bogeyish or myth-like about this formidable vessel *in posse*, let us come home to a reality like our own *Devastation*)—what could a vessel of this individual power desire more ardently than that the whole of our ironclad fleet should flock out to give her a warm reception? "*One butcher does not fear many sheep*," says the old Greek proverb—except not to be able to catch them!—and here, like the Royalists before Cromwell's "Ironsides"—"the Lord has delivered them into his hand." Every time her four formidable guns were discharged, the sides, and probably the bottoms also, blown outwards, of four of our magnificent *Warriors* would be smashed like glass, and short shrift be allowed to ships and men; and every time our splendid ships concentrated their broadsides upon their enemy, all the shells which did not miss the small target she would present, would drop from her sides, to use a simile of Robert Hall's, "like soft peas thrown against a hard rock." And whenever such unhandy vessels attempted to ram their adversary, he would simply show them a light pair of heels (screws), get out of their way, and thank them for thus making his own shot more certain and deadly.

Let us change the scene. Suppose in the plenitude of our nominal power, and with the perversity of infatuation, we send thirty-six broadside sheep (should war break out) to blockade the ports of America, with the infallible result of keeping away their cotton from our Lancashire spindles. We should no doubt, if we succeeded, embarrass our adversaries, and renew for ourselves the fearful tragedy of the Cotton Famine. But should we succeed? Imagine our huge, weak, unwieldy broadsides, after a month's passage over the Atlantic, and after a month's cruise off New York; with a precarious supply of coal, and bottoms so foul as to lose two to three knots per hour of speed. Imagine also, our keen-witted, energetic opponents improvising a series of single heavy guns, mounted on small craft of the *Saunch* type, and with a crew just sufficient to work them. On the one side would be an almost invisible speck, on the other a series of the most magnificent targets human ingenuity could put before a gunner's aim at sea. Here we should have the modern realization of the ancient proverb—the "one butcher"—and the helpless flock of "many sheep." Were the flock to scatter, where would be the blockade? Were they, with the devoted courage of the

British seaman, to hold on to the duties prescribed to them by British political wisdom, we have only to realize the effect of a 1000lbs. shell bursting in their weakly sides from a distance (if weather permitted) of over six miles,* and converting first one and then another of our "powerful fleet" into the vast slaughter-houses Mr. Cobden truly said that the old wooden three-deckers would be made by the 68-pounder shells! Send our sea-going broadsides into the Baltic—pit them against Cronstadt—set them to destroy the German arsenals: could they better the effects of the fleet under Sir Charles Napier, or overcome the torpedo defences that paralysed the French fleet in 1871? Could they even seal up the war ships of our enemy, and so protect our commerce, for would not this be renewing the same farce as the supposititious blockade of New York?

We have already dealt with the argument founded upon the comparative strength of our own and foreign navies by showing (in reversion of the mechanical axiom that the weakest part of a structure is the measure of its fullest strength), that the most powerful individual ship is the co-efficient of the effective strength of a whole fleet. In other words, the multiplication of weak elements in a navy gives no practical addition of strength; or to put the case more clearly, the relative power of two antagonistic fleets would be determined *cæteris paribus* by the absence of weak ships.

So far back as 1862 the relative effect of guns and plates was well known from experiment. Mr. Scott Russell, one of the designers of the *Warrior*, summed up, in a paper read before the Institution of Naval Architects, in 1863, the evidence as follows:—

Thickness of plate.			Weight of shot.
4½ inches	...	equal to	... 68 lbs.
6½ "	...	"	... 136 lbs.
7½ "	...	"	... 200 lbs.— 6½ ton gun.
8½ "	...	"	... 270 lbs.
10 "	...	"	... 400 lbs.—18 ton gun.
11 "	...	"	... 500 lbs.
12 "	...	"	... 600 lbs.—25 ton gun.

Since that time the improvement in the making up of powder has increased the initial velocity considerably, and the relation between the two may be roughly estimated as the square of the thickness of the resisting plate. Our numerous 4½ inch armoured ships, therefore, represent a resisting capacity of 20: Mr. Corry's model broadside 6 inch batch, one of 36. The *Monarch* creeps

* "Statement of Sir J. Whitworth."

up to 49, and the *Hercules*, a most redoubtable broadside specimen of Mr. Reed's design, gets up to 81. Then comes the "individual ship," the *Devastation*, which realizes 144. The *Fury* will reach 196; and the *Inflexible* is the commentary upon and condemnation of all of them, for she attains to a defensive capacity from her 24 inch plates of 576! Hence the resisting strength now considered safe and necessary is nearly twenty-nine times as great as that of the bulk of our ironclad fleet.

While armour is being thickened artillerists are not idle. Sir William Armstrong has stated that the Elswick Company would accept orders for rifled guns of 14 inch calibre, throwing shot of *half a ton weight*, with a charge of 224lbs., and to pledge their reputation on the success of the undertaking. Sir Joseph Whitworth has expressed his conviction that with an 11 inch bore his new breech-loader would penetrate armour 16 inches thick at 1000 yards.*

The Report of the Committee on Designs states that "Guns able to pierce 20 inch and 24 inch armour are doubtless within the resources of science, and even the latter thickness may not continue impenetrable;" and the 80 ton gun contemplated in the Woolwich factory will no doubt bear out these opinions in practice.

To set against this witheringly conclusive evidence of the uselessness of our present fleet, we have to notice two arguments. 1st, that the ships may prove effective as rams; and 2nd, that they may effectually damage their more powerful adversaries by a "concentrated fire."

We believe the ram, whenever and wherever *it could be put to use*, would be the most effective mode of dealing with an antagonist at sea. The crushing effect of 5000 to 10,000 tons delivering a blow at a velocity of ten to fourteen miles per hour, would be enormous. The few known cases of ramming have been cases of entire destruction of the rammed ships. The essential difference of an immense weight, moving at a small velocity, as compared with one of a small weight, at a high velocity, is that of a tremendous squeeze compared with a sharp punching blow. The effect of a puncture is local; that of a crush may injure the whole ship's side; and without perforation, so damage is as to cause the ship to sink from leakage.

But "first catch your hare" is a good maxim. We believe the cases in which such ships as the *Minotaur* could catch their hare to deliver a ramming blow of full effect would be few indeed. We believe that no case of such opportunity would ever

* "Letters from Sir William Armstrong and Sir J. Whitworth, addressed to Chairman of Committee to Examine the Designs upon which Ships of War have recently been constructed."—Report, 1872.

present itself, except when a ship might be so disabled that it would be cruelty to take advantage of it. Before the attack could be made, the ship must move through space enough to acquire full speed, and a vigilant adversary would have ample time to evade the blow, or escape the effects by moving *in the same direction*. A swifter and more ready vessel might even turn the tables on her foe; for ramming is a game two can play at, and victory would surely remain with the vessel which, in addition to superior manœuvring qualities, was stronger in fabric and more heavily armed. If, therefore, one of our largest iron-clads were to risk the cast of the die, and escaped being sunk by 30 ton guns *as she approached*, she inevitably would be sent to the bottom, when she had aimed and missed her blow!

To answer the second argument, we may call an experienced officer, Captain Scott, as a witness.* He says:—

“The size of a gun is of vast importance, more than is generally assigned to it, and for this reason—twenty guns, each 1-pounder, are fired at a target of iron $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, and produced no effect; one gun, a 20-pounder, is fired and smashes it, the velocity in both cases being equal; in both cases the same amount of metal is used, and on this principle an official record of experiments at Portsmouth states that one 68-pounder produced more destruction than five 32-pounders. Arguing from this, it appears that one 150-pounder is more effective than ten 68-pounders, one 330-pounder is equal to seven 150-pounders, and a broadside of three 330-pounders is more destructive than ten and a-half *Warriors*” (then carrying twenty 68-pounders).

If this be correct, and no doubt it is so in the *principle* it enunciates, we may fairly repeat our former inference that a *Devastation*, with an all round fire of four 700-pounders, could with her speed keep out of range of, and by her strength defy if within range, the “concentrated fire” of the comparatively numerous ineffective guns of our weakly armoured ships; while, choosing her time and opportunity, she could successively smash and sink the whole lot of them. In fact, the best use of a “concentrated fire” would be to make smoke, under cover of which, like the cuttle fish, our magnificent fleet might escape!

The errors we have reviewed arising from the anomalous composition of our Naval Administration, is narrowed but intensified in the management of the Dockyards. Taking into account the constitution of the managing body, let us apply this practical test:—Would any sane capitalist think of investing his money in a private company to be so constituted and managed? What dividend would he expect? How long would bankruptcy be

* “Remarks made at the Royal United Service Institution in 1863.” These remarks are quoted without being fully endorsed by Mr. Reed.

staved off? Would the "honour and glory," the "regardless of expense," or the "independence" excuse for bad management and wasteful expenditure, be admitted? Or would the idea that the business could ever be left to the effect of a conspiracy of private firms to pass off bad materials, scamped workmanship, or extravagant prices be entertained?

The "honour and glory" argument may be put at once into Carlyle's category of "dinner and wine and one cheer more." The "independent" theory is answered by the logic of facts. Government now is as dependent for the raw materials, as they would be, if they ceased entirely to be manufacturers on their own account. The notion of being "independent" of the rest of the community is only less absurd in degree than the idea that prices can be regulated otherwise than by the operation of known laws. When ships are to be built, the materials must be bought, and the quality of iron ranges from "Wednesbury sham dam" to "Swedish charcoal." Hemp must be purchased to make rope, and "Government examination" is not a phrase whereby to conjure. Wheat is not of homogeneous excellence, and the corn market must be resorted to if bakers be ever so roguish or traders generally be so cunning as to subvert economic science in the market value as to the price and quality of ship biscuit.

There are comprised in the generic term Dockyard establishment, no less than thirty-three distinct trades, so separate and unique, as to require special balance sheets. Many of them, no doubt, are legitimate and economical adjuncts to a shipbuilding and repairing establishment; but a considerable number are carried on to insure the best quality of the article required;—in other words, to evade imposition. But in these, as in all instances, the quality of workmanship and materials is a question of *efficient superintendence*; and satisfactory results may as easily be obtained outside of, as within the limits of the Dockyard walls. Human nature is the same within, as beyond those limits. Incapacity, or carelessness, or the curse of "the itching palm" are not local, nor are they class evils, nor is such corruption fastidious as to the objects whereupon it fastens. In the purchase and approval of raw materials, or in the overlooking or passing of "scamping" in contract work, equally eligible opportunities present themselves. It is, therefore, as idle as reckless to make sweeping comparisons founded upon exceptional cases, and to condemn whole classes of honourable traders, because amongst them, as everywhere, black sheep may exist.

But the argument founded upon quality is proved to be practically inapplicable by the fact that the most complicated and expensive parts of a ship's equipment, and upon the excellence of which their safety and efficiency most pressingly depend, are,

and always have been, bought from private makers, and not manufactured under the *quasi* superintendence of the Board of Admiralty. Steam engines, chronometers, ship's pumps, sailcloth, and anchors and cables might be scamped more easily than ship's hulls—but has it ever been surmised that the satisfaction expressed in the report of the Committee of Enquiry as to the supply of steam engines was false in fact, or erroneous in judgment? Is it anticipated, with respect to any of the necessities enumerated, that in time of war, or in any period of enlarged demand, the price will not be fairly regulated by the well ascertained law of supply and demand? Is it to be credited that long established firms of high character are not to be trusted by Government as they are daily trusted by the public?

In the days of wooden ships the exigency of seasoning oak frames, and the exceptional sizes of the scantling used for ships of war, made it a matter of necessity that the Admiralty should undertake the building of such ships. But the use of iron has changed all that. No large stock is needed, no seasoning being required. The sizes of scantling can be ordered when wanted, and the quality can be specified to the makers and tested when required by private builders, as well as by Government. The quality of workmen in any trade is an average item throughout the trade. The variations of workmanship, above and below the average, depend in the long run upon management, and upon the *esprit de corps* maintained in particular establishments. As is the head of any concern, so will be the workmen, as to skill, care, honesty, and industry.* An idle workman is, *cæteris paribus*, a bad workman, and his work becomes deteriorated—and in all particulars the searching, energetic, interested management of individuals must, in the end, produce results which may be fairly supposed to contrast favourably with Government establishments devoid of (if we may use the term) all *selfish* stimulus in superintending the workmen.

"My Lords" know nothing of the technicalities of the trades they are appointed to direct;—and their average official existence being only two years, they have no chance of acquiring any but a dangerous smattering of their new occupation. Their visits of inspection are solemn farces, seen through and understood by all concerned.

* "The variations in the cost of labour expended upon sister ships in different dockyards, can only be thus accounted for. The *Pearl*, at Woolwich, cost 10,520*l.*; while the *Cadmus*, a precisely similar vessel, cost only 7310*l.* The *Shannon*, at Portsmouth, cost 5510*l.*, and the sister ship *Chesapeake* cost, at Chatham, no more than 3197*l.* At the same yard the *Mersey* cost 14,842*l.*, and the *Orlando*, at Pembroke, 19,503*l.* Mr. Large, Assistant-Surveyor, after inquiry, 'could assign no cause.'—Mr. Seeley's Committee, 1868.

The permanent heads of each of these great congeries of workshops, have probably distinguished themselves by their courage and skill at sea; and hence the fact of their appointment is *prima facie* evidence of the prevailing idea that professional constructive skill is needless. Responsibility being effectively eliminated from all subordinates, the only self-interest at work is that of salaries paid; and promotion depends quite as much, if not more, upon the negative merit of keeping things pleasant, as upon making progress. Why should any one peril a comfortable position by a restless activity? Why should any one change smiles to frowns, from thankless attempts at improvement? *Quieta non movere* is the maxim of a subordinate public official, and the result is *stagnation*.

We have no hesitation, therefore, in saying that the Dockyard establishments, moving in the grooves of routine, complicated in details, lacking responsibility as to results, deficient in technical headship, and unstimulated by self-interest, cannot compete in economical management with the more delicately sensitive organization of private establishments, possessing as they do a mobile adaptive capacity, and pervaded by a dominant spirit of profit-making and emulative progress.

Next, there is the question of the purchase of the raw material. Can Government buy in the long run as cheaply as individuals? Any exact comparison, dealing as it must do with the shifting prices of various markets, would be difficult if not impossible. But there are certain general and significant indications which show that the tendency is much in favour of individual over corporate action. A knowledge of human nature, and a realization of the practical details of business, point very clearly to the verdict in favour of a bargain driven in favour of a man's own pocket, as compared with a system working for the remote and unacknowledged, if ever understood, advantage to that abstract, thankless entity—the public. Had it been otherwise, making due allowance for the enervating moral influence of technically ignorant headship, could it have happened that 6500*l.* would have been paid for anchors, above the known market rates of first-class fabricators, and that an unnecessarily high price would have been paid for chain cables unquestioned *for eight years*? Why did we supply coal to foreign Governments abroad at a dead loss; and what does the history of the Teak market prove when prices were, by a too sudden demand, run up from 8*l.* to 9*l.* per load, to 12*l.* to 13*l.*?* When Mr. Baxter applied the pruning-knife to the natural but costly growth of a loose system, he reduced the staff of the Store department from

* • "Mr. Seeley's Committee on Admiralty Accounts, 1868."

twenty-six persons to seven, at a saving of 4752*l.* out of a total of 6443*l.** It by no means follows that the same excusive effect could be produced throughout the entire organization, but it does clearly prove that there is in that organization none of the self-adjusting capacity to prevent waste and to remedy abuse possessed by a private establishment. A thoroughly energetic and decisive man of business like the late Financial Secretary may make here and there a beneficial alteration; but nothing but a radical change of constitution in an effete system can give a permanent effect to such changes, and put the cumbrous, complicated system of our Dockyards on an economical equality with private establishments. *And the principle of that change must be to narrow the area of constructive action, under a more simple arrangement of trained management.*

It is said that Government produces at cost price, and that a private firm works for a profit over and above that cost price. It is said that the cost of building similar ironclads is less in the Government yards than the price charged by contractors. No doubt the fact is so as regarded the commencement of iron ship-building in the Dockyards. Everything was new, and emulation and *esprit de corps* not the least novelties. But we doubt its duration. A system which is radically illogical and practically inefficient can hardly be expected to produce good fruit continuously. It may be galvanized into a temporary activity, but the old lethe of habit will steal over the body again, and in the long run that which is noted as profit to the private builder, marks simply the difference between the working of the two systems. In the one case it is waste, unproductive and mischievous. In the other it is wealth created and diffused, and the community that pays it ultimately benefits. It promotes trade, employs labour, spreads enjoyment, and becomes the productive germ under the name of Capital, acting and reacting for the creation of further wealth. On the other hand, the difference is absolutely lost. It represents unused energies, wasted means—is in effect the talent wrapped in a napkin, to the injury of the whole community.

We have already intimated that the remedy for the evils arising from the present system is radically to transmute that system into one more simple and conformable to common sense.

“The strongest pinion in wisdom’s wing
Is the memory of past folly,”

and the sooner the technical departments of the Constructive Service are under trained professional headship, the wiser it will

* “Evidence before Lords’ Committee on the Board of Admiralty, 1871.”

be. The sooner also the Lords of the Admiralty contract all subsidiary manufactures about which they know nothing whatever, ranging as they do from hemp spinning to the grinding of pepper and mustard, the better for their dignity and for the practical efficiency of the service. And the more they restrict the operations of the Dockyards to the repairing of the Navy, and the more they foster the private shipbuilding (*i.e.* ship producing) power of the country, the stronger and readier England will be to meet the exigences of war with an efficient Navy.

The functions of a marine police have been assigned to the Navy, as a duty in time of peace to be discharged in all parts of the world, principally by the use of the small wooden vessels, upon which we have been so busy of late, expending large sums of money. How little creditable to the dignity of England, and how useless for an assured protection, in cases of political difficulty, a force so constituted really is, may be gathered from the fact that a single small Spanish ironclad made Admiral Dundas "swallow the leek" at the bombardment of Callao, in 1866. Had that officer not been sensible enough to have seen that "discretion is the best part of valour," every ship of his squadron would have been sunk or burnt and the country involved in war. In the present state of naval development it is manifestly impossible that in all parts, at all times, and under all circumstances, we can maintain a superior force to that which by accident or design any truculent nation may choose to send out for any particular purpose. Whatever force we maintain will be known; and upon the hypothesis that the "individual ship" of superior offensive and defensive power is more than a match for many weaker ships, such known force (particularly if of wood) may easily be overmatched by second or third-rate powers. *Hence a force which is useless, except to be always ready for contingent action, and which, when that contingency arises, is morally certain to be powerless, is a mockery, a delusion, and a snare.*

Were England, however, *primarily*, to rely upon her moral force, sending her ships like sentries, or single policemen, as outposts and indications only of the majesty of a restrained power;—if her calm self-confidence and assertion in this respect were like Talbot's—

"I am but shadow of myself!"—

then such heraldry and foreshadowing of her pent-up might need not entail upon the country an annual charge of over 3,000,000*l.* The foreign stations and establishments, which were necessary in the days of sailing ships and before ocean telegraphic communication was invented, are unneeded when a message from the antipodes can reach this country in a few hours, and steam

propulsion can send with certainty a measured force to cope with a defined difficulty.

The click of the electric needle would thus summon the unquestioned means of reparation, or punishment, as the horn of Talbot did his hardy soldiers ; and, like him, her representative might soon point to an ample force and say—

“ These are my substance, sinews, arms, and strength,”

and prevent opposition as a hopeless folly. If any difficulty arose with Brazil, for example, after she has obtained the iron-clad now building for her on the Thames, how else could that difficulty be met ? Not by any wooden force which any foreign station could send to uphold the dignity and majesty of this country (and to revert to the broader question)—certainly not by any of our broadside ironclads, be they at home or abroad. If we make no hollow show of force, there can be no indignity in calmly waiting the arrival of that which is real and sufficient. But before we turn remonstrance into action, let our ships be at least able to cope with those of our adversaries. Let it not be after England's flag has been trailed and soiled in dishonour, and after boast and bluster to some third or fourth-rate power ; —or, a thousand times worse, when it has been steeped in the blood of her sons, self-sacrificed, because death was to them preferable to a stinging disgrace—that the might and majesty of England is to be asserted. The true spirit of the *Civis Romanus sum* is to be upheld, not by a palpable delusion, but by the illimitable reserve of a mighty nation's dormant strength. The imagination always embodies more terrible issues than the bald reality. The averted face of Aristides indicates more passionate sorrow than the ablest artist's most laboured delineation ; and it would be more consonant with the traditions of England's dignity,—safer for the avoidance of petty warfare,—and better for the security of the commercial interests of her citizens, that she should exact compensation by the occasional, even if deferred putting forth, once for all, of a sufficient force. Let her build up her *moral force* by clearly showing that, although tardy, she could and would on all occasions resort to real force, if necessary.

England, in common with other nations, appoints diplomatic representatives in all European courts, and to many Governments in other quarters of the world ; and in all trade emporiums she has her consular agents. But does she therefore send a military force to be near to and within the call of each and all of these representatives ? Why, then, at least for any political good likely to ensue, does she think it advisable to keep on foreign stations a force of ships too large for economy and a force, when wanted for action, too small for practical use ? We may with

advantage protect our commerce in Chinese waters against pirates; we may try to put down slavery; and we may look after missionaries and coerce barbarians in the Fiji Islands or elsewhere; but as regards civilized governments and established trade, the exhibition of an armed force is a menace only likely to bring matters to the worst issue with any high-spirited nation.

The tendency of scientific improvement in warships is to reduce the number of men required. This was the gist of Mr. Reed's speech on the estimates. "Ironclads cost double the money, and carry half the number of men." His facts are correct, but the conclusion that the basis ought to be the *men*, not the ships, is undoubtedly wrong. If there be a criterion, it ought to be the ships and guns required; and the number of men necessary to work them can then be adjusted. It may further be observed that a considerable number of the diminished crews now carried by the ironclads are *stokers*, not *sailors*: and stoking may be readily learnt. Gunnery is a skilled occupation, but a first-class turret ship carries only four guns, much of the handling of which may be effected by subordinates. We think lightly, therefore, of any argument that calls for additional ships to be built that the 46,000 blue jackets and 14,000 marines voted in the estimates, and costing no less than 3,666,000*l.*, may find something to do.

To man the Navy has always been a bugbear: but the new axiom that the most powerful ship, offensive and defensive, is the true index to naval superiority, will remove all anxiety as to the finding men enough in time of war. If the power of the "individual ship" will not suffice to remove doubt on this head, the torpedo, which inevitably must play an important part in the next naval war, ought to dissipate that doubt entirely. The *Inflexible*, with her 24 inch armour and possible 80 ton guns, is the *reductio ad absurdum* of our work of the past fifteen years; and the torpedo is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the projected defensive power of the *Inflexible*.

We have no desire to encumber our argument with vain speculations as to the possibility of war, or the course war would take, if it did break out, beyond this:—That if we declare war we shall have to solve the most puzzling State question of the last twenty years, viz., *what to attack?** and if war be declared

* It is impossible to shut out of sight the fact that while science is perfecting, loudly and imperiously, new modes of warfare, religion and civilization are not less working silently but effectually, both to mitigate its evils and to obviate its possibility. Private property and individual life are now fairly assured *on land*; and the same humane and just feeling cannot long be inoperative as regards naval operations. The seizure of private ships and private property at sea is a remnant of barbarism and savours of piracy; bombardment, except of arsenals, is cruelty; and blockade, simply suicidal.

against us—a question second only in difficulty will arise, viz., how to preserve our 4½ inch plated broadside ironclads? In all seriousness, in regard to the latter difficulty, we venture to offer this suggestion, that they should be immediately sunk in all harbour approaches as the best defensive use to which they can be put!

We adhere unreservedly to the proposition that we should at all times be prepared for war. Our interests are too vast and vital to be left to the tender mercies of unscrupulous and encroaching nations. England is too much the object of envy and jealousy to be able to ignore the malice such envy and jealousy may engender. Without being either optimists or alarmists respecting international relations, we look upon the beautiful sentiment of universal brotherhood and peace upon earth, as we look upon the Christian injunction to offer the other cheek to the smiter. In neither case ought we to offer facilities for aggression;—in both we ought to restrain lawless and unworthy passion. We hold, therefore, that to be prepared to defend ourselves, which means also, to be ready to punish insult and injury designed to bring about war, is State wisdom, and a social duty. But what is meant by being prepared? It is because we are thoroughly impressed with the necessity to be ready for the worst, *in the best and only practical way*, that we protest against the ineffectual preparation of the last fifteen years, and doubly protest against the renewal of the farce as proposed recently in the House of Commons. The meaning of the late debates is that the Ministry, in condemning, will reverse the policy of the late Administration, as to the tentative building of ironclads. The late Admiralty had a legacy of weak broadside ships left them to finish; but besides this, their action was wise and prudent, in so far as it was cautious and experimental, in working out the problem of the best type of war ship. Under this policy, prudently carried on by Mr. Goschen, we have left the expensive, bit-by-bit improvement process, born of a bigger gun, or set in motion to imitate the French, and in the case of the projected *Inflexible*, a bolder reliance upon science was initiated, instead of precedent, to ascertain the limits of armour defence. The plates of this ship will be 24 inches thick, double those of the *Devastation*; and with her the sound principle has been acted upon, not that a thicker size of plate than the preceding ship possessed was necessary to exceed her standard, *but that the utmost limit of plate dimension, capable of being worked, should, ipso facto, be adopted.*

Mr. Barnaby, Chief Naval Architect, in describing the *Inflexible* at the Institution of Naval Architects, last March, stated: "My belief is that in the *Inflexible* we have reached the extreme limit in thickness of armour for sea-going ships." "In the

Inflexible provision has been made, both offensively and defensively, for an enormous increase in the powers of artillery, without any increase in the cost of the ship." She is intended to carry four guns of 80 tons each, and the provision alluded to is to enable her to carry guns of double that size. We do not agree with Mr. Barnaby that we have reached the extreme limit in thickness of armour. It may be true that twenty-four inches is the greatest thickness at which *sound* iron plates can be rolled. It may also be true that layers of iron plates do not yield the maximum effect due to the weight of material; but it is perfectly clear that two plates of twenty-four inches will resist impact better than one, and it is equally clear that if one plate of twenty-four inches can be worked on to the vessel's side, there can be nothing to baffle the power and skill of the mechanic to bend and adjust another plate of equal thickness over the first. The power to carry any thickness of armour whatever is a question of water displacement and of constructive strength, and to these there can be no assignable limits. If, therefore, any adequate motive should exist for carrying four feet or even six feet of iron, the increased size of hull and the cheapest mode of obtaining increased displacement at the least expenditure of material, may be obtained by elliptical or even circular ships. Hence on all accounts we think Mr. Barnaby too confident in his opinion as to the limit of armour protection, even for sea-going vessels. The corollary, however, from the absence of limit to the thickness of armour defence, is to give up the mad race between guns and armour, the real issue of which can only be fairly tested by a battle at sea, to *entirely discard armour, and trust to speed alone, for all sea-going vessels*. We are now precisely *parva componere magnis*, in the position in which the fighting world was placed, when the contest raged between leaden balls and steel corslets. Our ancestors were wise enough to act upon what was sufficiently clear to common sense. Activity was held to be preferable to a fictitious security, and body armour was discarded in favour of mobility. Poor Sancho Panza was tied up between two shields at the sham attack on the Island of Barataria, and he was undoubtedly very secure, but then he had no power to seek safety in retreat! How long a time must elapse, and how much money must be wasted, before we in this country will open our eyes to the lessons of experience?

And those lessons are neither slight nor obscure. So far, in our pursuit of the ship of the future, we have been chasing a phantom. We have clutched the "air-drawn dagger," and like Macbeth, at every effort, we have had to exclaim—

"I have thee not, and yet I see thee still!"

Let us be satisfied that other nations are equally deceived, and that

they like ourselves have been cheated by appearances, and that the technical reality, like Truth, is "a pursuit, and not a possession."

What, then, is to be done? Is England no longer to rely upon her Navy for the defence of her shores, and is her commerce to be abandoned to the tender mercies of her enemies? If by "her Navy" is meant the fifty ironclads we now possess, the answer is that reliance upon them for defence would be infatuation, and for protection to commerce a delusion. If by our future Navy is meant more and more batches of broadside ships laid down in Mr. Corry's vaunted style, we shall simply be spreading our weakness, and making ourselves more vulnerable by extension. If by a Navy is meant the largest number of the best ships we can get together in the most ready manner, we must turn our attention earnestly and with a single eye to foster and develop the shipbuilding capacity of this country. Looking broadly to the future, wiser and sadder from the lessons of the past, we may infer—

1st. That it will be impossible to predicate the form or mode that attack or defence will assume under the hard reality and pressing necessities of actual warfare. Hence improvised expedients will best meet unexpected difficulties, and new tactics be more effective than an ingenious and elaborate, but perhaps useless, outfit. In all probability the well devised schemes of doctrinaires will be overturned by impromptu measures, and having said thus much we may express a strong opinion that should the tide of war run in unexpected channels, another art will work out better results than a ready-made routine.

2nd. The best preparation for war will be to stimulate and encourage the ship-producing capacity of the country. Mr. Goschen truly said at the Mansion House (Nov. 13th, 1872), "Why, after all, it is the country which can build the ship that is the powerful country." And the country that can use ten times the appliances in twenty times the establishments capable of producing the latest type of floating engine, be it what it may, that does its work best to meet the requirements of actual warfare, will be the best prepared to bring a war to a successful issue. By diffusing all orders for such few experimental ships as would keep us in the van of naval improvement, amongst our private builders, we should be keeping in training many foremen and nuclei of artisans accustomed to Government work. There are at least twenty first-class shipbuilders upon whom, if fairly encouraged, we might rely to devote the entire resources of their establishments to the production of the highest developed type of ship when war arose. No doubt we should have to pay them well, and it would be for the advantage of the nation to do so, for the question would be between some possible 50,000,000*l.*

uselessly expended and some few hundreds of thousands of pounds paid in profit to private builders for really efficient engines of war. Professional energy would of course rebel against this "do nothing policy." Inaction distresses the friends of sick patients. The piteous appeal to the doctor is to *do something*; and yielding to pressure, he probably administers what in effect the Admiralty have done to panic craving—*bread pills*!

3rd. To be able to adopt this course we should always maintain so much of purely defensive appliances as will effectually keep an enemy at bay until we are ready to meet and crush him. To accomplish this, we have already, as suggested, our magnificent 4½ inch plated broadsides to block up harbour entrances; we have torpedoes; we have land batteries; and we have the capability to mount the heaviest guns on rafts or place them in small vessels, after the manner of the *Staunch*, to keep the enemy's ships at bay.

4th. For the protection of our commercial marine and to maintain a certain supremacy at sea, high speed combined with the highest aggressive gun power are requisite; and these can best be found in large unarmoured ships of the *Inconstant* and *Raleigh* class.

5th. It may be asked, If our dockyards cease to build ships, will they not drop into a state of inefficiency? The power to produce ships depends upon certain means and appliances, such as docks, slips, machinery, but most particularly upon skilled labour. In our national establishments the docks and slips are there, and would always be available. The chance of desuetude would apply to men and machinery alone. Now, extensive as these establishments are, their resources would not be equal to the exigences of war. Under all circumstances we should have to resort to private establishments. Every means would be taxed to add to and to maintain our defensive capability. And if so, it would surely be wiser ~~and~~ develop the resources and train the *personnel* of our large private shipbuilding yards, by steady orders for experimental ships during peace, to have their yards ready and efficient in time of war. The traditions of the past, in this respect, have no bearing upon the altered circumstances of the present. It was a necessity for Government to build war ships in national dockyards, pressed upon them by the difficulty to obtain in private yards seasoned timber of suitable scantling for vessels so much larger than the largest of the mercantile marine. But now, as we have already shown, the substitution of iron for wood has changed all this.

6th. As a further essential preparation for war, the call is urgent that the dry docks in the Government yards should not be occupied by half-finished new ships. When these establish-

ments are in full activity—batch building—the principal dry docks are closed against vessels needing repairs, and in time of war *the rapid repair of a damaged ship is equal to the building of a new one.*

Our policy, therefore, clearly lies in fostering that in which England's real naval superiority consists—the producing power. A fleet in itself is an adventitious and temporary affair. A single engagement may disable or annihilate it. A violent storm may turn the balance in favour of this or that side. But the producing power is a permanent and solid condition of superiority, of which no accident, no temporary reverse, no hesitating or misdirected policy in time of peace, can rob the possessor. This power—this solid enduring basis of naval supremacy, is weightier now than even the supply of seamen from our extensive commercial marine. Both together make and will keep this country mistress of the seas. If she were to build the fleets for all the world besides, she would thereby be most effectively preparing herself for war!

7th. But the Board of Admiralty organization! Herein lies the cause of failure and weakness. What that organization really is, no one can clearly tell. When it was effected, no one really knows. By what rules it moves and works, tradition and usage, a complicated *lex non scripta*, to be expounded by experts only, can alone determine. There is in the library at the Admiralty a manuscript book, by whom composed or compiled no one is aware. This document, as mysterious as the Sibylline leaves, appears to be the best authority on the mysterious subject of Admiralty administration. "It gives a most succinct and excellent account of the Lord High Admiral's powers; it then gives an account of the Commission of the Board."* The first patent which begins to resemble the present one dates back to the time of Henry the Sixth (1430—1461). In 1692 the House of Commons came to the resolution, "That his Majesty be humbly advised to constitute a Commission of Admiralty of such persons as are of known experience in maritime affairs." This, apparently, is the origin of the present Board. The words of the statute constituting that Commission, "refer not only to the power of the Lord High Admiral, as existing under patent or by Act of Parliament, but refer to ulterior and anterior powers by the words used."† The Commission therefore supersedes the office of Lord High Admiral, but expressly confirms and transmits the power and authority of that functionary, to the present

* "Evidence of Sir James Graham before the Committee on the Board of Admiralty, 1861."

† Ibid.

Board, as the lineal descendant of the original Commission ; in other words, the present Board inherits a power and authority which was never defined ; and as a natural consequence, moves and works without reference to the patent which called it into existence. Sir Charles Wood stated before the Committee on the Board of Admiralty, 1861, "I must say I never dreamt of reading the patent. I should very much doubt whether any officer, First Lord of the Admiralty, secretary, or any one else ever read the patent by which he was appointed. I can say for myself that I certainly never did." To carry on the duties of First Lord, he says, "I have been guided entirely by the prescriptive usage, which is a sort of tradition in every office." Sir James Graham also stated—"The more I have investigated the matter, the more I am satisfied that, like the common law in aid of the statute law, the power exercised by the Board and the different members of it, rests more upon usage than upon the patents ; and I am led to view with increased apprehension any great change that will supersede that usage and prescription." The Duke of Somerset considered the variance between the patent and the practice "an anomaly," and said, "perhaps it might be desirable to render them more consistent." A merely theoretical objection to usages undefined, and "beyond legal memory," would be gratuitous fault-finding had the results been and now were satisfactory, and that circumstances continued similar. But that "most unspiritual God and miscreator circumstance" has run away from the easy-going, smoothly-flowing, slowly changing tide of usage ; and in estimating the value of the authorities above quoted, it must be borne in mind that the reverence expressed for that usage was built upon the old *régime*. Again, an objection taken to the want of symmetry in the parts of Admiralty organization would be merely doctrinaire and sentimental if the spirit of that organization were good, and showed a conscientious, self-adjusting intention. But what is the evidence as to that spirit ? Sir Charles Wood said, "What you want is to get every member of the Board to feel himself responsible for the good working of the whole,"—which, however desirable, is simply impossible where the duties are specifically divided. If every man is overlooking and interested in his colleagues' work, he necessarily neglects his own, and fully carried out would lose all individuality of action and of responsibility and bring about a disastrous condition of "meddling and muddling." There is at least confusion of ideas if not contradiction when a greater authority (Sir James Graham) says that "a Board only works well when the head of it makes it as unlike a Board as possible, and acts as if he alone were responsible." Sir John Pakington (Lord Hampton) took a clearer and juster view of

the responsibility of the First Lord when he said, "I never did feel at the Admiralty that I had either the knowledge (of passing events we take it) or the control or the responsibility which I think the Minister at the head of so great a department ought to have." Admiral Elliot says, "I consider that usage has completely altered the character of the Board." "I consider that there is a great deal of departmental and individual power now exercised by the separate Lords, and at the same time, that this usage and this power is all exercised on sufferance, and that there is no direct responsibility." Throughout the whole of the voluminous evidence laid before the committee, there is a hopeless chasing of the phantom of responsibility, and an impossibility to define its nature, or to fix it upon individuals. How could it be otherwise? Responsibility belongs to the performance of duty. Duty at the Admiralty is prescribed by "usage," and "usage" if defined at all, can only be defined by the responsible officer. To whom then but himself can he be made really responsible? And is it to be wondered at under such a system, that Sir Charles Wood states that it is the *fear* of responsibility, not the *want* of it, that is detrimental to the public service? Sir Spencer Robinson,* one of the ablest officials who ever occupied the post of Controller, without the power to control, or the responsibility naturally attaching to his office, says that the duties of the Controller "are ill-defined, and may be interpreted to mean a great deal more or a great deal less according to the views of the supreme authority." He asks as to the duties of the superintendent of each dockyard—"For what is he responsible? He is only the vehicle through which orders pass to the several heads of departments." He has no responsibility if work cost 16,000*l.* which ought to have been done for 10,000*l.* "When a question is asked, he directs the master shipwright to reply." He "transmits"—in case of complaint or inquiry, the answers of the storekeeper, or the auditor, or the accountant. He is ordered to "direct the officers," "to call upon the officers," "to inform the officers." "There is no distinct and direct responsibility for anything, either done or left undone, upon him, so long as he transmits the memoranda"—*i.e.*, to and fro!

Mr. Childers set himself to amend this anomalous state of affairs. Without the experience of the three ex-First Lords we have quoted, who regarded the Admiralty administration as little short of perfection, he had the advantage of seeing the new order of things as regarded iron shipbuilding. The old school of ship-

* "Evidence before Select Committee of the House of Lords on Board of Admiralty, 1871."

building was essentially one of "usage and prescription." Mild innovations were made as to the clenching of a bolt, or the driving of a treenail, or the cutting of a scarp; but any radical change, or the initiation of any new theory as to wooden ships, would have sent a thrill of horror through the well-subordinated officials of Her Majesty's dockyards. There were ships and ships as to size; and gradually and gently the "lines" were drawn finer and the bodies made "longer;" but besides such "improvements" ships were but ships, and custom was custom, to be held sacred and left untouched from age to age. The iron age has, however, violently and painfully superseded the simplicity and sobriety of the old wooden state of shipbuilding. The dockyard world has been turned upside down, and inside out: and the present order of affairs seems to have realized Shelley's paradox—

"Nought may endure but mutability."

From ramming stems to balanced rudders we have innovated until our latest types are examples of invention run riot; and inside an ironclad any ancient mariner would stand aghast at the mechanical contrivances which make a modern war ship something between Vulcan's smithy and the Elswick machine shop. The three ex-First Lords who, in 1861, deprecated and dreaded the touching of the old order of things, could little anticipate the scientific audacity of modern conceptions and war appliances; and as the architect of Noah's Ark, or the chief constructor of a Corinthian trireme, or the builder of that masterpiece—the *Henri, Grâce de Dieu*, might have discoursed about the organization that produced a modern three-decker, so the administrators, whose *chef-d'œuvre* was the *Duke of Wellington*, may be supposed to regard the designers of a *Devastation* and *Inflexible*. The evidence, no doubt, given in 1861, was (and this is all that can be said for it) the best that could be given at that time.

When Mr. Childers "new lighted," like Mercury, upon the highest place at the Admiralty, he had, at least, the advantage arising from the absence of prejudice. He had nothing to unlearn. He brought to the task of reform courage, persistency, a high sense of official responsibility, and an unbiassed mind; and, if his health had endured, in time, no doubt, would have seen that the management, which has descended from "beyond legal memory," was ill adapted to modern requirements. As it was he patched and altered the whole system enough to disturb and to irritate, but not permanently to improve. Opposition and illwill were engendered, but the root of

the mischief was left untouched. He did too little and he did it too gently.

"Tender-handed touch a nettle,
And it stings you for your pains."

And this, we apprehend, has been Mr. Childers' experience. When next the opportunity arises for him to complete his work of dealing with the Admiralty nettle, we have no doubt that he will recognise and act upon the completion of the advice—

"Grasp it like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains."

Besides the absence of a clear responsibility, it is the bane of the present system that any one on the Board of Admiralty can assume to understand, and under such assumption to overrule, the purely scientific and technical proposals of a professional constructor. No one there would question the opinion of the law officers of the Crown upon a case submitted to them; and no one in his own person, if he were wise, would dispute the prescription of his chosen physician. Let us carry the case a degree nearer. A public company devises a project for supplying a town with water or gas, or intends to establish a railway communication through some particular district. They arrange the broad features of their schemes, and with general instructions they place the matter in the hands of the engineer in whom they have most confidence; and he under the influence of his responsibility to them, but more cogent still, of a responsibility imposed upon him by the maintenance of his reputation in the face of the public and of the scientific world, arranges the means to carry out their wishes and intentions. His plan may not exactly coincide with the aims of the projectors, and he may alter it; but no engineer of any eminence would for one moment brook interference with any essential principle involved in the plan, or lend his name, and so peril his character, to a mutilation forced upon him against his judgment. If any one of the directors insisted upon curtailment of relative parts, or the substitution of his own crude notions in place of those of the engineer, the latter would at once throw up his office. If he did attach his name to a mutilated plan, allowing his judgment to be warped, all we can say is that such a man would have no claim to be a first-rate engineer. Our contention is that the head of the Constructive department, by whatever name he be known, should not occupy a position less high or less responsible than an engineer at the head of his profession. On the other hand, the man who is his own lawyer is said to have a fool for his client; and we are not far from the

mark in saying, in like manner, that any First Lord or First Naval Lord who does more or less than entirely accept or reject the professional proposals of his Chief Constructor is very much in the same predicament. The head of the Constructive department, as professionally responsible for the success of his designs and the consequent efficiency of the fleet, *ought to be the foremost man in his profession, and be paid and trusted accordingly.*

How this simple, and perfectly obvious common sense arrangement, so absolutely essential to meet the requirements of 1874, can be made to fit in with, or to be stuck upon, the nebulously transmitted organization of 1692, we will not be diverted from our present aim to discuss. We advocate the change on its merits, in order to obviate proved failure and cure existing evils.

Thus much however we may say. We see no difficulty in taking the "Constructive Service," and the "Service Afloat," and giving to each an able, professional, responsible head. Ship-building and shipowning (or sailing) are two distinct businesses. There is no reason why one man should not be both if he be trained to understand both, but if his business be large enough to employ separate managers, that is no reason why the works of the two should be jumbled together to the neutralization of the responsibility of each.

We see no difficulty in the First Lord of the Admiralty (under the designation of Minister of Marine, or any other title) undertaking the political and financial arrangements of the Navy with a veto upon the proposals of the heads of the two departments. He might harmonize the action of both; and understanding and approving the policy of both so as to explain and defend the action of all before the House of Commons, he should of course be empowered to displace both functionaries if necessary, and be obliged to justify his act in Parliament. The one point we hold to as being essential to the success of the Navy is this:—That there should be no shuffling of the cards of responsibility between him and the heads of the two departments. He might dismiss the person, and reject in toto but not mutilate the proposals, nor lessen the responsibility of the head of either department.

We see no difficulty in cutting unhesitatingly the Gordian knot of details which would, no doubt, be twisted up hard and fast by official ingenuity out of red tape. In the grasp of a "man of mettle" all accessories, all active opposition, all passive resistance, all sentimental clinging to the traditions of a bye-gone state of affairs, would at once become "soft as silk." And, devised and controlled by a skilled and responsible guidance, such as we have hinted at, we feel satisfied that the policy in regard to the simplification of Dockyard operations, the due preparation of the country for war, and the limitation of ships in commission on

foreign stations, might be smoothly effected, to the avoidance of the arrant blunders, the egregious waste, and the miserable naval results of the past fifteen years.

ART. V.—MR. LEWES AND METAPHYSICS.

Problems of Life and Mind. By GEORGE HENRY LEWES.
First Series. The Foundations of a Creed. Vol. I.
London: 1873.

WHEN the History of Human Intellect comes to be a school-book for the young of that diviner Mammal who hereafter shall succeed mankind, it will contain no chapter to which their attention will be more carefully directed than that which narrates the sudden bursting forth and enormous expansion of Science which is taking place in this present century. For though too close to our eyes for clear vision or direct measurement, this is proved by a moment's reflection to be a phenomenon hitherto quite unexampled, and which must necessarily produce results of surpassing importance, although of a nature as to which we can only make the blindest guess. What would we not give to be allowed to read the concluding words of the chapter, and to take a single glance at the title of the next! And yet if this *Review* ever fall into the hands or prehensile appendages of one of those high Intelligences, his first feeling will no doubt be one of wonder how even a mind so imperfect as ours could ever have felt any doubt as to the true nature and limits of Science. "Surely," he will say, "this foolish creature, Homo, knew what Science was, and what Knowledge was, and therefore he must have known, if he had taken the trouble to think, whether the two were or not coextensive. How then could he have had any difficulty with regard to the future of Science, in foreseeing how far it could go, and what it could teach?" And, indeed, in respect of ninety-nine men out of every hundred, or rather of every human being except the few hundreds to whom nature has given a taste and capacity for abstract thought and accurate definition, it is perfectly true that they feel no doubt or difficulty on the subject. So absolutely is this the case, that they cannot for some time comprehend the meaning of the question. When, however, this is explained, the answer seems to them as clear as daylight—"We know," say they, "numberless things about which Science can tell us nothing. Ourselves, our feelings, passions, sensations, thoughts, wills and actions—nay, the very fact of our

existence—all these we know; indeed, they are the only things which we are sure that we do know; but Science has nothing whatever to do with them. Science deals only with the external world; and of the inner world of self, and its relation to the outer, it can never give any explanation."

Nor is this the verdict of "common sense" alone; it is also (as common sense may be surprised to hear) that of Metaphysics, and not its verdict only, but its charter and condition of existence. Where two such enemies agree, it might well be thought that there was no room for doubt or argument. And yet, how can we rest in this conclusion and vindicate the intellectual power of humanity in the eyes of its future critic, in the presence of such a book as that which has suggested this article?—a book written by one of our most celebrated scientific inquirers, who if not the greatest of philosophers, at least knows probably more about philosophy than any living author, and whose reputation as a thinker has been founded not only on his great and varied knowledge, but on his supposed trustworthiness to take the common sense view on difficult problems—a book written by such a man as this for the express purpose of proving that the field of Science is identical with that of Knowledge, and that all possible problems are soluble by the use of the scientific method?

A theory such as this, which gives the lie both to Common Sense and to Metaphysics, propounded by one professing to speak in the name and with the authority of Science, cannot remain unchallenged. If true, it must of course be accepted with all its consequences; but, if false, the appearance of invincibility which would arise from its not being refuted could not but be disastrous to every department of human knowledge, by destroying the good feeling and sense of mutual respect which should exist among them.

Apart from all curiosity as to the future of human intellect—a curiosity, however, which may well claim the respect which attends the name of Religion—the question as to the true limits of Science is one which, in the interest of Science itself, it is necessary to solve, and which happens to be just now ripe for solution. The growth of Science, which is the co-ordination of our knowledge of the external world, and that of those branches of what has been hitherto thought knowledge, which have attempted to co-ordinate internal phenomena—namely, Mental and Moral Philosophy—have hitherto followed exactly opposite courses. The former, starting from the extreme verge of nature's confines, has tended ever inwards in a gradually contracting sphere, like the crust of a planet hardening round the central core of fire. The latter, starting from the most individual

feelings of the single self, has gradually widened its area to include the family, the tribe, the nation, the human race; till at last, under the form of a philosophic Pantheism such as Spinoza's, or that of a more practical belief in an intelligent government of nature, such as that professed by Christianity, it appears to have reached the limits of the universe. These two modes of thought, starting from opposite poles of experience, and pursuing different methods, have always been antagonists: but in this antagonism we may notice a difference in their respective attitudes. The latter, which, speaking somewhat loosely, we may call the Metaphysical Method, has had a more rapid development,* and has, ideally at least, reached its utmost limits of expansion. This has been due in great measure to its not having placed itself in direct opposition to Science. When the issue has been raised between them it has in general recognised the sphere and function of Science, and distinguished it from its own; and thus it has been allowed to pass. Science, on the other hand, has commonly refused to recognise any authority but its own, and has proclaimed almost ostentatiously that the war between itself and Metaphysics is a war of extermination. This irreconcilable attitude has not been of much practical importance, while the radius of the scientific sphere has been large, and the enclosing crust has not approached the central Ego, which contains the source and life of Metaphysics. There has been, indeed, an uncomfortable feeling of blockade and a presentiment of inevitable struggle, but nothing further. Within the last few years, however, the blockade has been turned into an assault, and the presentiment has given place to reality. The latest outpost of Science, Physiology, and especially that division of it which we may call Neurology, has brought the opposing forces face to face, and the battle must now be decided once for all. The result will be either that Psychology (in the old sense) and Metaphysics will be swept clean away, or that the frontier line between them and Science will be set out by metes and bounds,

* Or is it in truth that its development has been incomparably slower; that the true orbit of both developments (we are not speaking of the *methods*) is the same—namely, from Induction to Deduction, and that the apparent contrast is due only to the difference of velocity? May not the real explanation be that in Metaphysics we have not yet attained such a node or turning point as in Science was marked by the discovery of the Law of Gravitation, and as may hereafter be reached in Metaphysics by the development or discovery of some form or law of consciousness which shall connect the individual with a universal mind, and thus enable Metaphysics to establish laws independent of the accidents of corporate individuality. If so, Metaphysics has not yet entered on the Deductive part of its orbit, through which Science has long been passing, and the present barrenness of metaphysical speculation becomes in some measure intelligible.

and each of the rivals forced to confine itself to its proper territory. Science, of course, from its side, flushed with the pride of recent victories, is clamorous for universal empire; and Mr. Lewes, one of its most trusted captains, has become the mouthpiece of this demand; to enforce which is the avowed object of his present work. It is because we believe this claim to be unfounded; because we think it most pernicious to the interests of Science that it should take up a false position, and by failing to maintain it incur the suspicion of universal failure; and because we are convinced that in the due guidance of scientific inquiry lies, at least in the present stage of human knowledge, the only real hope of the healthy growth and development of that knowledge, that we now propose to show wherein we consider Mr. Lewes' error to consist, and what seems to us the true boundary line between Science and Metaphysics.

For the benefit of those who have not read Mr. Lewes' book, and in order to show the occasion and significance of his attack on Metaphysics, we will first give a short sketch of the scope and purport of his work. And first of all be it remarked, that the one volume which has as yet appeared is only introductory, to the main work which is to follow, and which we most sincerely wish Mr. Lewes life and health to complete. It forms, in fact, but one half of the Introduction. This may perhaps be thought to render any review of it premature and unsatisfactory. But, as will appear in the sequel, the present volume contains a statement of the principles on which the whole work is to be based, and it is those principles and not their illustration, to which Mr. Lewes most invites our attention (p. 13), and which it is our present object to examine.

The aim of the whole work, as stated in the preface to the present volume, is one which might well fire the ambition of any philosopher. It is no less than the constitution of a Science of Psychology. Hitherto Psychology has been, in Mr. Lewes' opinion, "very much in the condition of Chemistry before Lavoisier, or of Biology before Bichat." It has been "without the fundamental data necessary to its *constitution** as a science."

"A science is constituted," he says—"that is, has received its definitive construction and place in the hierarchy of Philosophy, when its object is circumscribed, its phenomena defined, its Method settled, and its fundamental principles established, so that henceforward the development is progressive, the discovery of to-day enlarging and not overturning the conception of yesterday, each worker bringing his contribution to a common fund, not presenting it as a reversal of all that predecessors had done." (p. vi.)

* Wherever italics occur in quotations they are Mr. Lewes' own.

To accomplish this for Psychology, to make order spring out of chaos, and light shine amid the darkness, is Mr. Lewes' aim. For thirty-eight years he has prosecuted this aim with unremitting energy; and at last has come the reward of toil, a vision of success. For he now "feels confident of having something like a clear vision of the fundamental inductions necessary to the constitution of Psychology;" and although he modestly disclaims the intention of writing a complete treatise, he "hopes to establish a firm groundwork for future labours." (p. vii.)

But for the further justification of this hope we must wait for the publication of the subsequent volumes. Before the new science can be introduced to the world with any chance of a favourable reception, much has to be done; the new advent must be prepared for, by clearing a pathway, and by driving away enemies; especially that greatest of all, the old enemy—Metaphysics. For Mr. Lewes "knows well that there is no chance of general recognition of the scientific method and its inductions while the rival method is tolerated" (*ib.*). Moreover, as Mr. Mill has already said, in words which Mr. Lewes takes for one of the mottoes to his book, "the difficulties of Metaphysics lie at the root of all Science; those difficulties can only be quieted by being resolved, and until they are resolved, positively whenever possible, but at any rate negatively, we are never assured that any knowledge, even physical, stands on solid foundations."

It is this work of preparation with which Mr. Lewes is at present engaged. At first, as he tells us, he imagined it might be accomplished in an introductory chapter; but it has apparently proved more laborious than he expected, so that even the two volumes into which it has "insensibly grown" (that is to say, the present volume and that which is to follow it), are, as he tells us, "only a portion of what has been written" (p. viii.).

The plan of the present volume is as follows:—In the First Part of an "Introduction" (which is really to the whole work an introduction to the Introduction) he sketches the main principle which he proposes to establish—namely, the applicability of scientific method to metaphysical questions. "It is towards the transformation of Metaphysics by reduction to the method of Science that these pages tend. I propose to show that metaphysical problems have, rationally, no other difficulties than those which beset all problems; and when scientifically treated, they are capable of solutions not less satisfactory and certain than those of physics" (p. 5). It was the great error of Comte in Mr. Lewes' view, that he peremptorily excluded all research into metaphysical questions. The questions exist; and if Science will

not explain them, it can never hope to displace them ; for ignoring them will not extirpate them. Now Science *can* explain any question that can be rationally stated ; and questions other than these we do not "need to know." So the great art is to choose the right question and express it in terms which admit of an answer ; and the first operation is therefore "to disengage the" unknowable, or, as he calls them, "metempirical elements, and proceed to treat the empirical elements with the view of deducing from them the unknown elements, if that be practicable, or, if the deduction be impracticable, of registering the unknown elements as transcendental" (p. 39). These transcendental elements will cause no error if we take care to eliminate them from the result ; for "the existence of an unknown quantity does not necessarily disturb the accuracy of calculations founded on the known functions of that quantity" (p. 41). This mode of inquiry is "speculative" indeed ; but "it is an error to imagine that the true scientific spirit is opposed to the speculative, because it is opposed to the metempirical" (p. 48)—an error which is illustrated by examples of the speculative greatness of Newton, in spite of his famous profession "*Hypotheses non fingo*." The conclusion is, that "the scientific canon of excluding from calculation all incalculable data places Metaphysics on the same level with Physics" (p. 60). Then follows a chapter of "Objections to Metaphysics," which may be summed up in this, that its questions are inappropriately conceived, and are therefore incapable of being answered. True or scientific Metaphysics is only "Abstract Science, which is occupied with the general laws of Being" (p. 65). Its place among the sciences is that of a "Codification of the laws of Cause," an "Objective Logic :—" and its method that of "dealing exclusively with known functions of unknown quantities, and at every stage of inquiry separating the empirical from the metempirical data" (p. 80).

The second part of the "Introduction" contains a number of practical "Rules of Philosophizing," grounded on, but extending, those of Newton in the *Principia*, and expressing the main theses of empirical philosophy in a form adapted for the regulation of research.

Then follows a kind of second Introduction, which in fact amounts to a Table of Contents of the entire prospective work—a programme of the new Psychology. The proofs are avowedly postponed, and only the questions which Mr. Lewes thinks "most pressing" are more than simply stated. In fact, one of the principal motives of this chapter seems to have been that which in one passage he does not shrink from avowing in the following words—"that the explicit commencement here will protect me against a possible anticipation on the part of some other writer"

(p. 146)—a wish which we can understand his wishing, but hardly his 'wishing to be thought to wish.' As it will be our business hereafter to discuss at length the more important of these psychological principles, we shall here merely give a brief notice of those which at once are novel, and do not primarily concern Metaphysics. These, being purely scientific, are in many cases, as might be expected from their author, both valuable and suggestive.

The most important of them, at any rate that which is worked out at the greatest length, and is made responsible for the greatest results, is the novel and as it seems to us excessive weight which Mr. Lewes attributes to social influences in the genesis of mind. "Man," he says, "is not simply an animal organism; he is also an unit in a social organism. . . . From these chiefly arise the animal sentient life, and the human intellectual and moral life" (p. 109). He looks upon the social organism as the source of all that distinguishes man from the higher animals. "Intellect and Conscience are special products of the social organism, and although animals possess in common with man the Logic of Feeling, they are wholly deficient in the Logic of Signs, which is a social, not an animal function" (p. 125). The last sentence reveals what appears to be his main foundation for this somewhat strange theory, and which may be expressed briefly in the two following propositions:—Language, he says, is indispensable to Thought (pp. 157, 167); and Language is a purely social product (pp. 124, 167, 174). Now it seems questionable whether either of these theories is true to more than a very limited extent as a statement of causation, though, no doubt, as a statement of coexistence there is sufficient to give plausibility to both. But it is clearly impossible to maintain either in its full literal meaning. For as to the first, even if we leave out of sight such cases of Aphasia as that of the late Lord Denman, where unimpaired powers of thought have coexisted with entire inability to connect thoughts with words, and the more conclusive because more ordinary instances of the existence of reasoning powers in human beings congenitally deaf, it would be sufficient answer to Mr. Lewes, that all that is required for abstract thought is *some* system of signs or symbols, and that language, though the most perfect of such systems (so far as we know), is not the only one; and it is therefore illogical to draw a distinct line between animals endowed with speech and the rest, and to say that on one side of the line abstract thought is possible, and on the other impossible. Nay, for anything we know, animals may have power of communicating with each other through some system of symbols which are quite unknown to us, because expressed in forms of sensation of which we have no receptivity.

The second branch of the argument—namely, that Language is a purely social product, is less plausible, and can hardly be more true than the first. If society has taught men to speak, why has it not taught bees or ants? It would be just as true to say that language has produced society; the real fact being that language and society, being two coexistent forces, have mutually acted and reacted on each other, so that it has become impossible to separate what in each was originally due to the other.

Another novel suggestion which finds a place among the "Psychological Principles," is that of the existence of a so-called "Psychoplasm," out of which he supposes the psychical organism to be evolved, as the vital is from the Bioplasm. It seems to represent in his mind a supposed intermediate stage, when the inorganic unconscious material of external force is transformed into organizable material capable of assimilation by consciousness. "The *sentient material* out of which all the forms of Consciousness are evolved, is the Psychoplasm, incessantly fluctuating, incessantly renewed" (p. 119). "We may represent," he says, "the molecular movements of the Bioplasm by the neural tremors of the Psychoplasm: these tremors are what I term *neural units*; the raw material of Consciousness" (p. 118). And again, "the movements of the Bioplasm constitute Vitality; the movements of the Psychoplasm constitute Sensibility" (*ib.*). The metaphysical import of this hypothesis we shall hereafter discuss: but we may here remark, that from a physiological point of view it seems at least difficult to reconcile a hypothesis of which we can hardly even form a mental picture, with one of Mr. Lewes' own canons of research—namely, that one must never attempt to explain by "unknown causes" (p. 93). And when, in addition to this psychological medium or Psychoplasm, Mr. Lewes goes on to speak of a sociological medium "forming another kind of Psychoplasm" (p. 124),* we cannot help feeling that he has left the region of Science altogether.

A somewhat similar criticism applies to the distinction which he draws between Consciousness and Sub-Consciousness. The object of this distinction was, doubtless, metaphysical, and in this point of view we shall return to it hereafter. Physiologically it is difficult to see on what data it can be founded, and, indeed, what can be its meaning; for Consciousness can be known to Physiology only by its phenomena, and the phenomena of Consciousness and Sub-Consciousness are identical. (As to this see

* If Mr. Lewes cannot bring himself to give to this strange offspring the name of "Socioplasm" (although such a word would be excellent company for "Sociology"), perhaps he will allow us to suggest "Cenoplasm" or "Politico-plasm." Let it not die for want of a name.

p. 210.) To compare it to the difference between flame and heat (p. 136) seems little more than a metaphor; and to compare it to the difference between the distinct vision at the centre of the retina and the indistinct vision at any other point (p. 142), is an illustration from the internal and not the external world; and even there is an illustration, and not an explanation. No doubt, "Sentience is always sentient, as Vision is always visual" (*ib.*); but that does not help to solve the question whether Sentience is or is not always present. It is quite true too, that "'unfelt feelings' are inadmissible;" but the right conclusion from that is, that actions which are unfelt are not feelings, and not, as Mr. Lewes seems to argue, that *no* action can be unfelt. At any rate, to call them "sub-conscious" instead of "unfelt," cannot help the argument one way or the other.

Another curious metaphor rather than hypothesis (at least so we must call it until it is justified by further evidence), is, that of "the mass of *stationary waves*" under which Mr. Lewes "pictures" to himself Consciousness (p. 150)—a picture which to his readers is somewhat difficult of realization.

But the principle on which Mr. Lewes seems most to pride himself, is that which he calls the "Psychological Spectrum." It is this. As all light is composed of red, green, and violet, in various proportions, so all mental states are composed of Sensation, Thought, and Motion; in other words, "every psychical fact is a product of sense-work, brain-work, and muscle-work" (p. 147); and "each mental state is thus *a function of three variables*." The name is certainly new, and somewhat sensational; but there does not seem much novelty in the principle, although it is said to "wear a paradoxical air." However, we are quite ready to believe that in Mr. Lewes' hands it will be capable of useful—as he promises that it shall have extensive—application; even to the introduction of the Differential Calculus into Psychology.

The foregoing are the principal novelties which Mr. Lewes promises to Mental Physiology; though, of course, he does not fail also to lay stress on the well-recognised principles of Association, Heredity, Irradiation, and the like. In the remarks that we have ventured to make upon them we must not forget that the evidence is avowedly reserved, and that *prima facie* difficulties may be modified or altogether removed when we come to the subsequent volumes. In any case, scientific hypotheses, even if untrue, cannot but tend to the ultimate discovery of truth, and we may confidently leave them to the discussion which they are sure to provoke.

Having thus stated his programme, Mr. Lewes proceeds to give us the first instalment of the substance of the work; in other words, he proceeds to apply in detail the before-enunciated

principles to the solution of metaphysical problems. The method of procedure depends, as we have seen, on the separation of the empirical from the metempirical elements. Hence the first question is what *are* the metempirical elements? "Here," as he says (p. 87), "we find ourselves fronting the great psychological problems of the Limitations of Knowledge and the Principles of Certitude." Accordingly, Problem I. is entitled "The Limitations of Knowledge;" and with the discussion of this problem the remainder of the volume is occupied. Of this discussion we can here indicate only the main features.

In the first place, Mr. Lewes lays down the great principle of Positive or Empirical Research—namely, that knowledge is bounded by consciousness, that is to say, by experience (p. 202, cf. p. 256); and he reconciles this with the innateness of mental laws and forms by explaining it as a truth of Psychogeny rather than of Psychology proper, thus adopting the well-known discoveries of Mr. Herbert Spencer as to the evolution of mental faculties. The whole of this statement, together with the discussions which it involves as to the nature of instinct and the supposed existence of a faculty for grasping the supra-sensible, is exceedingly able and logical; and although the conclusions have been anticipated by others, the mode of treatment is not only forcible but original. Then follows a chapter on Abstraction, which is defined as "focussing;" and this leads to a very thoughtful and suggestive chapter on Ideal Construction in Science. In this he points out the abstract and ideal nature of some physical laws, such as Kepler's First Law of Motion. "They are Types," he says (p. 293), "erected by scientific imagination, which moulds the elements of concrete observation into abstractions by getting rid of all perturbing particulars;" and the erroneous conception of the phenomena of nature being *determined by law*, "must be replaced by the more accurate conception of the *law being determined by the phenomena*" (p. 297). In this way such physical laws are not unlike the moral types which are the standards for our conduct in life. Whether Mr. Lewes is right in concluding against Mr. Mill that it is the derivative and not the ultimate laws which are most truly laws of nature (p. 312) is perhaps a mere question of words; but the distinction which he wishes to substitute for that of ultimate and derivative—namely, that of Real and Ideal Laws, seems to rest only on difference of degree, and not to point to any difference of nature. The most ideal law is ultimately based on actual phenomena; and if a real law contain no ideal construction, it becomes a mere orderless catalogue of facts, and therefore is not a law at all; for the essence of law is order. And to take Mr. Lewes' own example (p. 306), it is no more actually true that a body moves in the diagonal of two incident forces

than that it moves uniformly in a straight line under the influence of a single force. No such phenomenon as either actually ever presents itself unaccompanied, because, as Mr. Lewes says, "within real space the requisite conditions are unrealizable" (p. 291); but there is no single phenomenon of any kind which so presents itself. The universe is a tangle of phenomena, which it is the office of science to disentangle; and the utmost ingenuity of experiment can never completely isolate to sense a single phenomenon, so that the isolation is ideal only. In that sense, no doubt, *all* science is ideal; but it is also real, for it is only the rearrangement of real elements. For we cannot agree with Mr. Lewes that Science may be constructed out of elements "which never were and never could be real," and yet have a practical application (p. 289). It is not a true, although far from an original remark, that "the point, the line, the circle are elements of ideal, not of sensible space." Space, *real* space, is full of *real* points, lines, circles, spheres, and the like. They are not marked out, it is true, but surely a circle need not be a "round black line," and a sphere is a sphere none the less because it does not differ in colour or material from its surrounding medium. If not present to sense, it is at least present to what Mr. Lewes calls "Mental Vision," or Intuition, and therefore not only *can be* but *is* real (p. 376, cf. p. 261). The question of the application of the laws of these *true* spheres to such *untrue* or approximate spheres, as we find marked out or mark out artificially in nature, is an entirely different question; and the difficulty there is simply a difficulty of approximation.

The remaining chapters, which consist mainly of applications of the foregoing principles to certain special logical questions, are full of vigorous thought and reasoning. Those on Cause, on Necessary Truth, and on the Empirical Origin of Mathematics, are perhaps the best, not only for the value of their conclusions, but for their clearness of reasoning, and their wealth and felicity of illustration. All truths, he says, are equally necessary under the formulated conditions, contingency implying a possible change of conditions. There can be but one certainty, that of an identical proposition; and the superiority of mathematics lies only in the ease with which this is attained and shown (p. 433). The chapter on Kant does not add much to the strength of the previous argument, for if Kant had lived at the present day it is probable that he would not have differed much on the question of the Origin of Knowledge from Mr. Lewes and Mr. Herbert Spencer. In his day the existence of an *à priori* element in knowledge seemed conclusive against the Sensationalism of Hume, and his recognition of this was a valuable remonstrance against an imperfect theory. But now that the principle of hereditary evolution

has been established, and has shown how in a sense the Categories have both objective and subjective necessity, and have yet an empirical origin, Kant and Hume have been reconciled on the basis of a more complete empiricism; and the *a priori* school of philosophy, if such there still be, must use other arguments than those of Kant. Mr. Lewes is still further wrong in supposing that by demolishing Kant he demolishes the possibility of what he calls "*Metemprics*," for it is quite possible, as we hope to prove, to combine a firm belief in the empirical origin of knowledge with an equally firm belief in the independence of Metaphysics from Science. Surely it may well be that all knowledge comes from experience, and yet that all knowledge is not scientific.

The problem ends with a discussion on the place of Sentiment in Philosophy. In the next we are promised the completion of this first great preliminary question by an inquiry into the Principles of Certitude.

We have now said enough to enable our readers to appreciate the plan and object of Mr. Lewes' work; and we therefore propose at once to turn to what has been already stated to be the main purpose of this article—namely, an examination of Mr. Lewes' position towards Metaphysics. To get rid of Metaphysics as the great obstacle in the way of future philosophic progress is, as we have seen, the preliminary task which Mr. Lewes has set himself to accomplish in the two first volumes of his work. Its necessity he states as follows:—"It will be necessary to transform Metaphysics, or to stamp it out of existence. There is but this alternative. At present Metaphysics is an obstacle in our path; it must be crushed into dust, and our chariot wheels must pass over it, or its forces of resistance must be converted into motive powers, and what is an obstacle become an impulse" (p. 4). That is to say, it must either be crushed or bribed over. Now, hitherto Mr. Lewes has tried the crushing process. To the impetuosity of youth the sight of an enemy prompted nothing but immediate onslaught; and vigorous was the attack, and long and valiantly has the combat been maintained. Yet although every weapon and tactic that Science could suggest has been employed, and though at times friendly rumours of victory have appeared to justify a song of triumph, at the end of a more than Thirty Years' War Mr. Lewes is forced to confess that the enemy still lives. "Contempt, ridicule, argument, all (he says) are vain against tendencies towards metaphysical speculation" (p. 7). "Although its doctrines have become a scoff (except among the valiant few), its method still survives, still prompts to renewed research, and still misleads some men of science" (p. 8). Nay, not only is it still un-

crushed, but the energetic attacks which it has received seem to have invigorated rather than weakened it, for we now see it, according to Mr. Lewes' own testimony, "strangely agitated, and showing symptoms of a reawakened life. After a long period of neglect and contempt its problems are once more re-asserting their claims" (p. 4). Assuredly this might well have caused a less heroic spirit to despair. After almost a lifetime of effort (Mr. Lewes tells us his labours began in 1836), during which there has been no lack on his part either of skill or of daring, still "the enemy faints not nor faileth. And as things have been they remain." Nay, worse than all, Mr. Lewes mysteriously hints at signs of treason from within, from the very centre of the scientific camp. But to his honour be it remembered that he has not despaired of his country; on the contrary, while bravely accepting the situation, and acknowledging defeat, he ascribes it to mere faults of generalship, and reasserts as boldly as ever the eventual triumph of his cause. The old tactics have failed; he therefore changes them; contempt gives place to respect. "A cause which is vigorous after centuries of defeat is a cause baffled, but not hopeless; beaten, but not subdued" (p. 8). It is worth conciliating; it *must* be conciliated. So, without further delay, he sounds a parley, and after a profession of friendly intent, proposes that hostilities be dropped, and that an alliance offensive and defensive be entered into between Metaphysics and Science on the following terms. That is to say:

1. *The general charges which have been made by Science against Metaphysics, that its problems are "insoluble" and "mischievous" and "onto'logical chimeras," and "a mild form of insanity," and "waste of precious energies," and so forth, to be definitively abandoned and withdrawn.* "I propose to show," says Mr. Lewes, "that metaphysical problems have rationally no other difficulties, than those which beset all problems" (p. 5).

2. *Metaphysics to admit the method of Science.* If Metaphysics and Science are to enter into any real alliance, "one Method, one Logic, one canon of Truth and Demonstration must be applied to both. Which must it be? Not the one hitherto employed in Metaphysics; its incompetence is manifest in the unprogressive nature of its results" (p. 12). It must, therefore, be the method of Science.

3. *Problems which refuse the terms of the last article, to be deemed irrational, and to be definitively abandoned by Metaphysics.* The scientific method "will furnish solution to every metaphysical problem that can be rationally stated; whereas no problem, metaphysical or scientific, which is irrationally stated can receive a rational solution" (p. 5).

4. *The honour of Metaphysics to be saved by inventing for all such last-named problems the name of Metemprics.* The advantage of thus coining a new term is that "it detaches from Metaphysics a vast range of insoluble problems, leaving behind it only such as are soluble" (p. 17).

Such are the main articles of the proposed alliance. Mr. Lewes has much to say in recommendation of them to each of the contracting parties. In urging them upon Metaphysics he shows that a real friendship with Science will be more to its advantage than the false splendours of its present alliance with Theology, whose protection is "only such as is accorded to a vassal, and is changed to hostility whenever their conclusions clash, or whenever argument threatens to disturb the secular slumber of dogma" (p. 11). By the adoption of this alliance Metaphysics will escape from its present equivocal position between vassalage and contempt, and will give proof of wisdom in preferring the freedom of poverty, and the sure friendship of equals, to the luxury of slavery, and the capricious patronage of the great.

On turning to his own friends he naturally feels some misgiving and hesitation.

"They will doubtless feel some surprise at this announcement of my present aim. I may here seem to be unsaying what it has been the chief purpose of my labours to enforce. But it is really not so. There has been no other change than this, that I now see how problems which were insoluble by the Method then in use are soluble by the Method of Science. This is not a retreat, but a change of front. Throughout my polemic against Metaphysics the attacks were directed against the irrational Method as one by which *all* problems whatever must be insoluble" (p. 6).

It is not that an extension of the scientific franchise, when you come to look at it dispassionately, is not a good liberal measure; it is the Tory way of treating such questions (in fact, their way of treating *all* questions) that disgusted me with the whole subject, and caused me to give a hasty verdict, which it will perhaps be more prudent to recal. For, after all, the rejection of Metaphysics by the Positive Philosophy

"seems to me somewhat arbitrary when the state of the case is examined; and injudicious, when we find that it not only irritates those who might be convinced, but irritates them by a misconception. All who put their trust in the Positive Philosophy must regret that it should alienate instead of alluring speculative thinkers capable of extending its reach; and it alienates them by the supercilious assertion, that they are, and have been wandering on the wrong path; which may be true, is true; but which would be better enforced by pointing out their point of divergence from the right path, so that their steps might be retraced" (p. 62).

Whether by these arguments Mr. Lewes succeed in allaying the suspicions of the Positivist party or not, it is impossible not to admire the ingenuity of his pleading. Though to the abler and more trusted of his followers he does not hesitate to reveal the real secret of this hated alliance—namely, that it has been rendered absolutely necessary by the ill success which has attended their chariot wheels, and their want of resources to continue the war, he well knows that to the more ardent spirits such considerations as these will bring no acquiescence in a “renegade peace;” and he therefore appeals to their cosmopolitan sympathies, and their pity for the poor hopeless wanderers, whom nothing but kindness can bring back to the true fold. His persuasion almost deserves success; it will be interesting to see whether it obtains it.

As regards the probability of the assent of Metaphysics to the proposed alliance there would seem to be less ground of hope; for though in addition to the arguments referred to above, he tries to show the futility of any reason that can be given for retaining metaphysical speculation apart from science (p. 25), this only affects the question of peace or war, not the question as to the terms on which peace can be concluded. Metaphysicians have probably no objection to peace, only their idea of terms is rather different from that of Mr. Lewes. Hegel, for instance, as Mr. Lewes himself says, “is urgent for treating Metaphysics and Science on the same method. Unhappily, he has a very erroneous view of the conditions of inquiry, and, in point of fact, reverses the principle I am here proclaiming; and instead of treating Metaphysics by the method of Science, treats Science by the method of Metaphysics” (p. 19). So it is evident that, “erroneously” or not, Hegel would not accept Mr. Lewes’ terms; and it seems very probable that other metaphysicians will look at the matter much in the same way. Metaphysics, though hitherto as a rule not aggressive, would doubtless have no objection to annex Science, just as Science is anxious to annex Metaphysics; but neither party is so weak or disinclined to fight as to accept terms which practically amount to extinction. And this is in effect the offer now made to Metaphysics. The name, indeed, is to be retained, because it “has had godfathers so illustrious that, if possible, it ought to be preserved” (p. 16). But it is to have an entirely new meaning assigned to it, comprehending merely that division of physics which treats of “the highest generalisations of research” (*ib.*); while all that was most distinctive in its old meaning is to be discarded and disgraced under a new and inglorious appellation. Surely if this were accepted all would be lost—without exception of honour.

But it is useless further to speculate on what assent this proposed treaty may meet with either from friends or opponents. What most concerns us is, to form some judgment as to its general philosophical value, and to see whether, apart from all party questions and interests, the principles which it involves are or are not likely to facilitate the solution of questions now unsolved, or to accelerate the advancement of knowledge. Our criticisms on this head will be twofold: first, as to the form in which Mr. Lewes embodies his principle; and secondly, as to the principle itself.

On the former point, the remark which most obviously presents itself is, that no real progress can be made by the mere shuffling of names. The first object of names is to be symbols for communication of ideas between one man and another; and for this object it is indispensable that the same name should always mean the same thing to all men; otherwise its utility is lost, and from a vehicle of intelligence it becomes an instrument of confusion. But the thing or idea named is not in any way affected by its name. "The rose by any other name would smell as sweet;" and if it were suddenly decreed to call all yellow roses onions, the facts of Osmology would remain unaltered, and the only result would be a confusion of tongues. Now Mr. Lewes himself admits that "what is usually meant by the word 'Metaphysics' is what he proposes to call "metempirical inquiry" (p. 19 n.): to what purpose then, except to confuse, can he wish to divorce it from this meaning, and to assign to it one as different (in his own view) as knowledge is from ignorance?

It is impossible to suppose that in Mr. Lewes' own mind there was any confusion. When he gives as the programme of his work "the transformation of Metaphysics by reduction to the method of Science" (p. 5), he must be taken to have full in his mind the subsequent limitation of Metaphysics to the empirical, or (as he defines it) to "the province we include within the range of Science" (p. 17). But with his readers such foresight would be nothing short of miraculous; and so when they read such a programme as that quoted above, or when they read that the object of Mr. Lewes is "to show that the method which has hitherto achieved such splendid success in Science needs only to be properly interpreted and applied, and by it the inductions and deductions from experience will furnish solutions to every metaphysical problem that can be rationally stated" (p. 5)—or that "what is here proclaimed is the possibility of finding rational solutions to questions which have hitherto baffled effort" (p. 13)—it is not unnatural that they should take these promises in their ordinary meaning, and should expect to witness some elucidation of problems which come under "what is usually

meant by the word" Metaphysics. Their hopes having thus been warmly excited, it is inevitable that they would be disappointed by the discovery, which must soon be made, that Mr. Lewes' object is, after all, only to exemplify in some detail the principle that scientific method is capable of application to all problems which come within its range. Wherefore then such flourishing of trumpets, and proclaiming of treaties? is their natural inquiry: and then arises a feeling of resentment at having been taken in and imposed upon, especially among the metaphysicians, who have been almost made to forget their own names by the flatteries and bribes and "giftless gifts" which Mr. Lewes has offered them.

This is all very unfortunate, because, as was remarked before, the confusion cannot have existed in Mr. Lewes' own mind. It has evidently arisen from no deeper source than the paternal anxiety of an author to dignify his offspring by some grand historic appellation, to whom, because the name Pisistratus suggests only Pisistratus Caxton, the child of his bosom, it never occurs to provide for any possible confusion in the mind of his hearers. For that Mr. Lewes never really dreamt of extending the scientific method beyond the very narrowest limits ordinarily assigned to it, is evident from his including under Metempirics such questions as was that of the chemical constitution of the sun's atmosphere a few years ago. "It was so obviously metempirical," he says, "that even metaphysicians abstained from speculating on it" (p. 24). As to that, they would have thought it far too scientific a question for them to dare to speculate upon; so that, if the truth is to be told, it seems as if metaphysicians would give a wider scope to scientific method than Mr. Lewes himself.

And this leads us to a point on which there is some apparent confusion. What is it exactly that Mr. Lewes would exclude from the range of his method under the term of Metempirics? Now, in the beginning of his explanation of the method which he proposes to employ, he separates three aspects of each object of research:—"1. the *positive*, or known; 2. the *speculative*, unknown though knowable; 3. the *unknowable*. The two first are empirical, the third is metempirical" (p. 29). This identification of the metempirical with the unknowable constantly recurs; and in interpreting it the natural sense to attribute to "unknowable" is "what is usually meant by the word"—namely, that which under no circumstances is capable of being known; otherwise it is not easy to see how it can be distinguished, as Mr. Lewes says it is, from the "unknown though knowable, in kind and not simply in degree" (ib.) And this impression would appear to be borne out by sundry other passages, as, for instance, where the distinction between the empirical and metempirical

worlds is identified with Kant's distinction between phenomenal and noumenal (p. 19) ; or where metempirical is made equivalent to supra-sensible (p. 253) ; or (as in another place) to "transcendent, that which is beyond all experience" (p. 44) ; or, when again, the rejection by Objective Logic of "whatever lies beyond that world of sensibles and extra-sensibles which can come within the range of experience," is held to "demarkate Metaphysics from Metempires" (p. 74). Indeed, at the very first introduction of the word metempirical, he defines it as including "whatever lies beyond the limits of possible experience" (p. 17). However, that this is not the meaning which Mr. Lewes generally attaches to the word in his own mind, is evident from the remark quoted above, as to research into the sun's atmosphere, and from such statements as the following:—that "whenever by any means what is now transcendental becomes expressible in terms of experience, it will thereby cease to be metempirical" (p. 44 *n.*) ; or that "whenever a question is couched in terms that ignore experience, reject known truths, and invoke inaccessible data—i.e., data inaccessible through our present means, or through any conceivable extension of those means—it is metempirical, and philosophy can have nothing to do with it. We need not trouble ourselves with it until in possession of the requisite means ; it is *adjourned*, not suppressed" (p. 33 ; see too, p. 371). He therefore would appear to include under Metempires not only that which is unknowable owing to the constitution of our faculties, but that which is unknown (or, as he prefers to call it in some places "unknowable") because of the want of data ; and this is, on the whole, the explanation which appears most consistent with the whole scope of his argument. And yet, in explaining the very first rule among his "Rules of Philosophising," he says that we must examine the unknown elements in a question, "in order to determine whether—1, they are unknown, and unknowable because metempirical ; or, 2, they are unknown only because the requisite conditions of knowledge lie beyond our present data. In the former case, research ceases ; in the latter case, it proceeds" (p. 89). This passage is very discouraging to any attempt to reconcile the different expressions of Mr. Lewes' view, and perhaps such an attempt is better abandoned. Besides, as Mr. Lewes is a living author, he can write his own concordance (if it be worth while) much more easily than any one else can write it for him.

But whatever be the true solution of this last ambiguity, a further difficulty arises. For, to take first the more probable alternative that Mr. Lewes means to include under Metempires "not only that which can never be brought within the range of experience, owing to the constitution of things, but also that which cannot at present be so brought, owing to the condition

of our knowledge" (p. 45 n.); or, in other words, not only the absolutely unknowable, but that which at present there are no means of knowing:—then, in addition to the preliminary ‘demurrer for multifariousness,’ that under one name two entirely distinct classes of things or ideas are mixed together, a gratuitous confusion for which no reason is alleged, there is this further objection, that of neither of these classes can it be truly said that it lies beyond the reach of knowledge. For as to the first class, namely, those things which we have at present no means of knowing but which may hereafter become known, how, except through scientific explanation, are the new data to be discovered from which the future knowledge is to spring? In what sense (to take Mr. Lewes’ own instance) was the chemical constitution of the sun ever “unknowable,” or “inaccessible to science?” Mr. Lewes would answer, that it was so because until the discovery of spectrum analysis there were no data to go upon. But surely the data, though unknown, were *there*, knowable and accessible enough; and it was through scientific investigation that they, and the conclusions which were bound up in them, became actually known. To say the contrary would be to preclude Science from seeking new data at all, that is to say, would discard observation and experiment; for what are these but the search for new data? The truth is, that there is no fact which can ever become knowable (except, of course, future facts, with which we are not dealing) of which we have not now the data. For the ultimate datum of all future scientific knowledge must necessarily be sensation; and therefore, if we neglect the theoretical possibility of the evolution or acquisition of fresh senses, is potentially given in our present senses. Hence it is clear that the new data which seem, according to Mr. Lewes, suddenly to spring into existence by accident, or at any rate by some cause outside scientific inquiry, are really only *recombinations of existing data*; and it is this work of recombination which it is the special function of Science to devise and carry out.

Nor is it more true of the other division of the metempirical, namely, the absolutely unknowable, that it lies outside the sphere of knowledge: and that for this simple reason, that it is non-existent, and therefore lies nowhere. Inside and Outside and Existence are all forms or genera of Knowledge, and apart from Knowledge, have no meaning. So the negative of Knowledge is the negative of Existence. Such, at least, is the only doctrine consistent with the rudimentary principles of Positivism; and it is therefore strange to find Mr. Lewes giving to mere negation a positive existence in the same class with such things as the solar atmosphere, and the strata of Sirius, and assigning to it definite

principles of research, and the name at least of a separate province in the empire of Nescience.

These latter remarks apply equally on the second supposition as to the intended meaning of Metempirics—namely, that it includes only the absolutely unknowable, and supply a further argument against the probability of that supposition; for the only shadow of positive existence which would suggest such language in reference to the unknowable as that used by Mr. Lewes, is that which must have been derived from its association in his mind with the simply unknown.

These are the main objections which offer themselves as to the form in which Mr. Lewes has cast his results, and they amount in summary to this—that the descriptions which Mr. Lewes gives of his intentions tend to create in the reader's mind a false impression as to the nature of these intentions; and that the new terminology which he invents and the distinctions implied thereby, tend only (so far as they are not untrue) to confuse the landmarks of philosophy and disappoint the reader's expectation. Mr. Lewes wishes to apply, and has attempted to apply, the method of Science to some of the highest and most general scientific truths, certain "Problems of Life and Mind;" and, no doubt, he has much valuable information to communicate to us on the subject, which we wait for with the brightest expectation: but, unfortunately, he has chosen to call these general truths Metaphysics (a title to which their only claim seems to be that they are *Physics*, on the principle of *lucus a non lucendo*); and hence a great deal of misapprehension has been introduced, which, unless explained, may cause worse confusion. It is hardly curious that Mr. Lewes himself seems to have foreseen this difficulty; but it is certainly curious that, having seen it, he did nothing to remedy it, except by an answer to it which is more curious still. He says—"Whatever speculative curiosity may prompt, our real and lasting interest is in ascertaining the order of things we know" (p. 28); or, in other words, Metempirics are very useless and unpractical. This, in the first place, begs the question that we can know nothing but what *Science* can teach; but even if it be true, it is hardly a sufficient reason for depriving Metaphysics of their *name*, especially as he charges them with no fresh imbecility which would make them less deserving of a respectable name than formerly. Besides, as has been said above, a name takes its character from its object, instead of giving character to it, and its value is not to the object at all (which gets on just as well without a name), but to philosophers and other folk who want to talk about the object, for which purpose they want names for bad objects as well as good, if only in order to abuse them by.

But it may be said by Mr. Lewes' defenders that all this criticism is about a mere question of names, which, however it be settled, is entirely unimportant; and that the real point for discussion is not whether what Mr. Lewes *excludes* from Philosophy should be called by this or that name, but whether he has succeeded in *including* under Philosophy, that is to say, under Science, any new domain; not whether he has appropriated the whole of what formerly went under the term Metaphysics, but whether he has really appropriated *any part of it*. To this suggestion we have no objection to defer, merely remarking that it would have been impossible to examine what Mr. Lewes includes under his method without trying to understand what he proposes to exclude, and that, even as a mere question of names, though it ought never to have been created, yet that is Mr. Lewes' fault and not ours, and now that it exists it is necessary not only to point it out, but to settle it *one way or the other*, in order to avoid confusion.

Let us then, without more delay, proceed to examine the value of this new principle of metaphysical research propounded by Mr. Lewes; and, in order to take the very broadest issue, let us ask whether there is any single truly metaphysical problem which by its means he has either solved or may reasonably be expected to solve. Now, an opinion has already been intimated that questions to which the scientific method is applicable are questions of Physics, and not of Metaphysics; and that to call them Metaphysics is merely an abuse of terms; from which it would follow that the true metaphysical sphere lies altogether outside the sphere of Science, and, therefore, that the method of Science is utterly incapable of dealing with it. This opinion it is now proposed to justify.

Mr. Lewes defines the sphere of Metaphysics as "the highest generalisations of research." To this there is no objection, except that of course Mr. Lewes tacitly confines research to *scientific* research—an implication which, until justified, must be rejected as begging the whole question at issue. It will perhaps be better therefore, instead of "research," to use the word "knowledge," which is less bound up with scientific associations. Now, what are the highest generalisations, the *summa genera*, of knowledge? What are its broadest, its most fundamental distinctions? Evidently, to begin with, the distinction between its two highest genera of all; a distinction recognised in every sentence, in every action, and in every thought; the distinction between Subject and Object, Mind and Matter, Self and the Universe. The relation, then, of Subject to Object is the first great problem of Metaphysics. The second is an offshoot of this, which was for a long time not separated from it, which indeed can hardly be said to have had an individual existence before

Berkeley. This is the question as to the nature of the Object, or, more definitely, as to its relation to a supposed absolutely existent, External World. For when the relation between Subject and Object had been apparently resolved into the relation between Ideas and Phenomena, a further question suggested itself, whether Phenomena were not themselves in some way related back by some similar relation to an extra-phenomenal world outside our consciousness altogether. If so this would be the real Object, and Phenomena would be simply the form in which this Object affected the Subject—would be in fact a kind of chemical product of the real Object and the Subject, differing as much from either as water differs from its constituent elements of oxygen and hydrogen. Thus the question of an External World, *Dinge an sich*, became separated from the old question of Subject and Object, and the two answers which can be given to it have taken the names of Realism and Idealism respectively. It may be remarked in passing, that a similar question will probably at some future time present itself more distinctly than hitherto in relation to the *Subject*; namely, as to the possible relation of individual states of consciousness to an absolutely existent mind entirely independent of the individual states, and of which such states are merely “phenomena;”—a question which will probably be found to be intimately bound up with the problem of the connexion of individual minds with one another and with a universal mind, and so with the problem of Personal Identity, just as the analogous question as to the *Object* has important bearing on the difficulty of the continuity of external existence. And indeed such a question has never been unknown in philosophy; but inasmuch as it has not yet taken so definite a shape as the corresponding question in respect of the Object, and also because it is still further removed than the latter from the purview of Science, its further discussion would only confuse our argument without adding to its value. The two questions above referred to—namely, that of the relation of Subject and Object, and that of the nature of the External World, may be taken as the two typical questions of Metaphysics, and it will be therefore wise to confine the discussion to them.

Let us take, therefore, the three genera which we have found to be three of the highest generalisations of knowledge; two actually known to exist, the third as yet problematical—namely, Subject, Phenomenon, and Noumenon. Here then is the kingdom of Metaphysics; for it is with the relations of these highest genera that Metaphysics professes to deal. Now, among these, where do we find the province of Science? For if metaphysical problems are to be capable of scientific treatment, it is evident that Science must embrace *all* these *summa genera*. Let us see, therefore, whether this is so. Mr. Lewes would admit at once

the contrary. He would admit what the least consideration will prove, that Science is wholly confined to the second of the three genera, namely, *Phenomena*.* The method of Science is by treating all Phenomena as feelings actual or virtual, after a principle exemplified in the method of Virtual Velocities in Mechanics, and thus eliminating the common factor of the individual subjectivity, to arrive at the comparison of Phenomena with each other, and the ascertainment of their relations *inter se*; its proximate end is the arranging of Phenomena under certain general "laws;" and its ultimate ideal is by these means to render the mind an exact copy of Phenomena, and so rethink the Universe. Hence, seeing that by its very nature, Science is confined to the relations of Phenomena *inter se*, it cannot entertain the question of their relation to something of quite a different nature, whether such thing be conscious Subject, or extra-conscious Noumenon. These latter relations are *assumed* by Science at every step, and without such assumption Science can never use words which imply either Consciousness on the one hand, or things apart from Phenomena on the other. Therefore we may be sure beforehand that if a man profess to explain either facts of Consciousness or the nature of Things-in-themselves, he does so not by Science, or by the use of the scientific method, but by Metaphysics and the method of Metaphysics. Now this is in direct contradiction to Mr. Lewes, for not only does he profess by the method of Science alone to give definite explanations of the two problems which have been referred to, but he sees absolutely no difficulty in the matter. "When rationally stated," he says, "there is no greater mystery in the existence of an external world, or the relation between Object and Subject, than in the relation between activity and waste in the tissues, the relation between heat and expansion, or the relation between an arc and its chord" (p. 38). It is therefore interesting to examine the answers which he gives; and it is at his own suggestion that these two questions may be selected as the test. Now the very words in which he proclaims his freedom from difficulty will, if closely examined, suggest the explanation, which is this: that the questions which Mr. Lewes thinks himself able, and in fact is able to solve, are not the real questions at issue at all, but are questions relating solely to Phenomena, and therefore though undoubtedly within the range of Science, are entirely alien to Metaphysics. Let us remember to begin with, that according to one of Mr. Lewes'

* If it were necessary to confirm this by quotations, the following would suffice:—"Physics and Metaphysics (*i.e.*, Mr. Lewes' Metaphysics) deal with things and their relations as these are known to us and as they are believed to exist in our universe" (p. 18). "What is the object of each science? It is to detect the general order of things as manifested in particular groups of phenomena" (p. 65).

own rules, "no proof can be valid beyond the range of its data; no conclusion exact which shuts in what is not included in its premisses" (Rule VII. p. 95). Hence, if the premisses be phenomena, the conclusions must be about phenomena, and the only "external world" and "subject" which Science can deal with, or obtain conclusions about, must be *phenomenal* only; that is to say, the "external world" of Science must be simply the world of phenomena, and the "subject" of Science must be merely the vital organism and its "neural tremors;" and any supposed argument from these to the "external world" of Noumena and the "subject" of Consciousness must be an argument based on a metaphysical not a scientific basis. Let us justify this augury by closer examination of Mr. Lewes' reasoning. In doing so, it will be convenient to separate as far as possible the two questions referred to above, though Mr. Lewes does not always seem to bear in mind the distinction between them, and at times mixes them together in the most confusing manner, so that it is impossible to tell for many consecutive sentences with which of the two he supposes himself to be dealing. And first let us examine his treatment of the relation of Subject to Object.

The real difficulty of this question from a scientific point of view is that the two are heterogeneous; that phenomena can only tell us of phenomena; that the phenomena which are supposed to indicate the presence of consciousness differ totally from consciousness itself, and that it is possible to pass from one to the other only by a method which comprehends both, and which is therefore not scientific, but extra-scientific, metaphysical. Now (strange to say, when we consider his pretensions, though not otherwise) Mr. Lewes at times seems to admit this. He says (p. 74), "Only on the assumption of the invariability of relations objective and subjective is philosophy possible. No arithmetical operation would be valid were there not this accord between the internal and external: and the assumption of such an accord runs through Science." In strict accordance with this he says that Psychology being "the science of psychical phenomena, has to seek its data in Biology and in Sociology" (p. 109); and again, he calls it, "a section of Biology" (p. 135). Hence the elements with which it has to deal are wholly derived from the outside world, and in accordance with the rule that "no proof can be valid beyond the range of its data" (p. 95), the conclusions at which it arrives must refer wholly to the external world. Therefore when Mr. Lewes speaks of feeling, consciousness, sensation, perception, and so forth, these ought to be simply names for certain nervous phenomena, "neural tremors," as he calls them. Now at times this is clearly avowed by Mr. Lewes: and it will perhaps be well to give a few instances of such avowal. In discussing the relation of Psychology to Biology (which is shortly

expressed in the aphorism that "mind is only one of the forms of life") (p. 114), and having shown how the vital organism is derived from the Bioplasm, he says, in a passage of which part has been already quoted (p. 118), "If instead of considering the whole vital organism, we consider solely its sensitive aspects, and confine ourselves to the Nervous System, we may represent the molecular movements of the Bioplasm by the neural tremors of the Psychoplasm: these tremors are what I term *neural units*: the raw material of Consciousness;" and a few lines afterwards, "The movements of the Bioplasm constitute Vitality; the movements of the Psychoplasm constitute Sensibility." This same Psychoplasm he afterwards defines as "the mass of potential Feeling, derived from all the sensitive affections of the organism" (p. 120). Again he says, "Every feeling being a group of neural units has its particular mark in Consciousness" (p. 121): and that from Sensibility, one of the "fundamental modes of the organism," "issue the general laws of Feeling, using that term in its widest sense, including Sensation, Perception, Emotion, Volition, and Intelligence and also Instinct" (p. 130). Again, "We may consider the gradations of Sensation, After-sensation, Imagination and Hallucination, as the varying energies of the same neural tracts" (p. 149): and so "Sensations are groups of neural tremors; perceptions are groups of sensations" (p. 169). Again, Experience is defined as "the Registration of Feeling;" and to the question, "What is Feeling?" the answer given is, that "it is the reaction of the sentient Organism under stimulus" (p. 210). The above quotations might be multiplied at pleasure, but are sufficient for the purpose. What then, from this point of view, is the relation of Subject to Object? Simply the relation of the nervous system to its medium. And this also is at times clearly admitted by Mr. Lewes. For instance, he says (p. 122; also cf. p. 118 sub fin.) that the primary law of Biology that "every vital phenomenon is the product of two factors, the Organism and its Medium" is expressed in Psychology "in the equivalent formula" that "Every psychical phenomenon is the product of two factors, the Subject and the Object;" and again (p. 189, cf. p. 127), "I regard Perception as the assimilation of the Object by the Subject in the same way that Nutrition is the assimilation of the Medium by the Organism." Now from this point of view all is consistent; and with this explanation of what is to be meant by Subject and Object, Science is perfectly competent to explain the relation between them. But, in the name of all that is most wonderful, what has this to do with the question of the relation between Subject and Object in the ordinary or metaphysical meaning of the words? or in other words, between the subjective *Consciousness* and the objective world of *Phenomena*? It is merely another shuffling of names which explains nothing at all. However, if the new meanings

thus assigned to Subject and Object were consistently maintained, the objection to Mr. Lewes' conclusion would be confined to this, that it is an *ignoratio elenchi*, and proves nothing; and the justice of such an objection would be so clear that argument would be unnecessary. But alas! this is not so. Mr. Lewes doubtless felt that if Consciousness is to be confined to "neural tremors" no conclusion with respect to it would touch the metaphysical question which he has promised to answer. For though in one curious passage (p. 151) he seems to think that it is possible to "exhibit how sentient phenomena may be explained by neural phenomena" by simply making "a new anatomy of the nervous system" in which particular attention is to be paid to "Vascular Irrigation" and "the calibre of the cerebral and carotid trunks," yet it can hardly be supposed that such an explanation was completely satisfactory to his mind. At any rate he is perpetually using a less elaborate and quicker method of passing from one to the other; a method which consists in introducing into arguments which deal merely with "neural tremors" considerations applicable only to Consciousness in its ordinary subjective sense; so that by a covert departure from his original definition he appears to have dealt with the metaphysical relation of Subject and Object. Consider the following passage, remembering Mr. Lewes' definition of Consciousness as "a group of neural units" or as "the mass of stationary waves formed out of the individual waves of neural tremors" (p. 150). "Neural processes which formerly were accompanied by Consciousness sink into Sub-Consciousness, and on occasion re-emerge into distinct light of day. But even in the sub-conscious stage they are always *sentient*. The practice, too frequent, of speaking of actions as *unconscious*, is more than a contradiction in terms." Unfelt feelings "are altogether inadmissible. On the other hand, to speak of Consciousness (meaning thereby a particular aspect) as the *substance* of Mind, the universal condition of psychical phenomena, is also misleading. What is universal is the neural process, which on the subjective side is the sentient process. Sentience may assume the form of Consciousness or the form of Sub-Consciousness" (p. 141); a passage which ends with the already quoted oracular utterance, of which the wisdom must surely be too deep for the words which attempt to convey it, that "Sentience is always sentient, as Vision is always visual." Or take again the following passage (p. 135), "What on the physiological side is simply a neural process, is on the psychological side a sentient process. We may liken Sentience to Combustion, and then the neural units will stand for the oscillating molecules. Sentience may manifest itself under the form of Consciousness, or under that of Sub-Consciousness—which may be compared to Combustion manifesting

itself in flame and in heat." Or again, "Cut off an animal's leg and stimulate the sciatic nerve, the leg will move, but no sensation will have been produced. Nor is this all. Unless the excitation is *assimilated* by the psychological medium it does not become *sentient*; and unless it becomes sentient it cannot become a sensation" (p. 131).

In the passages quoted above, and in countless others,* Mr. Lewis speaks of "consciousness," "sentience," "subject," and so forth, in words which are inapplicable to "groups of neural tremors," but can only refer to the natural or metaphysical meaning of the words, and so while starting from nerves and medium (the only starting-point which Science allows him) he professes to arrive at the relation of Subject and Object. This then, forsooth, is the meaning of applying scientific data to metaphysical questions. It would be well if Mr. Lewes had borne in mind one of his own "rules of philosophizing"—namely, that "the validity of conclusions rests on the preservation of homogeneity in the terms and the identity of their ratios" (Rule X. p. 99). That he has forgotten it is the more surprising as he censures in others what he calls the "common fallacy" of "the unconscious substitution of new terms in place of the old" (p. 407),—a fallacy of which his own argument is a most forcible illustration.

Indeed it would seem that every now and then a vague suspicion does float in his mind that all is not right, for at times he throws out dim metaphysical phrases in the hope, as it would seem, that they may congeal and stiffen into some phantom bridge to span the gulf between the consciousness which consists in "neural tremors," and the real consciousness of the inner life. Such is the following:—that "the axioms of Logic and the axioms of Science, are the concave and convex aspects of the same curve" (p. 75, cf. p. 202); a relation which he afterwards (p. 76) somewhat flatteringly calls "intelligible," and repeats in another form as follows,—that "every mental phenomenon has its corresponding neural phenomenon (the two being as the convex and concave surfaces of the same sphere, distinguishable yet identical)" (p. 112). Such, too, is the expression that "the Object is the *other side* of the Subject" (p. 195); and that the external world is "*reflected* in Sentience" (p. 184). Surely never were such instances of what Mr. Lewes calls a phrase "doing duty for an explanation" (p. 152). Note too, that even the phrases (such as they are) though expressed in scientific language, do not even

* See, for instance, p. 123 (where the psychoplasm is identified with experience), p. 126 (where he criticises the "introspection of consciousness"), pp. 133, 151, 202 (where phenomena are called "affections of consciousness with external signs"). The confusion between the two senses of consciousness cannot be better exemplified than on p. 249, where they occur in two consecutive lines.

profess to be based on scientific data, or to be arrived at by scientific method ; they are, in fact, nothing more than awkward expressions of a *metaphysical* guess.

So on this first point our augury is fulfilled. Mr. Lewes' promised explanation of the relation between Object and Subject turns out, as was expected, to be nothing more than an exposition of the physical dependence of nervous tremors on the surrounding medium, ingeniously expressed in language which conveys an entirely different meaning, and which can only be connected with the meaning arbitrarily assigned to it by assuming the metaphysical fact which is the whole question at issue.

Let us now turn to the second question, that of the nature of an External World. We have already said that the discussion of this is so mixed up by Mr. Lewes with that of the question which we have just considered, that it is almost impossible to disentangle from his words any connected thread of either. Nor is the reason of this far to seek. For seeing that Science can deal only with Phenomena, it is evident that all questions of which it is to treat must be reduced to phenomenal relations ; and therefore if it try to solve questions relating to other than Phenomena, this can only be done (even in appearance, not at all really) by expressing them in such phenomenal language as bears the closest analogy to them, and thus treating them as if they were phenomenal relations. This is equally necessary whether the non-phenomenal term of the relation be on the one side of Phenomena or on the other ; whether it be the conscious Subject or the extra-conscious Noumenon. And the connexion of nerve and medium having been dressed up to do duty for the former relation, will do just as well for the latter also, especially as it is an easy metaphor to describe Phenomena as lying halfway between Subject and Noumena, so that their relation to the one might seem to be merely the inversion of their relation to the other. However this may be, it remains certain that if the question of Realism and Idealism is to be passed off as capable of scientific treatment, it must be counterfeited by some phenomenal question ; and the phenomenal question which Mr. Lewes has chosen to counterfeit it, is, as in the case of Subject and Object, the relation of nerve to medium ; and by mixing up the three questions together in the way mentioned above, there is no doubt quite a sufficient degree of confusion introduced to mislead even the careful inquirer.

This identification of the question of nerve and medium with that of Realism and Idealism leads to very curious results ; more curious even than those which followed from its identification with the question of Subject and Object. For whereas Mr. Lewes is strictly speaking, by the mere fact of his denial of

Metemprics an Idealist ; and though whenever the question presents itself distinctly to his mind he enunciates Idealist doctrines, yet such a hold has the confusion referred to obtained over him that he is led to call himself a "Realist," and to propound a form of "Realism" peculiar to himself, which (with Herodotean rather than Socratic irony) he designates by the name of "Reasoned Realism." Let us first verify the former assertion that Mr. Lewes' real belief is that which ever since Berkeley has been called Idealism—namely, that the external world has no existence, so far as we know, apart from phenomena ; in other words, that its *esse* is *percipi*, or at most *sentiri*. "From subjective differences," he says (p. 191, cf. p. 192), "it has been concluded that there is an objective existence independent of all and *unlike* each ; I hold, on the contrary, that the objective existence is to each what it is felt to be." Again he says, "We conclude then that a thing *is* what it *appears*" (p. 361, cf. pp. 170, 178) ; and, going even a step further, "Speculation craves for a vision of the thing or event *in itself*, i.e. *unrelated* ; in other words, as it does not and cannot exist" (p. 362 : cf. too, the whole discussion as to the "extra-sensible" and "supra-sensible world," pp. 257—268). Never was Idealism more distinctly expressed.

We are far from saying that Mr. Lewes consistently maintains this view, even where he is confining himself strictly to this question. There are passages which seem to imply at least that modification of Idealism which asserts the possible or even actual extension of existence to relations to forms of consciousness other than our own ; and others which contain the *language* at least of crude Realism. As an instance of the latter, he says (p. 149, cf. pp. 186, 187), that "the sensation is fitly considered *real* because it has objective reality (*res*) for its antecedent stimulus." As an instance of the former, he asserts "the possibility of the external factor in perception having *another* existence in relation to *other* factors" (p. 193). And again he says, "I am far from implying that a supra-sensible does not exist. I only affirm that it does not exist *for us* as an object of positive knowledge, though forced upon us as a negative conception" (p. 252, cf. p. 192).

But, on the whole, it would seem that he would maintain that which a system which rejects inquiry into the "otherness" of things as metemprical and impossible (cf. pp. 18, 182) necessarily implies, namely, that the Noumenon or Thing in itself, whether it exist in other relations or not, does not exist as far as we are concerned. "All that we can know of the external," he says (p. 178), "is what we have felt or might feel," so that *to us* at least the Phenomenon is the Real, and "the object felt exists precisely *as* it is felt ; existing for us only in Feeling, its reality is what we feel" (p. 192). And this no one, except by a

complete inversion of terms, could call anything but Idealism; the Reasoned and Reasonable Idealism of Berkeley.

And yet Mr. Lewes calls himself a Realist, a "Reasoned Realist." What then is the meaning of this? Simply that he mistakes the question at issue. He represents it to himself as a question not between phenomena and noumena, but between phenomena and ideas, between sense and reason; in other words, he treats it as another aspect of the question between Subject and Object, Organism and Medium. Listen to his proclamation of the "doctrine of this work," "Reasoned Realism." "It is a doctrine," he says (p. 177), "which endeavours to rectify the natural illusion of Reason when Reason attempts to rectify the supposed illusion of Sense I call it Realism, because it affirms the reality of what is given in Feeling;" (mark that this is in opposition not to noumena, but to reason or ideas), and Reasoned Realism, because it justifies that affirmation through an investigation of the grounds and processes of Philosophy, when Philosophy explains the facts given in Feeling. The reality of an external existence, a Not-self, is a fact of Feeling, so indissolubly woven into Consciousness that the very terms in which Idealism seeks to disprove it are themselves derived from it." Now, so far is Idealism from seeking to disprove this, that it is the one fact which Idealism undertakes to prove; for it is the very point of difference between Idealism and Realism that the former maintains that the reality of an external world consists in feeling and in feeling alone, while the latter holds that it is something outside feeling altogether. The question as to the relation of feeling to reason is one which is not in dispute between them, and which neither of them is concerned to answer. Mr. Lewes says (p. 181) that "the original fact given to all is that of an external reality present in Feeling, the fact that a Not-self exists." No doubt; but such a Not-self is exactly the Not-self of Idealism, for it is Not-self as opposed, not to the self of Consciousness or Feeling (the correlative of the Not-self of Realism), but to the self of Reason only. We will quote but one more passage, and that will conclusively demonstrate what Mr. Lewes imagines to be the question by solution of what he calls himself a Reasoned Realist (p. 185).

"Between Realism and Idealism I should say that the question must be rendered more definite by a preliminary settlement as to whether we ask a question of Psychogeny or a question of Psychology. If it is the genesis of our modes of sentient reaction and their relation to the external which we consider, then the answer will take the realistic form; since Psychogeny, tracing the evolution of Sensibility in the organic world, must conclude that it is the external order which *determines* the internal order, by determining the organic structure of which Sensibility is the property: the evolution of perceptions,

instincts, volitions, conceptions, is through successive adaptations of the successively modified structure. But if the question be not one of genesis, if it assume the existence of the organized structure with its developed aptitudes, the answer will be a sort of compromise between the realistic and idealistic answers. Psychology accepting the developed organism as one of the factors in the fact of perception, estimates the influence of this co-operant, and concludes that since the organism necessarily reacts according to its modes, it may be said to colour objects, although this mode of reaction is itself a mode *originally* due to the action of objects."

And after some further discussion of the same kind he states his own position in the following terms, which have been already quoted, but are sufficiently striking to bear repetition: "I regard Perception as the assimilation of the Object by the Subject in the same way that Nutrition is the assimilation of the Medium by the Organism" (p. 189). Could there be a more complete justification of the statements which have been made above, that Mr. Lewes, while professing to deal with the metaphysical questions of the relation of Subject and Object, and of the nature of an external world, never even touches upon either of them, but deals instead with the totally different question of the relation of Organism to Medium, a question of neural tremors, and nutrition, and psychoplasm? The relation of Subject to Object is first mixed up with that of phenomena to noumena, and then both are identified with the relation of nerve to medium. Such is at once the result and the explanation of the promised application of scientific method to Metaphysics. We cannot wonder that metaphysical problems seemed to offer no difficulties to Mr. Lewes.

We have now tested Mr. Lewes' treatment of these two metaphysical questions, selected not only for their testing value but at his own suggestion, and we can have no hesitation in affirming that he has not advanced a single step towards the solution of either of them by the use of the method which he has proposed. We may add, that neither he nor any other writer will ever do so. The reason of this has been already implied, but as it is apparently so easily lost sight of, it may be well to restate it. It is this:—Science deals with phenomena, and its method is the comparison of phenomena *inter se*; Metaphysics, on the contrary, deals with the relations of phenomena as a whole to other genera of existence. (This is not indeed its whole sphere, but is the only part of it which is concerned with phenomena.) Hence it is impossible that either the results or the method of Science should lead to the discovery of any metaphysical truth; as impossible as it would be by the study of Optics to infer the relation of light to sound or electricity.

We must conclude, therefore, that metaphysical questions are beyond the range of scientific investigation. Does it follow that they are metempirical? Mr. Lewes would say that this is the only alternative; for, according to him, whatever does not admit of scientific treatment is metempirical and unknowable. But if by metempirical be meant what Mr. Lewes defines it to mean (p. 17), namely, "that which lies beyond the limits of experience" (whether actual or possible), then it is not true that the problems of Metaphysics are metempirical. Mr. Lewes' error lies in the supposition that the sphere of Science embraces the whole of experience: whereas, as has been already shown, it includes only one portion of it, the objective; while there is another portion, equally extensive, namely, the subjective, which lies altogether outside it. By this subjective experience is meant not any organ of intellectual intuition or faculty of grasping the suprasensible, such as Mr. Lewes sets up (in order to knock down) as the only possible source of experience besides phenomena; but simply the succession of conscious states, of pains and pleasures, volitions and emotions, thoughts and memories, which form the personal or inner life of each individual, and which are to him quite as integral a portion of experience as the sensuous or phenomenal succession, which, though in a sense part of the same consciousness, yet by certain marks of independence he separates from the former succession, of which all the terms are apparently present in consciousness, and therefore subject to volitional control, and classes apart as a succession of which only certain scattered terms present themselves to him, and that according to laws which are only partially within his own control; and so projects as it were out of himself as an external world. It is with the latter alone that Science deals, and its mode of operation is that which its origin and subject matter imply, namely, by neglecting the accident of what particular terms are present in consciousness in each individual instance, and by varying the circumstances from time to time by means of observation and experiment, to eliminate consciousness from the result, and so, in Mr. Lewes' phraseology, to calculate known functions of an unknown quantity in terms of other known functions. In this way it can use data involving unknown and even irrational quantities, and yet arrive at an ultimate equation in which all the terms are both known and rational. But this being so, it is evidently quite extraneous to the function of Science to inquire into the nature of these unknown quantities themselves. The science of colour can never even give a blind man a sensation of sight, much less give him direct consciousness of the sight of others. Nor can the *method* of Science be of any avail in this subjective branch, except in so far as all methods of comparison

and registration of results must be identical. The method of Science is confined to the objective side, and the subjective has a method of its own; a method perhaps little understood and imperfectly developed, but which may for distinctness' sake be called the introspective method, because its materials are derived from introspection or reflection, and the general scope of which must be to eliminate external factors, and express the result in a form independent of the accidents of an external medium, just as Science eliminates the internal factors and gets rid of the accidents of the individual consciousness. Here then is a branch of experience entirely independent of Science; but even this is not the sphere of Metaphysics, it is that of Subjective Psychology. The sphere of Metaphysics lies still higher: it embraces the whole of experience; not the objective or the subjective division alone, but the *whole*: it therefore includes both Science and Subjective Psychology. Its method must therefore be not either the scientific or the introspective; it must be a method embracing both, and harmonizing both. Thus at last in a higher sense than that implied by Mr. Lewes, Metaphysics does indeed include "the highest generalizations of research." But it is not confined to the highest truths of Science, nor to the highest truths of the inner consciousness; it embraces all truth, all possible knowledge. So too, its method is not the "objective logic" of Mr. Lewes, nor the "subjective logic" of the introspective school, but the universal logic, the organization formula of the whole of human experience.

The object of the preceding remarks having been to disprove the claim advanced by Mr. Lewes on behalf of Science to control, and, in fact, abolish metaphysical research, it has been necessary to point out what appear to us to be the due bounds of each, and to claim for Metaphysics the right to the exclusive and undisturbed possession of its own territory. In doing so we may seem to have been speaking in the interests of Metaphysics, and some of our readers may wonder at our apparent conversion to a belief in the fruitfulness of metaphysical inquiry. In conclusion, therefore, we will repeat that our criticisms have been made purely in the interests of Science, and to prevent any misconception or misdirection which might retard its progress; and will add that we still retain the opinion which has been often previously expressed in this *Review*, that the field of Metaphysics, though held by a title not to be disputed, though possibly containing in its depths the elements of extraordinary future fertility, and though even now broad and level and well suited for an arena of athletes, is yet in the present stage of human development a barren and unprofitable soil. What may be the duty of future ages it does not concern us to speculate; *our* duty lies in the present, and a

religion which denies the supreme importance of the present, and would have men try to live in the future, should be shunned as one of the most dangerous, because one of the most seductive of delusions. *At present* it seems to us that Science offers the only field for intellectual toil which brings a sure and adequate return to labour, and that for that reason it is the duty of the present race of mankind to apply themselves to its cultivation with their utmost energy. So far as this involves the comparative neglect of Metaphysics we have been and are still advocates of such neglect; and it is exactly because we do not wish that neglect to be prematurely or injudiciously terminated that we protest against its being turned into aggression. Further than this, we have no ill-will to Metaphysics.

Towards Mr. Lewes and his earnestness in the cause of Science we have the most cordial goodwill, and it is in all sincerity that we address to him the following parting words of advice:—

“Heat not a furnace for your foe so hot
That it do singe yourself. . . . Know you not
The fire that mounts the liquor till’t run o’er
In seeming to augment it wastes it? Be advised.”

ART. VI.—THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN.

1. *Women's Need of Representation.* By Miss A. L. ROBERTSON, Dublin.
2. *Our Policy.* An Address to Women concerning the Suffrage. By FRANCES POWER COBBE.
3. *Ought Women to learn the Alphabet?* By T. W. HIGGINSON, New York and London.
4. *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.* A Reply to Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, &c. By LYDIA E. BECKER.

WHAT is the position of women in England at this day? It has, doubtless, risen with advancing civilization at war with old traditions; it has been improved by very slowly improving education; it is ornamented and disguised by masculine compliments; and it is surrounded, in drawing-rooms, by chivalrous homage, meaning thereby politeness, as well as by an abundance of outward comfort and luxuries. Yet—legally, and therefore, more or less, socially—it is merely a modification of ancient barbarism, ordered on barbarian principles,

mitigated in their working but still barbarian. The progress made in other directions, the changes other institutions have undergone, make this fact still more conspicuous, the position of women still more exceptional.

In the early ages of the human race advantage was taken of woman's physical weakness to make her literally a slave; she is now—in civilized nations, that is—merely in "subjection." In old times—and not such very old times either—she was reviled and despised for the defects fostered in her by slavery; she is now more gently branded by the law as an "inferior," in company with "criminals, lunatics, and idiots;" and complacently told by men—seriously, with the most complimentary intentions it may be, and with full conviction—that this legal inferiority, this positive subjection, implies and results in a social superiority, first formulated by "chivalry" (only women of the drawing-room class being recognised under this theory) and form, the safeguard of that higher moral excellence she is credited with along side of a lower mental capacity.

But this legal position of women does, we think, tell on herself and on society in general, in quite a different way, the unconscious, or half-conscious, efforts she has herself made hitherto, according to her more or less of education to resist these evil influences, producing, the while, the strangest incongruities. It has fostered grievous private and individual wrongs; and, worse still, it helps yet, as the principle on which it was founded has helped for ages, to lower the tone of that society it is supposed to benefit. Many thinking men and women, in continually increasing numbers, have begun to perceive this; and a good many others have been from time to time aware that there was something a little wrong in matters of detail—something here and there that might be amended. To these latter, and, we believe, to English legislators in general, it has always seemed easier to modify the evil workings of a vicious principle than to abolish it altogether. Such minds do not even seek to distinguish the authority of old-established prejudice from the sanction of nature and reason. It seems to them more natural to grant privileges than justice, indulgence than liberty. It has not occurred to them to ask themselves whether, after all, woman may not be allowed a voice, or at least the fraction of a voice, in the ordering of her own position in the world, of her own dearest interests and liberties.

It would be useless, most unjust, most unphilosophical, to bring a railing accusation against men on this account—especially unphilosophical because such, or such like, has been the course of action of all irresponsibly dominant classes since the world

began, until the eyes of both ruler and ruled have been at last opened to a sense of its injustice. And, further, it would be most ungrateful to those noble and generous minds amongst them whose hearty sympathy and active efforts to obtain justice for women—that is, in fact, justice to all society—deserve the most ample acknowledgment. It requires—and this is true of every one of us, man or woman—much imagination, much sympathy, much reflection in the first instance, to shake off the influence of ancient prejudice instilled into us from birth and inherited from ages. Many minds are wholly incapable of this effort. How many unconscious and even benevolent oppressors, throughout the long history of class and race-dominations, down to the modern slave-holder (for there have been kindhearted slave-holders, we doubt not), have been able to comprehend, or to how many has it even occurred, that traditional acquiescence on the part of the subjected does not necessarily constitute a natural or religious sanction; that a time may come when it is actually not enough to tell the subject-class that they have everything they want or ought to want, that they ought to be thankful to be taken care of, for they cannot take care of themselves, that they are by nature inferior? There comes a time when irresponsible power appears in a different light to those on whom it is exercised from that in which it is seen by those exercising it. It is long, indeed, before both parties become equally aware that *both* are injured by it; that justice, in such cases as these, “blesses both him that gives and him that takes,” much in the moment of giving, more in its after results.

This domination of one sex over the other—that is, of one half the mature human race over the other half—has lasted longer than most others, because the physical force is permanently on the side of the first. And this, indeed, is sometimes itself considered as a decisive reason why women should not plead right and justice: they cannot enforce them; therefore nature means that they should not have them any further than man finds it convenient to allow. But to refuse justice because it cannot be enforced is not in other relations of life reckoned the highest morality.

To many men, conscious in their hearts of nothing but kindness, indulgence, and generosity to the women they associate with; to many who see, or think they see, fairly happy marriages all round them; who see how often women “get their own way,” as it is called, by the good nature of their own particular rulers, by cajolery, by unconscionable teasing, by temper, by the obstinacy of their prejudices—those prejudices that men have fostered in women as “so feminine”—or even by superior good sense; to

those who have perceived that society, even as it is, can produce noble-minded women, and have possibly worshipped such in their hearts, or who ask for nothing better than to be allowed tenderly to protect some tender creature whom they love—to these it may seem exaggerated, unreal, and ridiculous to talk of the domination of men over women—at least in England and in most civilized countries. We think, with all deference to the feelings of such men, it is because the evils it has produced and is still producing are so deep-seated and complex, and extend so far beyond their own especial social surroundings, that they have escaped their notice; their very position of legal superiority, of which they are scarcely conscious, so habituated are they to it, having blinded their eyes.

And so are many, many women's eyes blinded; many who, happy in their own circumstances, have never dreamed, any more than their masters, of questioning the authority of old tradition; have never connected the vices of the society around them, or their own shortcomings, in any way, however indirect, with the position women hold in it. These will generally seem unconscious that their contentment with their own condition, their ignorance how far even it might be higher or more useful, do not necessarily constitute an argument for other women in other circumstances. They will perhaps protest, when female suffrage is spoken of, against women "stepping out of their right place." The question, however, is, what, after all, is woman's right place, the precise line beyond which it is profanation for her to step? Is it necessarily, precisely, and only the line pointed out by men—the point fixed by them in different ages, countries, and even classes, being different? Obediently as such women have adopted the traditional teaching of men, yet the question will arise, is it not just possible that men too have a little stepped out of *their* place in imposing these limits on women? It is allowed that they have done so, in more barbarous times, are they not doing so still?

Others again—multitudes—married and single, and of all classes, are conscious of something wrong in their own and others' lots, are pained by a vague uneasiness or suppressed bitterness, whilst without the culture needed to guide them clearly to *one* source of the evils,—we say *one*, for we are of course aware that the countless inequalities and iniquities growing up with a complicated civilization, and pressing so hardly even on many men, must have many sources. The evils however from which women suffer are especially aggravated by their legal position being essentially unchanged, whilst all things are changed around them.

In arguing for the principle of female citizenship, we must observe that the suffrage has no inherent magical or divine property in it to remove as by a charm all the evils of which we complain; yet, under our present institutions, the extension of it to women is the only way of expressing that principle, and is, we believe, an absolutely necessary balance to the increasing number of men now admitted. We are not, however, anxious to dwell much in this article on the directly political aspect of the question, nor yet on the terrible wrongs and miseries of women under its legal aspects, but rather to call the attention of candid minds to various social considerations deeply affected by their political and legal position. For all these, we maintain, are interdependent, acting and reacting on each other.

In carrying out this view, we may seem sometimes to be wandering rather far afield; but we hope that some few, both of men and women, will perceive that these apparent wanderings do in fact all lead up very directly to the point at which we are aiming.

Before going further in this direction, however, we will just notice the chief objections that have been raised to the emancipation of women, objections mostly of detail, raised by those who, unable to grasp a large general idea, instinctively fix their eyes successively on the supposed difficulties in carrying it out. Some of these objections—most of them, in fact—serve to display the curious ingenuity of the human mind in imagining hindrances to any alteration of an established order of things, the first feeling being always, not, how can we see our way to grant this? but, how shall we discover a sufficient number of objections to justify our refusal?

The objections in question have been answered over and over again; and it is a curious fact that in this discussion masculine opponents to the emancipation of women seem to have changed their traditional parts with women. Women urge a principle, men stumble at the details. Or they do acknowledge the principle, but decline to carry it to its legitimate results. Women ask for justice, men offer privileges: women advance reasons, men answer with their own feelings and instincts; women meet assertions with evidence in disproof, men re-assert them without attempting further proof.

Here, however, is the first, perhaps only, objection which really deserves attention, that the majority of women do not desire the suffrage.

We answer, that the minority which does desire it is a constantly increasing one (not adequately represented even by the increasing number of signatures to petitions). We must further point out

that a large portion of the majority, which does not desire it, has simply not been educated to think about it, and has passed a great part of life without the subject having been brought before it at all; whilst the minority, that does desire it, includes very many women of the highest intellect and cultivation, who have thought deeply on the subject, and many who, feeling for themselves and their neighbours the need of better protection than masculine legislation has hitherto allowed them, gladly welcome the faintest hope of emancipation. Next, as to those who desire the suffrage without signing petitions for it, few men can realize, without some effort of the imagination, the pressure put upon women in all cases where their views differ from those of the masculine public. There is, to begin with, their own tenderness for the prejudices of those with whom they live, not to say positive prohibition by fathers and husbands—such arbitrary interference with the independence of mature minds being so sanctioned by law and custom that it is hard, even for those who suffer from it, to resist it. Next, we must take into account that intense shrinking from masculine sarcasm and mockery which has been so carefully fostered in women that they have justly been said to “live under a gospel of ridicule.” And it is part of our argument that this moral coercion *has* been lavishly employed to supplement the legal subjection of women, much of their boasted acquiescence in what *we* consider a faulty state of things having been thus produced. Few can realize, we repeat, without some reflection, some sympathetic insight, how much silent revolt goes on in subjected classes before they openly rebel. In men this silent revolt is generally held to be dangerous, and worth inquiring into; in women, for obvious reasons, it is not. And with women it will be longest maintained, and with more corroding bitterness in proportion, in spite of the persuasions, half contemptuous, half flattering, which now, more frequently than before, alternate with sneers.

Others again—thinking and conscientious women—are still undecided to put their names to the movement, deterred by an overstrained sense of their responsibility; but these may at any moment conclude in its favour, and cannot be reckoned in the majority against it.

We are ready to allow that there are women—and doubtless even some thinking and cultivated ones amongst them—(oftenest, however, such as profess no knowledge and reason on the subject, only “instincts” and “feelings”) who deprecate female suffrage altogether; many more who are absolutely indifferent, and all of these are apt to conceive that their own individual dislike or indifference is argument enough against

extending the suffrage to those who *do* desire it, reason enough for withholding even their sympathy. Of all such women we would speak with respect and sympathy; yet may we not point out to them, and to the men who appeal to their authority, that it is scarcely reasonable that numbers of the thinking, the cultivated, the sensible, the practical, the suffering and oppressed amongst women, should be denied their desire in deference to the "feelings and instincts," the individual disinclination or indifference of the others? Many, too, of these others are precisely those whom the present bill for the female franchise would not affect personally. We hold, nevertheless, that even these, the indifferent—all in fact—would be directly or indirectly benefited in time by the change. Those who do not want the franchise need not exercise it—that is their own affair, as it is of men, who in like manner may decline to vote, though we hold that the choice ought to be given to them nevertheless. We doubt, however, whether these very female dissentients will not be glad, when the time comes, to use their own votes, after seeing how easily and quietly other women have used theirs before them. And what is more, we suspect the masculine objectors will be equally glad to profit by these votes.

Finally, the argument that women do not want the franchise and would be better without it, is in spirit the same as that by which slaveholders have always justified slavery. We do not hold that the negro's ignorance of the moral evils of his position was an argument for keeping him in it.

Of the other objections it may almost be said, that to state them is to refute them. First of these we will take men's "instincts and feelings." To us it does not seem more fair to decide the question of justice by the "instincts and feelings" of men than, as we have said, by the "instincts and feelings" of some women, as against the reason and practical needs of the others. And these "instincts and feelings" have been cited as authoritatively in sanction of restrictions which would *now* be thought barbarian, as of those still enforced and not yet thought barbarian.

Again, it is said that women are unfit for the vote, because they are women. It is true that the training enforced upon women, directly and indirectly, for ages, by men, whereby their characters and minds are in some sort the artificial creation of men, has seemingly had for its object to make them unfit for the powers men exercise. Women have, in consequence, for ages made no combined effort for emancipation; but exactly as they become aware of the real nature of this traditional training, does this supposed unfitness lessen, and the best way at this moment

completely to fit them to exercise those powers is to grant them.

What mental or moral "fitness" is sought for as a qualification for the masculine voter, except by that rough sort of classification which does not exclude the drunkard, the wife-beater, the illiterate, the liberated convict, and the semi-idiot? And when you place beside these Harriet Martineau, Florence Nightingale, George Eliot, and many more whose names we all know, as well as the numbers of women who show every kind of practical fitness in common life—to say that *these* are unfit because they are women, and *those* are fit because they are men, is very like begging the question.

But there are special unfitnesses urged against women. We cannot condescend to dwell on the argument that they are incapable of giving their vote for want of physical strength, or that the chronic state of "blushing and fear" prescribed for them by Mr. Bouverie would make it improper and impossible for even a middle-aged woman to face the bustle of polling-places, otherwise than by observing that if it were wished to grant women votes, means might easily be found for making it possible to deliver them. But we will mention one other (we think the only special) unfitness alleged against them (except indeed their want of training in political and official life, which they share with a large number of franchise-holding men). This special unfitness resides in their greater "impulsiveness," "excitability," and "sympathy," which are supposed to include and imply "unreasonableness" and "injustice." Till, however, it is argued that Ireland, for example, is naturally disqualified for the suffrage because the Celt is more "excitable," "impulsive," and "sympathetic" than the Saxon—or indeed till, as we must repeat, moral or intellectual qualifications are made a *sine quâ non* in any class of masculine voters whatever, this objection can hardly stand. We will, therefore, only suggest that the co-operation of impulse and sympathy with the more solid and matter-of-fact element in legislation may not be wholly without its political advantages.*

Next, it has been alleged that already too many *men* have the suffrage, as a reason for withholding it from women. Even

* It has been argued that the supposed excitability of women will drive them downright mad, if they are allowed to vote. Mrs. Anderson has met this droll suggestion by affirming, from her own professional experience, the good effect, more interesting occupations, more important objects in life have on women's health, bodily and mental. If a woman finds her interest in politics bringing her to the brink of insanity, she will perhaps, under proper medical advice, be able to refrain; but that is her own affair. We do not legislate to prevent *men* from going mad if they choose.

granting the fact, it is not just to say that, because A has had too much given him of a good thing, therefore B shall have none at all, especially when B even requires it as a protection against A. At all events, the extended suffrage has been granted, and cannot now be withdrawn—one reason the more, as we have implied, why women should desire it in their turn, since they now see the drunkard, the wife-beater, the illiterate called, in much larger numbers than before, to legislate indirectly for their dearest and the most delicate domestic concerns, those alike of the most refined and cultivated as of the most helpless and uneducated of their sex.

Here, naturally, comes the assertion, that “women are virtually represented by men.” Indeed, on every proposed extension of political rights, it has been usual for the classes who thought their interests opposed to it to urge that *they* virtually represented the others. This assertion is disproved by the whole course of class legislation in all ages and everywhere; and the harshness of masculine legislation for women certainly forms no exception to the rule.*

If we are reminded that some classes of men are still unrepresented, we answer (putting aside the probably near approach of household suffrage), that *all* women of *all* classes are unrepresented, are all declared to labour under an irremediable birth-disqualification. Individual *men* of the unenfranchised classes can rise to acquire a vote: a woman never can. And women only ask for the vote on the same conditions as those on which it is conferred upon men.

Let us consider here the confessed difficulty of protecting wives in certain classes against the violence of their husbands, as bearing on the plea of “virtual representation.” We would not brand any class of our countrymen with hard names, least of all those who have so long suffered, in common with women, such grievous legislative wrongs, such cruel deprivation of education, and are even now struggling to emancipate themselves, scarcely conscious yet that the women’s cause rests on the same ground as theirs. But it is too sadly notorious to be denied that, in these working and labouring classes, public opinion and the growth of education have not yet banished drunken habits and consequent brutality, and that the difficulties in the way of adequate legal interposition are almost insuperable. Compare the penalties inflicted in these cases with those

* Take, as one instance, the laws of the custody and guardianship of children, whereby the married (only the *married*) mothers, they whose sex’s special and highest function is said to be the maternal, are denied any legal right over their own offspring past the first few years of infancy, as against the will of the father, whatever or whoever he may be, living or dead.

in which a wife has assaulted a husband, or one man another man. *Here* there is no difficulty in carrying out the full severity of the law. We do not assert that those who administer it do not *wish* to enforce it in behalf of women, though judges and juries do sometimes give us cause to suspect them of considering an assault by the inferior on the superior, by the weaker on the stronger, as more heinous than one with the conditions reversed.

The wife is, in these classes, so helplessly in her husband's power, so trained to feel the violence of her master as a part of his conjugal superiority, that she very often dares not, perhaps actually does not, resent his brutality. It seems to us that at least one approach towards remedying this state of things would be to surround her social status with every equal right and dignity the law can give her. Law should not aim at rendering her *more* helpless, *more* dependent than inferior strength would naturally make her. The same barbarian prejudice which excludes all women from every political right also subjects the wife to a law which has been called "the most barbarous in Europe." It has naturally taken its full effect on the uneducated classes, that is, it has degraded both man and woman together. That almost superstitious, dog-like patience and loyalty which lead a wife to submit to a beating without complaint, and which some men tenderly praise as the *ne plus ultra* of wife-like excellence, might, we think, be exchanged for a nobler form of devotion by making her her husband's legal and social equal; and one indirect step towards this will be giving women some share in making the laws which concern themselves.*

A favourite objection is, that the exercise of the suffrage will interfere with women's duties. It cannot be seriously meant by this that the taking up of a few hours every few years in delivering a vote will hinder a woman—even the most hard-working—in her daily duties more than it would a hard-working man. Indeed, in the present case, it is only asked for unmarried women and widows, many of them possessed of ample leisure and sufficient means. But is it meant that the possession of this franchise would so much more excite and unsettle their minds, and throw them so much more violently into political agitation in the quiet intervening years, than men, as to unfit them for those duties which we are assured it is their nature to perform, and which they find their chief happiness in? This argument rests on the following assumptions:—That it is the business of the legislature to provide more rigorously for the performance of women's private duties than men's; that their

* This is the more needful since legislation for women, whether so called protective or other, is more and more taking the shape of restrictions on their personal liberty.

good sense and conscience will be found less trustworthy in proportion as they have liberty to exercise them ; that whilst we legislate to prevent the race in general from following blindly their natural instincts, we must also legislate to prevent women from *forsaking* theirs at the first opportunity ; and, finally, that women (unlike men) have no rights, only duties. Assuredly to a noble soul the word "duties" has a higher inspiration than the word "rights;" only some of the highest duties cannot be so well performed without rights. The circle of a slave's duties is very small, and that of a woman's—though she is no longer in England a slave—has been restricted to a point that future generations will view with wonder.

Again, some who do not so much object to the admission (taken by itself) of the unmarried possessing the legal qualifications, cannot see their way to the admission of wives, and consider that objection conclusive against the admission of any, as this would be granting privileges to the recognised "failures" of society while they are withheld from their recognised superiors. We can but say, that if to grant the suffrage be an act of justice, you ought not to refuse it to some because you cannot yet see your way to extending it to all. This theory of the inferiority of women in general to men, and the special inferiority to be enforced by legal subjection on the married amongst them, who are yet declared to be the superiors of the single, involves some curious contradictions.

Further, these objectors will add that if you grant the suffrage to the single having the proper qualification, wives will by-and-by demand it as well, either by a change in the qualification for a vote, or in the marriage law. We answer, let that question be discussed when the time comes. It is neither just nor generous to refuse a rightful concession for fear other concessions may be asked for. Meanwhile the supposed moral difficulty of granting the suffrage to wives still rests mainly on the old assumption that women only wait the opportunity to discard their natural duties and affections ; that men can be safely trusted with absolute authority over their families, but women not even with the exercise of an independent opinion ; that wives at present neither have, nor in fact ought to have, any difference of opinion from their husbands (except on trivial points), but certainly would, if they were once permitted to act on their opinions ; and that they will necessarily seize the vote as an occasion for quarrel ; also on the assumption that it is the business of the State to provide against these little domestic difficulties in married life (but only, of course, by laying restrictions on the wife). We can scarcely suppose, however, that any man blessed with an affectionate wife seriously anticipates

that, once possessed of a vote, she would make it her business to thwart and oppose him. If his wife is not an affectionate one, we fear the legislature cannot help him, and we are very sure it is not its business to do so. We think this fancied difficulty would be best met in the case of a wife not quarrelsomely disposed, but having an independent mind, by her husband's good humouredly reconciling himself to her possible difference of opinion in politics as he often has to do in matters of theology. But if such differences of opinion do so seriously affect the happiness of married life, let them be more carefully considered before marriage.

There is also the contradictory assumption that the wife's vote will be merely a double of her husband's, thus giving him two votes instead of one. Between these last two assumptions of perverse opposition on the one hand, and undue submission on the other, we may fairly strike a balance, and hope the State will fare none the worse in the end for the female married vote, should it be granted.

To be serious, we do not believe the harmony and dignity of married life—not even the dignity of the husband—can be best promoted by legislation to prevent quarrels; or by the theory that, as has been said, husband and wife are one, that the husband is *the* one, and that the two ought to have only one opinion in politics between them—viz., the husband's. If we are accused of overlooking the practical difficulties which might arise in adjusting the votes of husband and wife, we answer that we may leave these to the moment when it is actually proposed to extend the franchise so far: if the principle is once conceded, a way will be found of carrying it out; for the rest, husbands and expectant husbands may defend their rights hereafter when they are attacked.

Having said thus much, we must add our own distinct opinion that the sooner this notion of marriage in any way disqualifying women for the exercise of personal rights or responsibility to the State is got rid of, the better for all parties. And we believe, moreover, that, when once the vote is granted to single women, married men will themselves begin to perceive this, and will desire that liberty for their wives which has been attained to by others.*

The same answer will apply to the objection that women, when once admitted to the vote, will (logically) be eligible to a seat in Parliament. We think we may confidently leave this question also to be decided on its own merits by some future generation, and by the constituencies concerned.

* This part of the question has since been further complicated by the needless insertion in Mr. Forsyth's bill of a statutory disqualification of wives.

Lastly, there is the objection—the most formidable of all to some minds—that all female aspirants to the suffrage are “strong-minded women,” and that “strong-minded women are very disagreeable.” If by “strong-minded women,” is meant women of masculine character and idiosyncrasies, we believe as many of these might be found on one side as on the other, if it were worth while to inquire. If “strong-minded” means having a highly enlightened understanding, large ideas, and an ardent desire for the improvement of other women, we may suggest that these objectors would often be surprised to find how very charming such persons can make themselves. We dare say that the agitators for the abolition of slavery made themselves very disagreeable when urging their engrossing topic in season and out of season. People engaged in a great struggle will not always pause to consult the conventional rules of good taste, yet the cause may be a good one nevertheless. But we cannot gravely discuss this objection any further.

And now come two more serious reproaches addressed to women. “They have done so much mischief.” “They are agitating from a love of power.”

The accusation of “doing mischief” means, we imagine, only that women are not infallible in their judgment, any more than men (why is a human liability to mistake *more* disqualifying to women than to men?), or that there are points on which the objectors differ from some women, or that there always will be points on which some men will differ from some women, it being assumed, of course, that women will always be in the wrong. If the objectors mean that women, having power given them by the legislature to do mischief, will do a great deal more than men in the same position have ever done, that is in fact begging the whole question. No past experience can be appealed to as decisive, since women have never been placed in the position supposed; although the absolute denial of all direct legitimate exercise of power sometimes drives intense and ardent natures into exercising it by methods less wholesome than a recognised responsibility would employ. But even granting this—alas! have men never done mischief, terrible mischief, during the long ages of masculine domination? Take, as one instance, the legislation for Ireland up to this century, and more recent times still; could any female legislation be more blind, unjust, inhuman, and—mischievous?

Is the world, as governed by men, a thing even now to congratulate ourselves upon? and may not women think that even a slight co-operation of their own with the other sex in the councils of the nation—we are not now speaking of admission to Parliament—might have prevented, might still prevent, some of this mischief?

The reproach that "women are agitating from love of power," does not come with quite a good grace from that sex which has hitherto monopolized all power, exercised, as we think, with such grievous injustice to the other. But, in fact, the reproach is undeserved. Those who make it show such a misunderstanding of the deeply conscientious feelings and convictions on which this new movement is founded, as almost disqualifies them from discussing this question with us at all. Power to protect themselves from injustice women may be allowed to desire. But a still stronger motive is the belief that the welfare of society requires a different position for their whole sex.

Finally, recurring from all these details to the broad principle with which we started, that justice to woman is morally the same as justice to man, we will only add, let this be acknowledged in the full meaning of the word, and all these ingeniously devised objections founded on woman's assumed inferiority to man fall at once to the ground. In the original fallacy, other false principles are involved, as that absolute perfection, moral and mental, is more needful in female than in male electors, and that to guard against possible inconvenience to men is a more pressing obligation than to remove an actual wrong to women.

We now come to those selfish inducements held out to woman herself to acquiesce in her present subjection, first glancing, however, at the half-triumphant warning that, with the privileges of citizenship, she must accept its burdens. That special burden which, we believe, the true Briton regards as the weightiest, that of taxation, she bears already, without the very privilege attached to it by divine right, as understood in Britain—to wit, the electoral franchise. This, though a flagrant departure from a cherished principle, we do not complain of as her hardest practical grievance; because in this case men, in fighting their own battle, must necessarily also fight that of women, and in some sort, therefore, do really represent them.

We must also advert to that appeal to women themselves on which men seem most triumphantly to rely. They say, that, if they are obliged to grant women equal social and legislative rights, *i.e.*, justice, they will no longer receive from men that so-called "chivalrous homage" which they regard apparently as sufficient compensation for every disadvantage and every humiliation attending the whole sex, in and out of drawing-rooms, and which they think women cannot reasonably look for except as a tribute to their legal inferiority and helplessness—that, in short, every virtue of which we can imagine woman possessed, every gift of grace, beauty, and intelligence, joined, too, as they must *still* inevitably be, to inferiority of physical strength, will fail to secure for her man's respect and tenderness, unless she will accept him as her master and irresponsible political ruler. How

is this? Is the spirit of "chivalry" a spirit of bargain? and a very one-sided bargain? Or, putting aside the idea of deliberate bargain, is this a faithful picture of man's nature—at least of Englishmen's, which is our chief present concern? Is it contrary to his nature, for instance, to yield kindly aid to inferior strength unless it will meekly confess to mental inferiority and will promise obedience? Is it contrary to his nature to be just and generous at the same time? We believe that men do themselves injustice in affirming this.

As for those outward symbols of "chivalrous homage" with which we are all familiar in drawing-rooms and such-like scenes, it is certainly, at first sight, hard to connect the forfeiture of these with the elevation of some women, or all women, to citizenship. But though it might be quite possible to do without these little privileges for so great an object, yet, truth to speak, the force of custom in regard to social etiquettes, even those generally felt to be burdensome and absurd, is so great that probably such harmless ones as these will long survive. We incline to think it will be long before all gentlemen remember to press out of drawing-rooms before their lady-acquaintances, to help themselves first at table, to stand by whilst the objects of their former homage step out of their carriages, or into boats, without offering a hand, or in railway travel to remember not to be charmed by the looks or conversation of a lady fellow-passenger till they have satisfied themselves that she has not a vote. Seriously, we incline to think that men will observe all this innocent little ceremonial—which is partly a civilized regulation to secure orderliness in social intercourse, partly an assumption of a difference in physical strength, which, false or true, will not be affected by the possession of a vote—till women forfeit men's respect by forfeiting their own, a result not certain to follow from their acquiring a sense of higher responsibility to the State. These things will last probably till all society is placed on a different, perhaps simpler and nobler footing, by other concurrent changes in civilization and education still far distant. But what is best in our social humanity need never disappear—mutual courtesy, kindness, such consideration between the sexes, and such help and sympathy from each to each, as are surely no more to be grudged from men to women, in any case, than from the younger and stronger man to the old, and infirm, and respected of his own sex, however his equal in political rights and political intelligence.

On the other hand, there is surely something more real, more trustworthy in manly heroism, manly devotion to duty, than even in that "chivalrous homage" so admired as the most perfect compensation for female subjection, the most satisfactory modification possible of barbaric female slavery, and which generally

expects in return some natural little gratification to its own self-love or vanity. We are not going to quarrel with it for thus seeking its reward—only it must not boast itself too much. We may be sure, too, that the spectacle of any brave, honest work, whether of the hand or tho brain, done for love or duty, kindles the heart and imagination of the true woman, and exalts her respect for her partner, far more than that other spectacle of man making or upholding laws to secure to himself his wife's obedience, the possession of her property, and his own undivided control over his and her children, far more than his assurance that he classes her politically with idiots, lunatics, and criminals, in order to increase his own respect for her, and because she likes it—or, at least, ought to do so.

If these "chivalrous" opponents have the faith they profess in woman's native grace and refinement; if they do not believe these qualities to be entirely the creation of certain artificial restrictions on her liberty of action, which no education of thought and reason can supply the place of; if they do not believe she is dignified and refined solely by accessories and surroundings, having *within herself* under no circumstances the power to dignify and refine *them*; if they do not hold this strangely "unchivalrous" and dishonouring doctrine of woman's nature, then how is it that they suppose all these precious attributes can be got rid of so very easily? They can scarcely believe she will lose them by learning to take an interest in the concerns of her country, and to express that interest every few years by a conscientious vote, in the delivering of which she may be as well protected as in witnessing the procession of a royal bride, a race, a play, or an opera. If there should appear, in any woman's ardour on these subjects, anything ungraceful or exaggerated, there is probably some such defect in her natural organization manifesting itself alike in all her doings. On the whole, a woman will be in politics pretty much what she is—by her natural temperament—in all other spheres. If she is uneducated, and therefore irrational, she will be violent and personally prejudiced in politics, even as Captain Basil Hall relates of the usually elegant and agreeable Spanish ladies of South America—that they became perfect furies when they talked of the revolt of the native population, not because they had political rights, but because that in politics they had personal passions.

But in fact such objectors, however "chivalrous," however kind-hearted—as many of them truly are—*have no faith* in woman, no faith in the goddess they worship with flattery, incense and gay pageantry; and it would be well if they would frankly confess this. Then we should know exactly where to

meet them. In the meanwhile, till man can acquire this faith, this generous trust, society will make small moral progress—and need we remind the shallowest student of human nature that to make human beings trustworthy, you must take courage to trust them?

That women's tender interest in those they love would be deadened by these enlarged views of political and social life, that they would thus grow somehow more selfish and less useful to men in consequence, is a prejudice such as has been held to justify even harsher restrictions, and one we think unworthy to influence for a moment a generous mind. That the blind idolatry with which they have often injured, sometimes ruined, their idols, will be exchanged for a feeling more elevated and elevating, is very likely; but we need not regret *this* transformation.

There is a refined and tender side, as we shall again and again admit, to these remonstrances. The ideal of graceful, clinging weakness, the "smiling domestic goddess"-ship (divorced indeed both from intellect and good sense), so admired by Thackeray, the sacred pedestal-worship of poetic theories, have such a charm for some manly imaginations, that the suggested introduction of some newer type is as terrifying to them as the threat of a new railway or row of houses to the inhabitants of a rural paradise. We predict, however, that amongst the many varieties of the female type we hope to see developed, whatever is really good and beautiful in their own favourite one is likely still to "abound;" what is not so good and beautiful will be less easily rooted out than we could wish, and many a "fair defect" will long remain to rejoice their hearts and fancies. Such will be as the childish element in the race, and, as such, worthy of all indulgence and tenderness.

But we must also remind the "chivalrous" that their ideal is, and always has been, the monopoly of a small privileged class. For "chivalrous homage" has nothing to say to the poor, hard-working wives and mothers outside that, nor to the thousands of courageous single women who are too strenuously fighting the battle of life—often for others as well as for themselves—to have time to cultivate graceful clingingness, or to stand on pedestals. It would be hard, truly, to withhold citizenship, and whatever dignity and support it may confer, from these "lonely, unadmired hercines," for the sake of keeping up a special feminine ideal as the monopoly of a special class.*

We see, indeed, where this long subjection of women, most

* The number of women supporting themselves by manual labour, alone, is stated at three millions.

favourably exhibited in the placing of some of them on a fancied pinnacle, has landed us at last. It finds us confronted by a glaring discrepancy between profession and performance, which must make the very word "chivalry," if they even heard it, seem a cruel mockery to the rest.

Some theorists, we know, will say, "True, all is not right as it now is; but there is a remedy. She is now *too* independent, she has got *one* hand free; bind *both* again, bind her hand and foot—put her more completely in men's power; but educate men and women better, so that man may be less likely to abuse his power, and woman may know her proper place; protect her exactly as you would a child, by stringent legislation, leaving her no discretion, no option, and then trust the rest to man's generosity, and the perfect dignity this perfect subjection and perfect powerlessness will give her." But women have a right to a voice before this theory of a dominant sex can be forced on them.

Moreover, let us remind the upholders *par excellence* of "feminine delicacy and refinement" how very different are and have been the ideas attached to these words in other ages and other countries, and maintained with obstinate persistence, and confidence that they rest on the immutable sanction of nature and religion. Ask the respectable Turkish father of a family what will happen to society when the harem doors are unlocked, and the women allowed to go forth unveiled—nay, ask the respectable Turk's ladylike wife and daughter—and their answer will be the same. Go back to the days, not so very long ago, when in all countries, Christian and pagan, a woman was married without her consent being asked; when worthy fathers of families would have been shocked at the indelicacy of a girl presuming to have a choice, or even a veto on her parents' choice. Nay, when the bold idea was first started of teaching women to read, "Fancy," can we not see it said in some popular journal of those mythical days? "fancy a woman forsaking the spindle and frying-pan, her own peculiar science, to plunge into the unfeminine mysteries of the alphabet!" Not to mention some *very* civilized European countries where, even in the present day, if a girl (of the drawing-room class, we mean) were known to have once walked out in town unattended, it would destroy her chance of marriage, and where it is with difficulty believed that such liberty in England is not abused.

Why, then, is it so certain that we here, in England and now, have reached that exact point of feminine freedom beyond which we cannot go without contradicting nature—that exact type of refinement which admits of no further modification?

Let us remember that with every fresh instalment of liberty and independence granted to women by advancing civilization, every step forward from her primitive condition of slavery to her present position of legal subjection, she has received not less, but more, kindness and respect from men, and the masculine ideal has not ruinously suffered thereby. Women have attained to far more self-reliance and liberty of movement in the United States of America than in England; but no one has asserted that they are as a consequence of less importance to men, or treated with less deference. To say that their manners are not to the taste of those Englishmen who know them only by hearsay is beside the argument, nor is this distaste generally shared by Englishmen who know them by personal acquaintance.

Why, then, should we fear that one step further in the same path of independence would do all that the others have failed to do—at once revolutionize all the natural relations of the sexes, and transform, as we are so often told, women into men?

The truth is, social circumstances in all civilized communities, and notably in this, have outgrown the old theory of women's proper place in the world. The increased difficulty of living, felt in all classes, the 800,000 women in excess of men, the exclusion of women from all but one or two modes of gaining a precarious livelihood, the increased importance of education with so small an increase of the facilities offered to women, making it impossible for them to cope with men in the struggle for actual existence, and all these causes rendering marriage for women at once more necessary and too often more impossible, such realities have reduced to a mere figment the theory of universal protection, dependence, and homage.

The men of the past did what seemed the best in those days; the men of the present are not to blame for the altered conditions which have made it the worst. But they will be to blame if they persist in upholding it and in regarding attempted reforms as attempts to "remove the landmarks of society;" if, in a word, they endeavour to force the life of successive generations of women into the old Chinese shoe of subjection and restraint, fancying that if they just make it a little easier, all will be right. The shoe must be made to fit perfectly, and women themselves must decide whether it does so.

And now comes the question of the influence actually exercised by women, in the cultivated and comfortable classes that is, for no other female influence over men is generally spoken of as of any importance. Gentlemen, when they speak of women, mean "ladies." And as "ladies" are the wives, mothers, and sisters of the class which at present governs us, their influence is important,

fearfully important; though this is no reason for casting aside so much as, in common parlance, we are too wont to do, the interests of women in the sphere beneath that recognised by "chivalry," and the influence which they too *ought* to be able to exercise.

But let us see what this influence of "ladies" is. We are told that it is very great, and those who say so are apt to go further, and fling all responsibility for social vices on the women of society. Let women humbly acknowledge to themselves their own shortcomings; they could not do much, but some of them, perhaps, might have done more. Capable, it may be, of better things, too many have been led ignobly astray by vanity and frivolity, too many by precept and example have done harm where they might have done good, thus rendering back to man the ill that the long domination of masculine ideas has wrought upon them. But while it is safe to be severe on themselves individually, it is not so safe to be blind to the faults of the social system under which they live. The fact remains that the influence of women is very small, compared with what it is said to be, and might be, if men so willed it. No influence worth naming such can be exercised but by an independent mind, and such independence is made tenfold more difficult to women at the present day, not only by men's prejudices, but by the difficulty of marriage resulting from the conditions before alluded to. This, an evil over which neither men nor women have any immediate control, is no doubt in great part the secret of the humble attitude which women are apt to take towards men, and the triumphant scorn of the sex so frequently displayed by popular journals.

This dependence acknowledged, for men to lay the blame of their own weaknesses on their so-called "weaker" sisters, to seek to silence their remonstrances by assuring them that *they* are the guilty party, or at least equally guilty with their masters, of those social corruptions we all cannot but see around us, is an unconscious baseness which even good men sometimes fall into when judging of the other sex.

In order that woman may really exercise that wholesome and purifying influence ascribed to her as her natural attribute, she should herself be left free and unbiassed by fear or favour. If she is to inspire men with a refinement and morality a little deeper than drawing-room decorum, she must not herself have first to learn by rote from him the lesson she is to teach him again; she must not be cheated into taking all the rules of life unquestioning on man's traditional authority, and mistaking the dread of his reproach and ridicule for the voice of innate womanly conscience. She must not be coaxed, from earliest girlhood, by ball-room admirers, and even the gravest philosophers,

into preferring her own (so-called) "feminine instincts," that is, prejudices, to the dictates of reason, sense, and duty, to find in later life "feminine unreasonableness" a bye-word in men's mouths, to find herself exposed to the good humoured contempt of the placid husband and the scolding of the irritable one, and to hear—no longer as the delighted tribute to youthful charms, but as a grave disqualification—that women have "no sense of justice." She must not be taught that narrow views of religion are especially becoming to women, and the only safeguard to their virtue in the eyes of the laxer sex. She must not, as the mother of a family, have always that warning voice in her ear that "men hate learned women," or that "men don't want intellect in their wives" (which indeed is not so surprising in those who themselves have neither intellect nor learning) till her very schoolboy sons catch up the cry. She must not be brought up utterly to ignore all great social and national interests, all enlightened views of politics; she must not be taught that the one great object of woman's life is marriage, and, to obtain it, pleasing men, when every day the social obstacles in the way of marriage are increasing; and, above all, she must not be forced or hoodwinked into accepting from masculine dictation two distinct moral codes—one for men and the other for women.

Where these teachings have not been perfectly enforced, as of course will often be the case, either from partial enlightenment in the teacher or instinctive revolt in the taught, they will be found to have caused in simple and noble minds more mental and moral suffering than actual moral deterioration. But what society has lost, still loses, by the waste of such good material, it has not yet attempted to reckon up. A movement has now been set on foot and is slowly gaining strength to repudiate these teachings, which have, as we have said, found rebels scattered here and there at all times; yet while legislation, man's legislation for woman, still represents the ideas embodied in them, still ignores the incongruity between the theory and the facts of woman's position in the world, so long will it be, not the elevating and purifying influence of women upon men (the theory of "chivalrous" moralists), but the depressing and deteriorating influence of man upon woman, that regulates society. Let men, even philosophers, repeat as they will that "women have everything in their own power, that it is their own fault if men are not better than they are," we affirm that the more we look below the surface, the more we shall be convinced that whilst man remains the irresponsible legislator for women, these things will be as we have said.

The social phenomena developed by man's domination in women's education, ideas and character, are so numerous and

complex as almost to defy classification. We are far from classifying the women, even of the sphere which we have taken for our text, "all in one," but this seems evident, that the general result has been a most disheartening mediocrity. We have hopes, it is true, that the efforts now being made by those social benefactresses, who are so earnestly fighting the educational battle for their sisters, powerfully aided by like-minded and generous men, will greatly mitigate this state of things for a fortunate part of the younger generation. But, for the present, though "the softening influence of domestic life," "the purity of English homes" are pretty phrases, yet, all the same, men and women are doing their best to degrade each other to a pitiful mediocrity. Not all the prettiness of blooming girlhood (and a pretty English girl *is* a charming object, whether one is in a moralizing mood or not), not all the brightness, activity and kind-heartedness of narrowly-educated women, however "clever" they may be, can hide this sad truth from our eyes.

Let us begin—working upwards from seeming trifles—with one time-honoured social institution, through which the wholesome and refining influence of one sex over the other is supposed to make itself felt. We tremble as we approach this sacred field, and find ourselves compelled in sober sadness to drop disrespectful words on the privileged flirtations of the young. We would not be severe either on those who encourage or those who practise this favourite diversion. Yet, after all, in spite of the glamour thrown by youthful excitement and inexperience, by the regretful and sympathetic retrospect of age, and by the imagination of poets and painters over the ball, the croquet, the picnic, and all the other playgrounds of "society," it must be owned that the prospect is not encouraging to our hopes of the young. The "flirtation" which reigns here between the two sexes, encouraged by all social customs, provided for at the cost of time, money, health and mental improvement, has in it mischief which lies deeper than at first appears. It is more than "matter for a flying smile." Many will agree with us so far, but will strenuously resist the application of radical remedies to the whole position of society. Palliatives, not prevention, not cure, have ever been the favourite study of English philanthropy.

It is at this point of transitory, counterfeit courtship (in itself damaging to the freshness of youthful affections) that we first trace the effect of that low standard of excellence required from women. Man in general requires little from the woman he loves, still less from the woman he flirts with: we all know that a pretty face, a pretty dress and a few "womanly" coquetties generally suffice for him in either case, and he takes his chance of finding other qualities behind these when it is too late to

make a fresh choice ; while woman, dwarfed to meet these small requirements, requires little from him in return. And so the taste is formed, so marriages are made, and so society and the race are deteriorated.

The last thing we would wish to disparage is the natural, light-hearted, innocent enjoyment of each other's society, in the young of the two sexes. We wish it were far more easily come by and begun earlier too, and were freed from that uneasy self-consciousness which is so often and so needlessly substituted for the frank courage of innocence. From that morbidly-watchful egotism which, under the name of "propriety," used to be so much enjoined, and which would be ill exchanged for the "fastness" of which, in certain circles, one hears so much, we turn with relief to that artless enjoyment of life and society which characterizes unspoiled girlhood, accompanied by a really strong interest in some pursuit. It finds its salvation in those genuine tastes which carry us out of ourselves (not necessarily "learned" or "intellectual")—it may be gardening, or music, or painting, or some kindred art—only, for Heaven's sake, let it be *real*, let it be good of its kind, let it be honestly followed ; and the more of such the better.

On such common ground of genuine tastes and pursuits, young men and women may healthfully meet each other, and prepare for the closer partnership and co-operation of after-life ; and much, very much, we trust, will this common ground be enlarged by wider education. But what has this happy, true-hearted sympathy, which we long to see prevail everywhere, purged more and more from vanity and *arrière-pensée*, to do with the artificial sentimentalities, the unmeaning personalities, and empty rattle of flirtation, either between two equally trifling beings, or a so-called sensible man and a poor girl taught that to be admired she must "flirt" prettily, and dress prettily, and need not be well-informed ? *These* have nothing in common but the common interest of vanity ; and whether such a flirtation end in marriage or not, they who pursue it are equally injuring their own tastes and characters, and unfitting themselves for true marriage.

Sometimes indeed, as we all know, great misery follows from this playing with fire—especially in the woman, where an untrained, unoccupied mind is joined to a warm heart or vivid imagination. But how much of this suffering might be saved to either party if a frankness, now thought impossible between men and women, could be cultivated. Were this united to a more trained judgment and more engrossing occupations for women, we might less often see the sensational coquette followed by trains of admirers, her heart ever half-touched, and only half-satisfied, her frivolous vanity never satiated ; we might less often see truer

and more passionate hearts racked by the ignoble indecision or still more ignoble insincerity and heartlessness of a counterfeit lover. Women would then oftener see through the unworthiness of such a nature before it was too late, and the irretrievable waste of many a precious year of life be averted. The coquette, too, and even the much-abused "fast girl," would find better fields for their love of power (as natural to some women as to some men), as well as for the restless animal spirits and healthy untrained energies which are perhaps chiefly answerable for those vagaries to which the world is so severe.

And what must the marriages be to which this style of social intercourse leads up—putting aside for the moment moral questions of a more tragic significance? Will not this account partly for the falling off of youthful love and all the poetry of life which is thought almost inevitable in marriage? And may not much of the ignobleness of society, of class selfishness, national selfishness, have something to do with these commonplace impulses by which marriages are brought about and families are formed?

In this discouraging view, it must be observed, that we are speaking of what are considered the better kind of average marriages—that is, those which are more or less of choice (perhaps they might just as well be called of chance); not of the many which are in great measure dictated by motives of interest or convenience, which latter, on the woman's side, is too often the supposed desperate necessity of being married at all. And this too is the result of our social arrangements!

It seems wonderful how that prevalent taste among men for female mediocrity is shared even by such as appear fit for better things. Negatives seem to attract, as if woman were to be admired rather for what she is without than what she has; the absence of some power or intellectual gift being constantly mentioned as a positive quality, not to say merit, rather than as a deficiency—a mode of estimation never used with men. And the qualities which do attract are too often superficial attributes, often those semi-childish prejudices and conventionalities, the result of a narrow education for generations, which are generally called "feminine instincts," and considered charming. This is partly the result of a prevalent idea that tenderness of feeling and good household management can seldom be found apart from these, and that the clinging subjection to man which is thought the natural position, the crowning grace of woman, is incompatible with a cultivated mind and original views. As often as not, however, his fancy invests with this poetic charm some nature below even the low standard he prefers; since whenever we limit our aspirations after excellence, we are liable to fall short even of that limit. Even these limited ideals vary, how-

ever ; some profess to be content with the ideal of the intelligent cook and housekeeper, and hold that a woman cannot and ought not to have time for anything else.

Yet do not those men of sense and intellect who seek for attractive mediocrity, if they think about it at all, expect their sons to inherit their own masculine superiority, and their daughters to renew the maternal type ? But there is no natural law forbidding—what in fact we so frequently see—the descent of intellectual gifts to the daughters, and the more commonplace attributes to the sons. These sons will probably marry their likes ; the daughters, not finding their natural mates, and not able to seek for them, as probably as not remain unmarried.

Fortunately there are various types between the extremes we have mentioned, some, if rare, yet beautiful—tender, sympathetic, refined female natures, incapable of initiative, but appreciative and reverent of true superiority, by associating with which they gradually educate themselves, and in whose society a man tender and refined enough to appreciate their charm, may well feel himself blest. Yet even such beloved and tender beings feel too often a vague, painful sense of incompleteness and inferiority never quite absent—the greater because of its instinctive admiration of what is excellent. These, too, need a higher education.

We can understand and respect the man of uncultivated intellect who has the manly humility to acknowledge that a highly educated woman would not be a fit mate for him, and that tenderness, simplicity, and purity of heart, without even the perfecting grace of intellect, are enough for his needs. But what does fill us with regretful wonder is, that this incapacity to appreciate the best and completest should be ever made a boast by men, and expressed with the evident feeling that men's preference for the mediocre is a crushing sentence against the woman of trained intellect. Our most popular novelist, whilst sneering at the "heroic female character," bids us regard as the standard to which women should most aspire, the having "all the men in a cluster round her chair, all the young fellows battling to dance with her." According to this judgment, this special court of appeal to which the loftiest-minded woman must bow—her wisest policy, her most womanly grace, will be to disguise, at least, if she cannot extinguish, her superiority.

No woman of real refinement and right sympathies can wish to disparage *true* grace, beauty, and sweetness. They form together a power worthy of respectful homage. But they can hardly exist—at least, hardly last—without a certain strength and elevation of character. True sweetness means strength, not servility, not indiscriminating devotion (beautiful and com-

mendable in a dog we allow, but not quite an adequate expression of womanly affection), not characterless goodnature, not the mere liveliness of youth, nor silliness; true grace implies a harmonizing artistic faculty and a moral balance which can scarcely belong to a commonplace nature, guided only by conventional laws. As for true beauty, how little do we yet realize what glorious types of form and feature are in store for the world, when strength of body and mind, health, courage, and freedom have been developed by generations of enlightened culture—what radiance and fulness of life, what new intelligence and ardour of expression, what splendour of frame, such as we should now look on as fitter for another planet! These are dreams as yet, but they have a practical value if they preserve us from seeking our ideal in a direction contrary to true progress.

But to descend from these poetic heights—at least since the young, pretty, and lively have an influence over men's acts and wishes at present quite out of proportion to their power to use it well, they should be trained, if only with a view to the welfare of their own households, to a more enlightened sense of their responsibilities than men can at present appreciate. If any modest man is alarmed at the prospect of an era of learned and splendid women, let him be assured that it will be long, very long before it comes, and that when it does, by the necessity of the case, men will have risen too. There will long be a supply of the women whom men emphatically call "feminine"—a word which has been for ages the engine of women's oppression. Its meanings have varied, but having been all imposed, directly or indirectly, by man, they are all so many badges of female subjection, both material and moral. Here we know we shall be contradicted by most men and by many women. Men will confidently appeal to the "instincts" of some female friend—perhaps some pretty young girl—and be confirmed by her positiveness, or her flippancy, or her timid acquiescence, in his belief that all true womanhood is on his side. It is much as if a slaveholder should appeal to some faithful, ignorant slave, born on his estate, as to the divinely-appointed necessity of slavery, and the virtues proper to his condition, and be quite satisfied with his "Yes, massa," in reply. It is quite possible that the slave does believe in the divine origin of slavery; it will not be the fault of his master's theological teachings if he does not. Women have been taught to do more than this—not merely to acquiesce, but to glory in their subjection.

One feature of this subjection is, as has been somewhere pointed out, that a double code of laws has been imposed on

woman—one supposed to be common to all humanity, the other containing special regulations for herself—not merely supplementary of, but sometimes even contradicting, the other. These seem devised to keep up an enfeebling self-consciousness, and to turn the simple government of a healthy conscience into a sort of Lord Chamberlain's office of etiquettes. But there is, or ought to be, only one law for men and women; and such a "codification" will be, we trust, the great moral work of our age. One conscience, one education, one virtue, one liberty, one citizenship for men and women alike. It will not force them to do the same work, but it will enable them freely to choose their work. It will not make them the same, but it will help to make them perfect of their kind, and the world twice as great, and twice as happy.

Would it not, to begin with, be well first to instruct girls that weakness, cowardice, and ignorance cannot constitute at once the perfection of womankind and the imperfection of mankind—to cease, in short, to impress upon her the lesson epitomized in Mr. Charles Reed's short dialogue—

She. I feel all my sex's weakness.

He. And therein you are invincible.

May they not be led to cultivate grace, refinement, taste, and beauty, because these things are good in themselves and make the world pleasanter; not because men admire this, that, and the other in women, and are disgusted at its absence, and that therefore this, that, and the other are feminine attributes, and will get them partners at a ball, and perhaps for life. The original motive to this cultivation of grace and charm colours the whole of the after-life and character. On this depends whether she is to be a truthful free woman, the equal, sympathetic, and ennobling partner of man, or be a sort of virtuous courtesan, as man so often likes to picture her, to coax him by her personal charms into tenderness and morality without any trouble of his own.

"Female instincts," the favourite idea of unphilosophical minds, are called "feelings" as opposed to "reason;" and some mysterious moral advantage is supposed to accrue to the more "rational" sex from the presumed incapacity of their partners in life to look beyond personal and family interests, to draw rational inferences from facts, and to be just as well as generous. The "sacred nonsense" of mothers' talk to the child at their knee, recalled in Parliamentary utterances as one blessing to be destroyed by female suffrage, is a good illustration of this theme.

A good many sensible men, whilst unprepared to grant women equal rights and citizenship with themselves, will advocate a better education for them generally, will by no means confess to

admiring ignorance and prejudice, and will even enjoy the conversation of a clever woman, if she be not *too* clever, and too much in earnest. But these notwithstanding, the view of woman's supposed defects, which we have stated before, defects either charming or provoking as you choose to take them, or as the subject of them is fifteen or fifty years old, is what has met and thwarted enlightened women at every turn.

Now, as regards "feeling" and "instinct," held, as they often are, as preferable respectively to "reason" and "judgment," let us compare that untrained, unenlightened maternal instinct which leads the mother to indulge her child to its own future injury, with that instinct trained and enlightened, which leads her for its future good not to shrink from its present suffering. Compare "feeling" which, in the shape of ignorance and prejudice, leads to narrow views of religion and to intolerance of some of the noblest and wisest of human thoughts and sentiments, with that "feeling," founded on knowledge and reason which leads to enthusiasm for what is noblest and wisest, whilst yet it can be kindly indulgent to that very ignorance which despises knowledge. The obstruction to social progress, caused by the fostering of these theological prejudices in women through the indulgence of even those husbands and fathers who have them not themselves, can only be glanced at here. It is not a question of reason against feeling, but of allying the two, instead of keeping them apart by an irreligious divorce. To some minds the voice of reason is as the voice of conscience, and such, once awake to their responsibilities, can no more disobey the one voice than the other. These seem absolute truisms; yet how few there are, even of those who cannot contradict them, who will accord them practical recognition!

"Good Heavens! a young lady reason!" was once the exclamation of an educated Roman Catholic when mildly argued with by one of the angelic sex. Of course, as we were told in Parliament, "women's minds are absolutely closed to logic,"—this said in the face of an ever-increasing number of women who can reason, and reason well, and whom men have not yet been able to answer. And why should it be "unfeminine" and "ungraceful," and all the rest of it, to appreciate the æsthetic beauty of a well-woven chain of reasoning? Partly, perhaps, because women have not the monopoly of reasoning ill. It is the superficially dexterous arguers, possibly, rather than deep and sincere thinkers amongst men who find a charm in female perverseness and irrationality in religion, politics, and subjects of thought generally. We can no more regard the power of right reasoning as a mental luxury, a privilege to be kept for the enjoyment of one sex, than we can regard correct drawing or correct intonation in music as perfections necessary in professionals, but merely unpleasant pedantry in amateurs.

Yes, surely the ardour of reason, so nearly akin to the passion for justice, is as proper for a woman as any other ardour looked upon as feminine *par excellence*. And there is an earnest vein in women which, as far as we have been able to observe, is opposed to the sophistications of the *merely* logical intellect, the cold-hearted amusement of arguing an important question without any real convictions. Such conscientious sincerity, even from a man's point of view, cannot be unwomanly.

"Unfeminine"—Alas, how much of good and great has that word blighted at its birth! On women's sensibilities, artificially fostered to an intense tenderness to the lightest sting, it does fall like the cut of a lash. But after all the government of the lash can only make slaves. As woman takes larger and loftier views of duty, she will learn to dread the stings of her conscience more than the lash of man's ridicule. She will look at the sun itself with undazzled eyes, not through the smoke-dimmed glass man has handed her for her special use. As it is, this fear, inculcated through ages, haunts women from the cradle (and men cannot realize the effort it costs, even those who seem bravest, to shake it off), this fear which holds them back from expressing their real opinions, hinders woman herself, as much as it hinders man, from knowing what she really is.

It is too true that a very large number of the women of one class, the comfortable drawing-room class, have ranged themselves with well-meaning docility in the ranks of this social police, have been the unconscious agents of a social terrorism, which man himself exercises almost unconsciously, while they innocently repeat the warning words of "feminine delicacy" and "ladylike propriety" which men have put into their mouths, and which they believe are the utterances of nature and religion, and the immutable conditions of civilized life.

Let us think how much we need a counteracting influence against those base motives of personal and class-selfishness which now honeycomb and almost threaten to destroy society, and how little women's "instincts" and "feelings" have done to supply this. We do not forget that, in all ages, at times of temporary excitement, there have been women found to sustain a man in the sacrifice of those whom he loves to duty, even when she and her children are to be the sacrificed; but we long to see something of this spirit in everyday life and in peaceful times. The same woman who will cheerfully destroy her own health in nursing one she loves, who will uncomplainingly share with him his involuntary poverty, or even deserved disgrace, would on the other hand discourage him with all her powers of persuasion from risking his worldly fortune or bringing on himself the world's reproach, at some call of conscience with which she has not been taught to sympathize. Again, a husband should be ashamed

before his wife for a mean public action, a vote given through self-interest, or class-interest, or faction, as he would for cheating his neighbour, for official falsification as he would for perjury in a court of justice, for conniving at the bribery of an elector as he would for receiving stolen goods, for taking an unfair advantage in trade as he would for picking a pocket. But we hear nothing of the value of feminine influence in such matters as these.

We turn now to the married state as affected in England by the marriage law, "the most barbarous," it has lately been said, "in Europe." "A woman," as has also lately been said, "loses when she marries, her name, her freedom, her individuality, her property, her vote" (municipal and other). A man takes from the woman he marries everything she has, yet is not bound to maintain her while she lives with him, can use the forms of law to force back a reluctant wife in spite of her aversion to live with him, and finally can take her children from her and give them to the care of some other woman if he pleases. This law, of which these are some of the most striking features—though, more or less, of course, a dead letter in affectionate marriages, but an easy instrument of iniquity in the hands of the unscrupulous—would almost seem indeed to be maintained for the special use of the bad. This law which, however modified in its practical workings by individual character, cannot but lower the whole conception of marriage for all but the exceptional few, even good men will tell us somehow helps to secure the happiness of married life generally! In its remote origin it was doubtless a valuable modification of worse evils, and in the days when no personal freedom was allowed to any woman, married or unmarried, when marriage was therefore merely an exchange of one servitude for another, there was at least no glaring incongruity in the theory of a wife's subjection.* But now, when she is supposed, once arrived at the years of discretion, to be a free agent, and to have a free choice in marriage, the position has become an antiquated anomaly. It would seem still to be upheld on the principle that because woman is weak, she should therefore be made helpless,—because man is strong, he shall have additional protection against the weak. In the classes where this law is most abused, because there education has done least to counteract its brutalizing effect on public opinion, there has been found a tendency in women (notably in manufacturing towns), to prefer unmarried unions to legitimate ones, for the sake of the greater

* Those who lay stress on particular texts of Scripture bearing on this subject should remember that there is sanction for domestic slavery in the New Testament, and the conclusion is that the first teachers of Christianity took social institutions as they found them.

protection of their self-earned contributions to the household, and the greater willingness of their partners to contribute their share, instead of spending all on themselves. Here, at least, is one natural result of a degrading and tyrannical law of marriage on those who suffer from it most helplessly. Before this new form of union tends universally to supplant the other, it might be better, instead of vaguely deploring the immorality of the "lower classes," or contriving such piecemeal mitigations as have lately been enacted—to see if a radical reform of the old constitution be not worth considering.

The truth is, our ideas are still perverted by the old fetish worship of husbands, so ludicrously expressed in the literature of past generations—that curious religion which made it a wife's highest virtue to pay the obedience of a slave to a master, however cruel, capricious, or irrational he was, however noble and wise she, might be—in short, the greater his mental and moral inferiority to her, the greater the merit of her absolute submission. This doctrine, which turned him into a monstrous idol to be propitiated by an abject ceremonial—this ideal of wifehood, maintained by men with astonishing complacency, was carried to its highest perfection in the legend of "Patient Griselda," in which many men, we believe, still see a kind of pathetic beauty. It really exhibits the most repulsive perversion of moral feeling on both sides to which such a grotesque theory of marriage is capable of leading. This fetishism continues in a modified shape to be represented by the law of the land, and it colours more or less the ordinary ideal of marriage. There is, to be sure, a sort of humility in insisting on this right divine of husbands, since no more than the divine right of kings does it require any inherent superiority in the individual possessing it. But this kind of humility has in neither case proved beneficial to the governing or governed. Mr. Herbert Spencer has observed in the "*Social Statics*" that even as we loathe the custom which in savage nations forbids women to eat in company with men, so shall we come to loathe the civilized theories of the wife's subjection to her husband. The wonder is that any man can endure it.

Till absolute social and legal equality is the basis of the sacred partnership of marriage (the division of labours and duties in the family, by free agreement, implying no sort of inequality), till no superiority is recognised on either side but that of individual character and capacity, till marriage is no longer legally surrounded with penalties on the woman who enters into it as though she were a criminal,—till then the truest love, the truest sympathy, the truest happiness in it, will be the exception rather than the rule, and the real value of this relation, domestic and

social, will be fatally missed. People may get on pretty well together, and be fairly fond of each other, without their married life presenting a spectacle particularly worthy of admiration, or suggesting a very excellent development of human nature. Of course, in numberless cases, a wife will find it her best wisdom as well as comfort in the conduct of life (especially as society is now constituted) to yield to the judgment of a husband who may probably be her superior in age, experience of life, and knowledge of the world; but this accidental part of marriage, if we may call it so, has nothing to do with the theory of divine right on the one side, and indelible inferiority on the other.

Connected with this faulty view of the marriage relations, is that other difficulty with which woman has been burdened by immemorial prejudice, grievously overweighted as she is already without it—we mean the stigma of couventional humiliation attached to those women who pass their lives unmarried. It is, no doubt, like the fetish-worship of husbands, a relic of barbarism, but it is still strongly felt, and has been impressed by men on women themselves to their great detriment. It is not simply the opinion that, as a general rule, women are happier married than single; but that the unmarried woman, when she has ceased to be young, is an object not merely for pity, but more or less for contempt, though it is not always held good taste to express it, and some men are too sensible and manly to feel it. Apparently this notion rests on three assumptions, all of barbaric origin—namely, that a woman's highest glory and merit is to please men, that if she has not married she has failed to please men, and that her whole *raison d'être* is wifely and motherhood. A man who has not become a husband and father may feel himself an honoured and important member of society; and till it is universally understood that a woman who from choice or chance is not a wife and mother, may fill an equally honoured and important position, true respect will not be paid to woman in any capacity, whether married or single. For the rest, the fact—not, we hope, without a possible good result on her general position as time goes on—of the eight hundred thousand women in excess of men in England, who must of necessity remain unmarried (and the disproportion continues, we believe, to increase) justifies us still further in protesting against this old world prejudice.

But the spectral difficulty it has raised is already diminishing. Women have done much for themselves towards that result, and if they will persevere it will be removed from their path altogether. The dignity and independence of womanhood must be maintained by an upright scrupulousness of choice in the first instance, to help which a much larger variety of occupation

should be opened to women; and by faith in themselves, whether married or single. But in fighting this battle, as in so many others, she has been too often hindered rather than encouraged by the stronger sex.

"It is nonsense," Hawthorne remarks in the "*Blithedale Romance*," "and a miserable wrong—the result, like so many others, of masculine egotism—that the success or failure of a woman's existence should be made to depend wholly on the affections, and on one species of affection, while man has such a multitude of other chances, that this seems but an incident. For its own sake, if it will do no more, the world should throw open all its avenues to the passport of a woman's bleeding heart."

Before quitting the subject of the married relations, we must say a few words on the typical and most painful exemplification of the different moral codes imposed on men and women—one having a most important bearing on these relations and the family and social influences which spring from them. We allude to the prevalent assumption that man is not bound by the same rule of moral purity as woman. An obvious development of the primitive barbaric notion of woman as the natural property of man, it is still held as a moral axiom, we believe, by the large majority of men. Unacknowledged in so many words by good men, abhorred, we doubt not, by many, denounced by the religion in whose dogmas the vicious still generally profess belief, it receives practical and almost universal recognition in the most civilized countries. Virtuous women, even, are perverted by conventional custom, persuaded, or tricked by their carefully-maintained ignorance, into assenting to it—and legislation is based upon it, as witness, amongst other examples, the law of divorce. Yet what does this distinction mean—unless it be wholly *un-meaning* and self-contradictory—except that *some* women are bound to lead purer lives than men, but *not all*?—That is, by man's traditional doctrine, the women of his own family, the women of the class he intends to marry into, are bound to be of unblemished purity, whilst the degradation in his behalf of less privileged classes is to be acquiesced in, nay, almost desired, as a social necessity. And is it at *this* price we purchase the boasted purity of English homes, with all its graceful accompaniments of chivalrous homage—by the maintenance, in a sort of pretended secrecy, of an unparalleled humiliation and slavery of woman, in a so-called free country, by those who profess to honour her the most?

Even good men, with consciences individually clear as to this matter, will shake their heads and say it *must* be—that this evil cannot be expelled from society;—indeed some say it ought not

to be expelled, lest a greater evil take its place. And the good, by their silence, their acquiescence, play into the hands of the majority. But those women who think for themselves on this terrible subject, indignantly ask—By what right does any society exist on such a foundation? What right have certain classes of women to enjoy, safe and untempted, an aristocracy of virtue at the expense of the poor, the ignorant, the young, orphaned, helpless and thoughtless, the desolate and deserted, yearly, daily bribed, entrapped, tempted, goaded and betrayed into a Hell upon earth—that men may go on talking about the “purity of English homes”—the beautiful result of high civilization and feminine subjection? Upon the seething surface of this infernal region men build their own happy households, content if no sound from below rises up to shock the ears of unconscious wives and daughters! The denizens of that region are not waiting at leisure till it shall please them to forsake their evil lives, and become the happy and honoured heads of families: that crowning reward is reserved for the men who have profited by, and shared in, their degradation, whose easy repentance is gloried in as one more tribute to the moralizing influence of women, and in whose persons the sacred names of husband and father are thus daily and triumphantly profaned. For when they are weary of base dissipation, there is always some ignorant girl ready to confer these names upon them, to learn, probably, by degrees, that men are not bound to be as pure as women, to resign herself to her sons leading the same lives as their father before them, and to her daughters marrying men who lead the same lives as their brothers. But if this is what is meant by the “purity of English homes,” are we so very sure that even this one-sided purity will always be maintained? Is it certain that no moral contamination from men’s earlier associations ever enters there? Are we sure that the house built on such a foundation will always stand firm?

This brand upon society, this blight on every effort at true reform in any direction, will not be removed by sentimentalism, by costly subscriptions to churches, refuges, and reformatories, nor any other of the palliatives society seems to prefer to prevention, and which so often tend to maintain the original evil—no, nor by efforts to keep the women of one class ignorant of the degradation of women in another. The jealous trades-unionism of men which meet women at every turn in the struggle for existence, does not close the avenues of *this* trade to her. All the restrictions on her honest industry which well-meaning masculine philanthropy can devise, on the theory that she is a grown-up child, do not debar her from *this* calling. The romantic homage of the chivalrous does not shield her from *this* dishonour.

Many influences, no doubt, not directly traceable to masculine domination, tend to swell this evil. Against these the two forces of the human race should be brought to bear in combination, as they have never yet been brought. The single government of man has proved unequal to the task. Till woman has an equal or something more like an equal share in the councils of humanity, till she ceases to be the submissive subject of man, the two will not be brought to agree together on one standard of moral purity for both; and till then, man will not learn to reverence and desire purity, not in the women of one class only, but in all women—and not in woman only, but in himself as well.

In what we have just said we shall have, we are sure, some sort of sympathy and agreement from many who can in noways go along with us as to the proposed radical treatment of social mischiefs. Some of these have set before them a never yet realized and unrealizable ideal, in which we must once again acknowledge, with all sincerity and respect, a certain refinement, tenderness, and artificial beauty, nay, a kind of generosity gone astray. Such we oppose with regret. These would fain crystallize for all time the whole system of sentimental and sublimated injustice embodied in the chivalry theory. For them woman is always to be a glorified, but well-educated invalid, who is to influence man for his good by her physical imperfections, as much as by her ethereal and intuitive morality and docile affections. She is to guard this physical incapacity as well as her supposed incapability of sharing in the highest national concerns, and her unfitness for any social business beyond the precincts of home, as sacred treasures, because man, it is said, requires this contrast to himself as a moralizing element in his life. In his own particular walk of life, which is apparently to be kept as separate from hers as possible, it would almost seem he may be hard and coarse with a safe conscience because the woman he leaves at home remains soft and delicate.

And so on. To us the whole theory seems a morbid one. One longs to take off these golden chains, open the hothouse doors, and turn the ethereal prisoner into free fresh air, to develop her moral and intellectual muscle and stature at her will. The proposed arrangement consistently carried out, as we know it never has been, and we believe never can be, seems to us much as if we mortals should invite an angel from heaven to cast in his lot with us, to purify our morals and affections by his example and sympathy, to educate our children, and housekeep for us, on condition of strictly acknowledging our absolute authority and his own unalterably subordinate position, renouncing as unangelic all independent action and opinion, all share in deciding those

earthly laws under which he is to live amongst us, and promising to *stay at home*, we on our side engaging to pay the obedient angel semi-divine honours, and in general to treat him with every indulgence and consideration. But then, if the angel should not like the bargain, he would at least be free to stay in heaven—whilst woman is here, and has no neutral ground to retire to, pending the negotiation. It seems scarcely fair to take advantage of her necessary presence amongst us, to impose on her conditions more stringent than with absolutely free choice, and full comprehension of the state of the case, she would care to accept.

No, let her have as free play for her natural capacities as man; not necessarily, as we have said before, to do always the same things as man, but to try fairly what she can do, and possibly thus greatly widen the sphere and vary the details of what she ought to do. If *then* she is willing to forego all the new, natural, healthful and legitimate ambitions and aspirations (as we hold them to be), growing up within her, and lightening even that burden of glorified invalidhood, thought to be her divinely appointed portion (except indeed in the working classes); if, after full and intelligent consideration, she decides she is not fit to share any of the higher responsibilities of citizenship with man; if, after trying what liberty of thought, conscience and action means; if, after enjoying a free field for those gifts and faculties which are as various, and as imperatively cry out for exercise in women as in men; if, after learning to look on marriage as the happy alternative to other happy and satisfying occupations—not a social necessity; if after finding her voice in all that concerns the morals and welfare of society, deserving of, and listened to, with as much respect as man's; if after feeling herself a part of the state, not a servant, submitting by compulsion to the will of the men in it, whether or no her judgment concurs in theirs; if after experiencing the blessing of having some little control over the laws by which the most sacred concerns of her life are to be governed; if, in one word, after being grown up, and after enjoying the privileges of a free woman, she is willing to become a child once more, and to fall back again into absolute subjection to an irresponsible sex—well and good. But the fair opportunity of choice—of understanding even the nature of the choice—has not yet been given her. If her instincts and characteristics are really as indelible as the “*meta-physical*” chivalry-theory makes them, then, with all freedom of choice possible, she will of course renounce the new life opening upon her. But we shall see.

For ourselves we fervently believe that generations of a nobler and freer culture will ennoble and liberate her very bodily frame (as we have before said) into a health, strength and beauty

hitherto undreamt of; not transform her into man—why was such a senseless misrepresentation ever dragged in to degrade a serious discussion into burlesque?—but into glorified womanhood. This change, alone, would in time revolutionize the whole race, and man himself would grow to a greatness he denies himself whilst he ignorantly insists on stunting woman. Hitherto nature has always been brought into court as a hostile witness whenever it has been a question of elevating her condition in any one direction. We shall see whether nature, allowed to speak freely, is not *the* irresistibly conclusive witness on woman's side.

We must now add a remark the truth of which is, indeed, obtaining general recognition—viz., that men themselves are often, as might be expected, the victims of the faulty social system of which we complain, and are as unconscious as the majority of women are of the causes and possible remedy of its evils. Certainly many a hard-worked father who wears out health and spirits in an irksome profession that his daughters may enjoy amusements and luxuries in which he has little share, and to the earning of which they contribute nothing, might well be confounded at finding himself classed amongst the oppressors of women, and the women of his family as victims. Assuredly, it is not these latter whom we pity, except for that melancholy conventionality fostered by false views of woman's position in society which has so long sanctioned such contented idleness in young ladies' lives, and for the possibly bitter regrets of after years. Women, too, have their own class-privileges over other women; they, too, have to be constantly on their guard against a consequent blindness to the claims of others. These are class-abuses, class-difficulties, which it will take the whole united strength of society to sweep away. But of all class-reforms in store for the future we can still conceive of none so vitally important to the whole human race as the emancipation of woman. It will be the beginning of a new world era, a new revelation, a new religion to man.

We will conclude our whole subject with a quotation from the American writer already named at the head of this article, who having made a successful practical protest, during the late war, against the theory of indelible race-inferiority by the training of a negro regiment, has since generously taken up the case of sex-domination. He thus writes:—

"Thus far my whole argument has been defensive and explanatory. I have shown that woman's inferiority in special achievements, so far as it exists, is a fact of small importance, because it is merely a corollary from her historic position of degradation. She has not excelled because she has had no fair

chance to excel. Man, placing his foot on her shoulder, has taunted her with not rising. But the ulterior question remains behind—How came she into this attitude originally? Explain this explanation, the logician fairly demands. Granted that woman is weak, because she has been systematically degraded; but why was she so degraded? This is a far deeper question—one to be met only by a profounder philosophy and a positive solution. We are coming on ground almost wholly untrod, and must do the best we can.

"I venture to assert, then, that woman's social inferiority in the past has been to a great extent a legitimate thing. To all appearance history would have been impossible without it, just as it would have been impossible without an epoch of war and slavery. It is simply a matter of social progress—a part of the succession of civilizations. The past has been inevitably a period of ignorance, of engrossing physical necessities, and of brute force—not of freedom, of philanthropy, and of culture. During that lower epoch, woman was necessarily an inferior, degraded by abject labour even in time of peace—degraded uniformly by war, chivalry to the contrary, notwithstanding. . . . The truth simply was, that her time had not come. Physical strength must rule for a time, and she was the weaker . . . and the degradation of woman was simply a part of a system which has indeed had its day, but has bequeathed its associations. . . . The reason, then, for the long subjection of woman has been simply that humanity was passing through its first epoch, and her full career was to be reserved for the second. . . . Woman's appointed era, like that of the Teutonic races, was delayed but not omitted. It is not merely true that the empire of the past has belonged to man, for it was an empire of the muscles, enlisting, at best, but the lower parts of the understanding. There can be no question that the present epoch is initiating an empire of the higher reason, of arts, affections, aspirations; and for that epoch the genius of woman has been reserved. Till the fulness of time came, woman was necessarily kept a slave to the spinning-wheel and the needle; now higher work is ready; peace has brought invention to her aid, and the mechanical means for her emancipation are ready also."

ART. VII.—LAMARCK.

1. *Philosophie Zoologique*. 2 vols. Paris: 1809.
2. *Histoire Naturelle des Animaux sans Vertèbres*. 7 vols. Paris: 1815—1822.

THE reception which Lamarck's writings have met with in this country has been somewhat peculiar. The views contained in his work, the "*Philosophie Zoologique*," were strongly opposed to the opinions on theology and philosophy generally prevailing here at the time of its publication, and the work was in consequence for some fifty years attacked or ridiculed by nearly every author who noticed it. After the publication of Mr. Darwin's work on the *Origin of Species*, theories of evolution, from being denounced as irreligious, or ridiculed as fantastic, came into favour with a large and influential number of scientific men; some who had been loudest in condemning Lamarck being as forward in supporting Darwin. Lamarck's position was, however, little improved by the change. The opponents of Darwinism often directed their blows against Lamarck, but its adherents seldom cared to defend him, but rather passed over his speculations as unimportant or erroneous. They naturally did not wish to have their own views confounded with these of one who had been so frequently attacked. It is true that Lamarck can have no claim to be considered as even foreshadowing Mr. Darwin's theories on Natural Selection, atavism (the recurrence to the form of a remote ancestor), cross-breeding, or many other principles adduced to explain the origin of the animals now existing. Yet, on the other hand, Lamarck must be considered as the first great naturalist who believed and endeavoured to prove that all animals now living are descended from those previously existing, however different the forms of the two may be. While Cuvier and most of the naturalists and geologists of his times were continually inventing cataclysms, convulsions, and separate creations, to account for the actual condition of the globe and the races which inhabit it, Lamarck steadfastly refused to believe in any such general catastrophe, and ascribed the formation both of modern species and the features presented by the earth's crust to the continuous and slow operation of the natural agents which he saw still working. By slight modifications, and in conformity with a regular law of progress, highly organized beings had, he declared, been moulded and developed out of the simplest forms. The laws which Lamarck laid down, the causes to which he referred these changes and modifications, were real and active;

and, although he may have exaggerated their importance and power of producing the results he attributed to them, yet this is an error which he shares with nearly every great discoverer. Not only is every one tempted to overrate the importance and sphere of operation of a principle first discovered by himself, but unless principles were overrated there would be but little chance of the real importance of many of them being recognised. It is frequently only by endeavouring to explain every phenomenon by a single cause that phenomena not to be so explained are investigated, and that the existence of other causes becomes apparent; so that errors in our conception of the nature of the cause first known are detected.

But Lamarck's merit is not confined to his early perception of the uniformity and gradual upward progress of nature. He first arranged the animal kingdom in two great branches, one comprising annulate animals, or those whose bodies are divided into segments, such as insects, worms, prawns, and the like; and the other branch comprising polyps, mollusks, and vertebrate animals, which last he believed to be derived from the mollusks. With proper allowance for the great advance of our knowledge of the lower forms of animals made since the days of Lamarck, this arrangement is substantially the same as that adopted by Professor Huxley, in his treatises on "*Comparative Anatomy*," London: 1864; and "*Classification*," *ibid.* 1869; with, however, some important exceptions. In these works the vertebrates stand by themselves, instead of being placed in the molluscan branch. The theory that vertebrates are descended from mollusks had, however, even before the publication of the last work, been advanced by Hæckel, in Germany, in consequence of the researches of the Russian naturalist, Kowalevsky, which showed a great resemblance to exist between vertebrates and ascidians in the early stages of their development. These last are a family of animals of low organization, which were at first classed with polyps, but afterwards placed by Lamarck in a class intermediate between the latter and the mollusks with bivalve shells. Lamarck himself, however, looked for forms intermediate between mollusks and vertebrates in a much more highly organized order, the naked-gilled sea-slugs.

In geology, although Lamarck's views are often extremely speculative, yet he always insisted on the continuous nature of geological changes, and attributed the present forms of hill and valley to the continual wearing action of rain and atmospheric changes, a theory which, in a modified form, finds advocates among many of the ablest living geologists. Physics and meteorology were treated by him with even greater boldness

and industry, although but little success. He seems to have believed in an atomic theory, but to have been led by the old doctrines of phlogiston and caloric to indulge in many rash speculations on the nature and effects of those imponderable fluids, by the action of which he, like most physicists and chemists of that time, endeavoured to explain the phenomena presented by heat, electricity, and the other natural forces. He built on the theories of chemistry in vogue when he began his scientific studies, and persistently refused to recognise the merit of the admirable reasoning and researches of Lavoisier and his followers. In Botany, Lamarck's works are numerous, and were, when published, of considerable value. The first scientific work he published was the "*Flore Française*:" in it he altogether abandoned the prevailing system of Linnæus, and established another equally artificial, but which, by the principle of dual or dichotomous division, led more quickly to the determination of the species and genus of any particular plant. This system, which is said to have been created in six months, was in its turn abandoned by its author, who afterwards adopted the views of Jussieu, the founder of the Natural System of botany, by whom the later additions of the "*Flore Française*" were brought out, either alone or in conjunction with Lamarck. The other botanical works of Lamarck consist chiefly in descriptions of genera and species. (See the "*Dictionnaire de Botanique*," and the "*Illustration des Genres*," both parts of the "*Encyclopédie Méthodique*"), in which he seems to have displayed some of the ability he afterwards showed in the "*Histoire Naturelle des Animaux sans Vertèbres*."

It is this last work, and that on the fossil shells found in the beds round Paris, that have chiefly kept alive the reputation of Lamarck. His great contemporary, Cuvier, considers the determination of the genera and species in these works as his great and peculiar merit, and affects to pity him for being led to the conclusion that, after all, these genera and species were but artificial creations useful to systematists, but not existing in nature. (Eloges iii. 199.) It is certainly impossible not to admire Lamarck when we consider that the publication of this great and laborious work was only begun when he had already reached his seventieth year; and that he was in his fiftieth year when he began the study of the invertebrata, which he undertook, not because he was particularly attracted by it, but because, as the last appointed in the Cabinet du Roi, he had, on its reconstruction, to content himself with the subject least pleasing to his colleagues. When once he had entered upon it he pursued it with unflagging energy in spite of old age and failing sight. Always ready to

improve and modify his theories and classifications, he continued, year after year, to introduce such new groups and divisions as were suggested by the researches of Cuvier, or other anatomists, while he laboured by studying the forms preserved on the various museums to subdivide these groups into natural families and genera; and at the same time he constantly struck out more distinct and bolder theories on the general nature of living beings. The same indomitable resolution and calm courage which made him, at seventeen, abandon his prospects in the church, and set out to join the French army; which made him, immediately after his arrival (when the death of all the officers around him had placed him in command), refuse to retreat from the post assigned to him on the battle-field until he had received the order from his general; which afterwards led him a second time to abandon his career, and endeavour, in a humble position to gain the means for a medical education, sustained him in the penury and blindness which were the lot of his old age. If the same qualities have sometimes led him to too daring flights of imagination, or too great confidence in the correctness of his own views, or if they have given an air almost of arrogance to his statements, we must remember that without them Lamarck would never have accomplished his splendid achievements in science.

It is but a small part of his voluminous writings that we now propose to examine. The discussion of the details of the characters of families and genera which he founded is unsuited for these pages. His divisions and distributions have lost much of their value. It is of the essence of such arrangements that they should, by increasing our knowledge of the forms comprised in them, serve as a foundation on which to build yet better distributions, by which after a time they are superseded. The enormous number of new forms which have been recognised, and the great advance in our knowledge of anatomy made in consequence of the improved microscopes and means of observation at our disposal, have rendered Lamarck's divisions inadequate to represent the animals and plants of which he treated as we now know them; and a critical examination of his system would be interesting only to persons studying the forms described in Lamarck's writings. On biology, however, Lamarck has written much which must always be interesting to students of the history of science as a part of human progress, and is perhaps particularly so at present. He was one of the first to recognise the importance of studying biology as a whole, which he speaks of in his "*Histoire Naturelle*" (vol. i. p. 49), as "*une science particulière qui n'est encore fondée, qui n'a pas même de nom, dont j'ai proposé quelques bases dans ma Philosophie Zoologique, et à laquelle je*

donnerai le nom de Biologie." His views on this subject were first published in two volumes—one published in 1797, under the title of "*Mémoires de Physique et d'Histoire Naturelle*;" and the other published in 1802, under the title of "*Recherches sur l'Organisation des Corps Vivans*." They were afterwards much expanded and developed in his "*Philosophie Zoologique*," published in 1809, which he refers to as a new edition of the "*Recherches*," and in the introduction, forming the greatest portion of the first volume of the "*Histoire Naturelle des Animaux sans Vertèbres*," published in 1815. It is to these two last works that we shall refer.

Like other evolutionists Lamarck considers that living beings for several series, the different individuals composing which, vary insensibly one from another, so that all divisions—such as classes, orders, and genera, and even species—are products not of nature, but of art. The best of such divisions have artificial limits, and none are really isolated, although from our ignorance of the connecting forms they may appear so to us; but if all races of living beings were known to us, all our present classes, orders, and genera would be merely families of different sizes, and it would be very difficult to assign limits to these divisions. So far therefore art is an essential element in the construction even of a natural system. But besides this necessary use of convention, many systematic distributions (such as the systems of Linnæus in Botany, of Fabricius in Entomology, and the distribution of Birds and Fishes in Lamarck's own time), are entirely artificial, and not in conformity with nature, whose order is single, unique, and essentially without division in each organic kingdom.

Lamarck might have mentioned his own classification of plants as one of the most striking instances of an artificial distribution. He does not define an artificial distribution, nor does he explain what he means by conformity to nature. Several of his expressions convey the idea that he inclined to the views of Bonnet and the Greek philosophers, who believed in a single, uninterrupted chain of beings. These views, however, he in the "*Histoire Naturelle*" (vol. i. p. 129), when pressed by Cuvier, distinctly disavows. In fact, he does not seem to have considered what principles ought to govern a natural distribution. Most systematists since Lamarck have adopted one of the three principles following:—(1) Conformity to a general type or plan of organization; (2) relationship or descent; (3) complexity of structure. Agassiz, in his "*Essay on Classification*" (ch. ii.), discusses the subject at some length. He lays down, that conformity to type is the principle which should determine the division of the animal kingdom into primary branches or sub-regna; while the division

into classes ought to be regulated by the different ways in which the type of each branch is worked out in the animals composing it; and the further subdivision into orders should depend on the complexity of organization in each class. He thus considers that there are three different kinds of large divisions of animals proper to be made, and differing from each other in essence, and not merely in the extent or number of species comprised in them. Lamarck, on the other hand, considers all divisions larger than genera to be merely families of greater or less extent, and agrees with Agassiz only in considering that external form should be the criterion of specific difference.

Cuvier, Oken, Von Baer, and Owen, all endeavour, more or less, to arrange animals according to type; while Huxley, Hæckel, and most of the zoologists who have adopted the views of Darwin, found their systems on a different principle—that of relationship, or nearness in descent; and they generally assume that uniformity of type, even in small details, can only exist in closely-related animals. This certainly cannot be considered as proved, and is opposed to the views of Owen, Mivart, and Bastian. Lamarck himself gives two tables of relationship according to descent—one at the end of his "*Philosophie Zoologique*," and the other in the supplement to the introduction to his "*Histoire Naturelle*" (vol. i. p. 457). They differ considerably from each other, but altogether from the classification he adopted; and, as this classification was sketched out by him in his courses of lectures long before the publication of either of these works, and was retained in them, it is clear that he did not consider genealogy to be the true principle on which to found a natural system. While absolutely rejecting, at least in the "*Histoire Naturelle*," the theory of a single uninterrupted chain of beings, he still appears to found his system on it. He nowhere recognises anything like a type or plan of organization, and is generally guided merely by the principle of complexity of organization. Agassiz ("*Essay on Classification*," p. 134), well observes of his system, that it combines abstract conceptions with structural considerations, and an artificial endeavour to arrange all animals in a continuous series. He himself seems to have felt the artificial nature of his method, and to have become somewhat dissatisfied with the results. (See the supplement to the introduction to his *Hist. Nat.*, vol. i. p. 451.)

Lamarck considers all classifications formed by reasoning from a single organ to be unsatisfactory, and that the variations of the most important organs ought to carry the greatest weight in determining the relationship of animals. Thus the organs of sensation and respiration are better guides than those of circulation; and the organs of sensation, which give rise to the most eminent

faculties, are to be preferred to those of respiration. He criticises Aristotle's division of animals into those with blood and those without blood; and while approving of the division, thinks the characters ill chosen. In his doctrine as to the importance in classification of the organs of feeling, he agrees with Dr. Grant and Professor Owen, who also found their divisions of the Animal Kingdom on the characters of the nervous system. Lamarck's division into Apathetic, Sentient, and Rational animals, is really founded, however, not on the organs of sensation themselves, but on their functions or faculties.

In the *Hist. Nat.* i. 324, Lamarck gives further explanations of his views of the art of making fit divisions of animals. The principles he lays down are, first, that animals must be grouped according to some system which is not an arbitrary one, that the series must then be divided, and the proper rank of each division determined; secondly, that in performing these operations, attention must be paid to the following relationships:—(1) The relations between individuals of the same species. These are the closest, and consist in peculiarities of form. (2) The relations between animals of the same group. These must be determined by considering, not the external form only, but also the whole interior organization in every part. (3) The relations between the groups themselves, which must be arranged in order according as they differ more or less from man. (4) The relations between unmodified organs. The commonest organs are the most important for fixing the rank of the division. Of two different plans of the same organ, the one most analogous to the plan of the organ in a superior group entitles its possessor to a rank superior to that of the possessor of the organ formed with less analogy to such plan. Thus, as gills have a greater analogy to lungs than the branching air tubes or tracheæ by which insects breathe, it follows that animals breathing by gills have a higher rank than those breathing by tracheæ, but a lower rank than those breathing by true lungs. (5) The relations between organs modified by use or circumstance, so that the plan of nature is disguised. Everything done by nature has a higher value than what has been effected by external circumstances. The distinction here drawn between nature and circumstances is one that Lamarck continually dwells on; and we shall recur to it hereafter. The third principle is that we ought to begin with the lowest organism, with the object of making the order of our distribution conformable to that of Nature, who works upwards by degrees from the lowest forms.

The artificial nature of these principles clearly appears, and has to a considerable extent influenced Lamarck's arrangement. However, like all persons who have laid down principles for clas-

sifying animals, he does not attempt to follow out strictly his own theories. He appears inclined to adopt a genealogical arrangement, but to have been beguiled by a wish to carry out his principles, and also by vague ideas of the tendency and designs of Nature.

The following is the arrangement given by Lamarck, both in the "*Philosophie Zoologique*" and the first volume of the "*Histoire Naturelle*."

APATHETIC ANIMALS.

1. Infusoria.
2. Polyps.
3. Radiaria.
4. Worms.
- (Epizoa.)

SENTIENT ANIMALS.

5. Insects.
6. Arachnida.
7. Crustacea.
8. Annelids.
9. Cirrhipods.
10. Mollusks.

INTELLIGENT ANIMALS.

11. Fish.
12. Reptiles.
13. Birds.
14. Mammals.

Invertebrate Animals.

Vertebrate Animals.

The true principles on which a natural system should be founded must of course depend on the connexion between the beings to be classified. If Lamarck be correct in his doctrine that animals form a series on a number of branching series, each consisting of broadly distinguishable forms, it is difficult to see how any other principle than that of relationship or descent can be applied; and the lower limits at least of the divisions instituted must, in such a case as Lamarck has pointed out, be arbitrary. The higher limits, however, of many divisions would be strictly marked out conformably to nature by the extent to which development has advanced. Man would still mark out one of the boundaries of the class Mammalia, although, if all connecting forms were known, it might be impossible to draw any but a conventional boundary between reptiles and mammals. If, however, Mr. Mivart's view of the nature of the Animal Kingdom be the more correct one, type must be a leading principle in natural systems, though even in this case it might be difficult to assign

due limits to the divisions. It might be found that many forms partook of more than one type, and could only be arranged in one class rather than another, according to which type appeared to preponderate. In order to judge of Lamarck's classification we must, therefore, examine his theory of living beings.

Species and varieties, he considers, are like other divisions of animals, arbitrary and not natural. All forms have their origin in the simplest organized bodies which Nature is continually producing by spontaneous generation, and are derived from them by insensible alterations, so that animals make a branching series, which is continuous, except where forms are lost. The organs of an animal are modified by time and favourable circumstances. New species arise when the surroundings are changed, as when a plant, originally a native of a moist plain, comes to grow on a dry hill-side. They may also, in some cases, be derived from hybrids. These changes of circumstances are not, however, the only cause of the formation of new species, for Lamarck in many places attributes to nature a continual power or tendency to develop new and more highly organized bodies. Thus he says (*Phil. Zool.* p. 221) :—

“ Il sera en effet évident que l'état où nous voyons tous les animaux est d'une part le produit de la composition croissante de l'organisation, qui tend à former une gradation régulière ; et de l'autre part qu'il est celui des influences d'une multitude de circonstances très différentes, qui tendent continuellement à détruire la régularité de la composition de l'organisation.”

Some passages might even lead one to suppose that Lamarck looked on nature as working by insensible gradations to a pre-appointed end, and as being hindered, and the symmetry of her plan impaired, by circumstances. Thus he explains the absence of a hard external skeleton in mollusks by the supposition that Nature in them is preparing to form the internal skeleton of vertebrates ; and therefore lays aside the hard shell provided for insects and crustaceans (*Phil. Zool.* p. 316 ; *Hist. Nat.* i. 147). He puts forward similar hypotheses to explain the absence of articulated limbs among annelids, or red-blooded worms (which, like Cuvier, he places above insects), and the absence of a double gangliated cord in mollusks (*Phil. Zool.* 313, *n.* 316). In the *Hist. Nat.* i. 133, he says :—

“ Le plan des opérations de la Nature à l'égard de la production des animaux, est clairement indiqué par cette cause première et prédominante qui donne à la vie animale le pouvoir de composer progressivement l'organisation, et de compliquer et perfectionner graduellement, non seulement l'organisation dans son ensemble, mais encore chaque système d'organes particulier, à mesure qu'elle est parvenue à les établir Mais une cause étrangère à celle-ci, cause accidentelle et par conséquent variable, a traversé çà et là l'exécution de ce plan sans néanmoins le

détruire, comme je vais le prouver. Cette cause effectivement a donné lieu, soit aux lacunes, réelles de la série, soit aux ramaux finis qui en proviennent dans divers points et en altèrent la simplicité, soit, enfin, aux anomalies qu'on observe parmi les systèmes d'organes particuliers des différentes organisations."

This second cause is found in the very different circumstances in which the various animals are placed.

On the other hand, an even greater number of passages from Lamarck's writings might be adduced to show that both his primary and his secondary causes are alike due to the effect of circumstances. The increasing complexity of organism being perhaps, as in Mr. Herbert Spencer's theory, caused by the residual, and, to borrow an image from astronomy, secular effects of numerous opposing circumstances. Lamarck's general theory of life as dependent on the action of subtle fluids is given elsewhere, but there is nothing in it to show anything like an intention in nature to pass from one type to another, or to explain her disuse of organs already brought to a high degree of complication. On the contrary, he generally speaks (*Hist. Nat. Introd. Part 3*) as if all changes, and consequently all advance, were due to the effect of circumstances, new wants, and the action of his subtle fluids, caloric and electricity. Nor is there anything in his account of nature to countenance the theory of intelligence or design in her. Although in other parts of his works he appears to regard her as a Demiurgus, an intelligent but subordinate and finite being, fashioning the world, both animate and inanimate, according to her will; yet when he comes to treat of nature herself (*Hist. Nat. Intr. Part 6*) it appears that she is nothing but motion and a collection of laws. But a law in physics is really nothing but a way of grouping or describing, more or less accurately, all the similar phenomena presented by bodies; and however general it may be, and however many apparently different effects it may explain, still always remains nothing but a statement, that different bodies behave or move in a similar manner. Lamarck's definition of nature, in fact, amounts to saying that she is a collection of facts or phenomena presented by bodies.

Life, again, is described by him (*l.c. p. 311*) as having neither intention, end nor will, as blind and limited, and existing only by the will of a superior and infinite Power. Nature is distinct from the material universe (*p. 314*), and consists (*p. 319*), first, of motion, and, secondly, of all the constant and immutable laws which regulate the movements and changes of bodies. He attacks the notion (which he says is that of most persons), that nature and God are the same, and declares that God is the all-powerful Creator of nature, while nature is not a being or an

intelligence, but an order of things everywhere subjected ; and that design or will is not to be attributed to her, but that the appearance of it is derived from the operation of fixed laws originally combined for the purpose or end which her Supreme Author had in view. This is the case among animals, in whose formation he refuses to admit the action of Cuvier's final causes. He says :—

“ En effet dans chaque organisation particulière de ces corps, un ordre de choses préparé par les causes qui l'ont graduellement établi, n'a fait qu'amener par des développemens progressifs de parties, régis par les circonstances, ce qui nous paraît être un but, et ce qui n'est réellement qu'une nécessité. Les climats, les situations, les milieux habités, les moyens de vivre et de pourvoir à sa conservation, eu un mot les circonstances particulières dans lesquelles chaque race s'est rencontrée ont amené les habitudes de cette race ; celles-ci y ont plié et approprié les organes des individus ; et il en est résulté que l'harmonie que nous remarquons partout entre l'organisation et les habitudes des animaux, nous paraît une fin prévue, tandis qu'elle n'est qu'une fin nécessairement amenée ” (p. 324).

It appears on the whole, therefore, that if Lamarck did in any way, like Mr. Mivart, conceive a vital force working independently of, and often against circumstances, his views were ill-defined and confused. Though he often mentions nature as a force which gradually perfects the organs of animals, yet he dwells at greater length and more clearly on the power of circumstances in modifying them. He lays down, that circumstances create new wants in the intelligent animals, and produce changes in the nutrition and other vital actions of plants. Thus, changes in the latter are brought about by differences in the amount of moisture in meadows, or by cultivation in gardens. The leaves of the *Ranunculus aquatilis*, which grow under water, are of a quite different character to those growing in the air. In the higher animals new wants are created by changed circumstances, and produce new actions ; and, as the employment of an organ strengthens and enlarges it, while the disuse of an organ makes it deteriorate, the organs become thus altered in an individual subjected to a different set of external circumstances, and these alterations are (at least, if both parents be affected in a similar way) preserved in the offspring. It is therefore, according to Lamarck, an error to suppose that the nature or condition of an organ has led to its employment for a particular purpose ; the real fact being that its employment has modified the organ, and fitted it better to perform the duty required of it. He gives (*Phil. Zool.* vol. i. p. 248), several instances of organs modified by use or disuse. Thus the teeth of whales, the eyes of the mole, the feet of serpents, have been deteriorated or lost by dis-

use. The head of acephalous mollusks has on the other hand been lost by a somewhat different cause, the excessive development of the mouth. The shortening of the intestines of drunkards he also attributed to disuse. On the other hand, the webs between the toes of water birds, the feet of perchers, the long legs of waders, the tongue of the woodpecker, the legs and neck of the giraffe, and the hind legs of the kangaroo, are all instances of organs augmented and developed by excessive use; while the hoofs of many quadrupeds, the formation of the sloth, and the peculiar position of the eyes of the flat fish, are examples of the modifications of organs produced by the peculiar manner in which they are used.

It is not at first evident how use could furnish webs to the toes of swimming birds or animals, as the immediate effect of the resistance of the water would rather be to wear away and destroy all excrescences or webs on the foot. Perhaps Lamarck considered their development as an effect of over-nutrition, or as produced by continual streams of nervous fluid directed to the toes in swimming, producing a swelling or turgescence of the tissues, and forming channels, and thus pushing out the tissues covering the toes.

Lamarck extended his views to men, whom he considered as descended from the quadrumana. The difference in their structure was caused by men losing their habit of climbing trees, and being compelled during many generations to walk on their hind legs. Having obtained the mastery over other races, men took possession of all the spots which suited them, drove other animals into deserts, and thus arrested their development, while they multiplied their own wants, and, consequently, their mechanical powers (*industrie*) and faculties; and thus increased the distance between themselves and other animals. An erect position, he says, is sometimes assumed by the chimpanzee, and does not seem even now altogether natural to man, as is shown by the unwillingness of a fat, paunchy child to walk or stand. This is, we believe, the only place where Lamarck shows any perception of the law established by Mr. Darwin—that the young animal seems often not to have acquired the characteristics separating the adult from the neighbouring forms from which it has been developed.

The argument in favour of the fixity of species drawn from the fact that the mummies of animals found in Egypt present the same characters as existing animals, is not, according to Lamarck, conclusive. It proves only that species in Egypt have not varied for the last three or four thousand years, which is not surprising; as the climate and external circumstances affecting the animals in question have remained unaltered, and it is only

by changes of circumstances and length of time that new species or varieties are produced. Lamarck thinks that no species have been actually lost, except some large land animals extirpated by man. Other species, which seem to have disappeared, have really left descendants, but they, owing to continual changes of level and climate in different parts of the earth, have assumed forms different from those of their ancestors. There is therefore no evidence of any general catastrophe by which all the species in existence at one time were destroyed, although there have been many local catastrophes.

Lamarck gives two tables showing the origin and descent of animals. The one in the "*Philosophie Zoologique*," ii. 463, the other, six years later, in the "*Histoire Naturelle*," i. p. 457. In the first, Lamarck makes two branches of the animal kingdom, which are, however, of very different importance. The first branch comprises the Infusoria, Polyps, and Radiaria (sea urchins, star fish, jelly fish, &c.) or nearly all the forms classed by Cuvier as Radiata, with the exception of intestinal worms. These, together with Planaria, Gordius and Nais, make up Lamarck's class of worms, which forms the root of his second branch, and from which he derives all the higher forms of animals. These again make two branches, one composed of insects, spiders, lobsters, and other segmented animals with jointed limbs, the other of the annelids or ring-worms, the cirrhipeds or barnacles, and the mollusks. From the last the vertebrates spring. First fishes, then reptiles, then birds, and from these the mono-treme mammals, the duck-bill and echidua. The other mammals, however, he derives, not from birds, but from reptiles, from which he considers amphibious mammals, such as the seal and the manatee to have sprung; while they in their turn gave rise to the three remaining divisions—the unguiculate or clawed, the ungulate or hoofed, and the cetacea or whales. It is obvious, therefore, that Lamarck did not consider the lowest mammals to be necessarily the earliest developed, since he derived cetaceans by a process of degradation from amphibious mammals.

The view presented of the probable descent of animals in Lamarck's second table is a great improvement on the first. He still keeps two great series of animals, but they are better connected than those of the first table. The first series commences with Infusoria, from which Lamarck supposes the Polyps to have sprung. These give rise to two different classes. First, the Radiaria; and, secondly, Ascidians, and through them to the acephalous and other Mollusks. Except that Lamarck includes Cuvier's Echinoderms in his Radiaria, instead of giving a position near the worms, a modern evolutionist could object but little to this part of the table. The second, or articulate series, is

not in such close conformity with modern ideas. The worms give rise to two classes, Annelids (ringed red-blooded worms) and Epizoa (parasites generally found attached to the eyes or gills of fish). These Epizoa Lamarck believed to be the source from which insects and the other Articulates with jointed limbs were derived. The Cirrhipeds (Barnacles) Lamarck rightly places with these animals, although Cuvier long after continued to class them among Mollusks, in consequence of the resemblance of their shells to those of Bivalves. Lamarck himself so far gives importance to this resemblance as to place Cirrhipeds above Crustaceans, in accordance with his theory of the importance of organs analogous to those of a superior class. The Vertebrates are here placed by themselves, unconnected with either series of invertebrate animals, although from several passages of the "*Histoire Naturelle*" it appears that Lamarck had not abandoned his theory that they were derived from the Mollusca.

In the first chapter of the second book of his "*Phil. Zool.*" Lamarck endeavours to define the class of inanimate bodies. He recurs to the subject of the difference between them and living beings in the first volume of his "*Histoire Naturelle des Animaux sans Vertèbres*," where his views are given at greater length, and in some respects with more precision. In the "*Philosophie Zoologique*" he considers that inorganic substances are distinguished by having no individuality, by many of them being homogeneous (wholly solid, liquid or fluid), by their having no need of movement or nutrition, by their increasing by juxtaposition, and not by intussusception, and by their not originating from germs or being subject to death. From this definition it is impossible to know whether or not Lamarck intended to include substances derived from living beings, such as wood, wax, &c., in the class he was defining. All the characters he mentions are mere negations of characters of living beings, and might be more forcibly and concisely expressed by the words "inorganic" and "not living." Homogeneity, while it cannot be predicated of all inorganic substances, is a property (so far as our present knowledge extends) of some organic beings. An *Amœba* has all the appearance of a particle of animated jelly, and has a better claim to be called homogeneous than granite or most rocks, and as good a claim as wax or butter. In fact, it is evident that Lamarck, at the time he was writing this definition, had living beings in view, and would, had he cared to frame a logical work, have defined them instead of inorganic bodies. It would perhaps be as easy to make a satisfactory definition of unelectrified bodies as of inanimate or inorganic bodies. Many of the latter are subject to forces producing crystallization, but this, though a positive character, cannot be predicated of colloids such as gum, &c. One

common character is indeed attributed to all minerals by Lamarck—that of being derived from dead animals or plants. Stated broadly, as by him, this is an impossibility. He shows himself that the material constituents of all living beings were once inorganic. So that the old problem of the hen and the egg appears in an insoluble form.

In the second chapter of the *Philosophie Zoologique*, book ii., Lamarck attempts a definition of life, which he represents as producing various phenomena that yet do not constitute it. Life, he says (p. 403), in the parts of a body which possesses it, is an order and state of things which allows organic movements therein; these movements, which constitute active life, result from the action of a stimulative cause which excites them. This is not very clear. He goes on to lay down that active life requires stimuli, and a state of things which bestows the faculty of obeying them. This state of things consists in the existence of supple parts formed of cellular tissue and of liquid parts. The necessary exciting causes are to be found in the various subtle (imponderable) fluids which permeate all things, and which are in a continual state of agitation, produced by the motion of the earth, the varying positions of the heavenly bodies, and the seasons. Of such fluids the most important, perhaps the only ones concerned in producing life, are caloric and the electric fluid. To plants and to the lower animals the fluids in the surrounding media are sufficient to furnish the necessary stimuli; but in higher animals a continual production and renewal of the exciting fluids goes on. Some change even seems to take place in the nature of the fluids, the electric fluid being, as it were, animalized and converted into galvanic and nervous fluids. In plants only the liquid portions are acted on by the exciting causes, and their movements are probably due to caloric. In animals, however, the caloric produces swellings and contractions of the soft tissues as well as movements of the liquid parts. The caloric of higher animals is, according to Lamarck, derived from arterial blood.

It is to the important part played by heat that Lamarck attributes the great development of living beings in summer-time and in tropical climates. Water, light, and air, in addition to heat, are essential to the production of living beings. The phenomena of torpidity and hybernation are due to a loss of caloric; but in hybernating animals this loss is only partial, as is shown by the fact that, if the cold be increased, the animal awakes and becomes very restless. The chief effect of caloric on animated beings is to produce "*orgasme*"—a sort of tension or swelling, perhaps allied to tonicity. This "*orgasme*" exists in the soft parts of animals, and also, though obscurely, in plants, in which, however, it never gives rise to irritability, which is a power of moving in answer to

an external stimulus, rapidly and repeatedly, or as often as the stimulus is applied. The want of irritability is the great mark by which plants are to be distinguished from animals, but they also differ in having no digestive faculty, in their mode of growth, and in their chemical characters.

In the first volume of the *Histoire Naturelle* Lamarck again takes up the subject, and defines vegetables as being (1) unable to contract suddenly and repeatedly as often as a stimulus is applied to them; (2) unable to displace themselves; (3) having only their liquid parts capable of motion; (4) being without special internal organs, although possessing a number of vessels and canals; (5) without digestion, but only elaboration of the fluids which nourish them; (6) having displacement of fluid, but no circulation; (7) having two growths, one ascending, the other descending, from a vital nodus (*nœud vital*), situated at the origin of the root; (8) tending to grow perpendicular to the plane of the horizon; (9) being generally compound.

The motions of plants he considers to be due to mechanical causes, such as the action of elastic fluids, of springs (as in the action of certain plants in discharging their pollen), or to the action of the sun in drying up or driving away the fluids in particular parts. Some of the motions, like those of *Conservæ* and *Oscillatoriæ*, are slow, and not altered by external stimuli; while others, as in the case of the sensitive plant, can only be repeated after long intervals.

The facts established since the time of Lamarck show the futility of his theories. It is impossible to distinguish the movements of the ciliæ of *Zospores*, or of the amœbiform poisonous matter of the nettle from those of the ciliæ of infusoria or of *Amœba*. The second and third of Lamarck's characters are incorrect; the fifth and sixth are only verbal. How does elaboration differ from digestion, or circulation from displacement? The other characters are neither true of all plants, nor peculiar to them; and even if they were, they are not sufficiently important to separate plants from animals.

Animals, according to Lamarck, are distinguished by nine characters, generally corresponding to the characters of plants already enumerated. The first and second, fifth and eighth, consist in the possession of irritability and the power of moving. The third character is that animals execute no movements without stimulus, and can repeat such movements as often as the stimulus is employed; while, according to the fourth character, the movements show no comprehensible relation to their cause. The other characters are that animals are nourished by foreign compound substances, which they generally have the power of digesting; that they present great disparities in the composition

of their organization, and that they have no tendency to grow vertically.

It appears to us that definitions, in order to be useful, should consist either in a short explanation or description of the essential characters of the class, or in a description of one or more characters to be found in each member of the class, and serving as a test whether a given object does or does not belong to the class. In the second case it is important that the test should be accurate, but not that the character chosen should be important. Of this nature are the characters serving to discriminate between neighbouring genera in Zoology. In the first case, however, the characters chosen should be important; and if possible should disclose the essence, the actual nature and reason for existence of the class. This can hardly ever be done, except in pure mathematics and artificial or verbal sciences, such as Grammar, Heraldry, or Rhetoric. Our definitions share in the imperfections of our knowledge; and all we can do, when seeking to define a class of the components of which we know as little as we do of animals, is to take the characters which seem to be the most important and most universal, and state them as clearly and concisely as is possible. So long as the real nature of matter, of space, and of force is unknown, it is impossible to understand properly or define adequately life or feeling. The definitions can be but provisional, and in such it is not absolutely necessary that the characters chosen should be accurately coextensive with the class.

Judged from this point of view some of Lamarck's characters are, for his time, as important and indicative of the real nature of the class as any that could be chosen. In particular, the character which attributes to animals the power of executing movements, not communicated but excited, and bearing no comprehensible relation to their exciting cause, and the character which lays stress on the stream of matter continually flowing through the bodies of living beings, appear to us especially good. It is interesting to compare Lamarck's definition of animals with Mr. Herbert Spencer's definitions of Life, which he says ("Principles of Biology," p. 74) consists in "the definite combination of heterogeneous changes, both simultaneous and successive, in correspondence with external coexistences and sequences;" or (p. 80) "the continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations." These definitions are very ingenious, but do not throw much light on the nature of life, or of the effects produced by it; nor do they afford a test by which to decide whether a given substance is or not endued with life. Mr. Spencer himself admits that the characters are not strictly coextensive with the class; indeed he holds that no characters can be strictly coextensive consistently with the doctrine of Evolution.

Living beings are produced by generation, which Lamarck holds may be either spontaneous or from parents similar to the offspring. Direct or spontaneous generations take place continually among the simple forms to be found at the beginning of the animal and vegetable series, and most other animals and plants are derived from these earliest forms. Being ignorant of the eggs both of Polyps and Infusoria, he argues in favour of the occurrence of direct generations from the destruction which, during a rigorous winter, must overtake all the inhabitants of freshwater pools. He at one time considered that direct generation occurred only among the lowest forms, but he was later induced to believe that intestinal worms, and even external parasites of comparatively high organization, might be generated directly from corpuscles formed in the animals infested, and analogous in some degree to the corpuscles which reproduce the form of the parent. He thus recognises the two sorts of direct generation which Dr. Bastian has called respectively *Abiogenesis*, generation from inorganic matter; and *Heterogenesis*, or generation of a new and distinct animal or plant from organic matter or living bodies. Dr. Grant in his "*Tabular View of the Animal Kingdom*" (London, 1861), declares it is impossible to draw any definite line of demarcation between the various cells which build up one of the higher animals such as blood corpuscles, bone cells, &c., and the lowest isolated and independent animals. Mr. H. Spencer also propounds a somewhat similar theory, considering higher animals to be aggregates of the second or even third order, built up out of cells or aggregates of the first order. (*Principles of Biology*, ii. p. 77-112.) These views, however, are by no means the same as those of Lamarck, whose parasites spring from germs and not from cells. According to the observations of Pouchet and Bastian, a germ-like period of quiescence is the invariable precursor of every great heterogenetic change in any living body, and the particles from which the new being will arise are at first aggregated together so as to present the appearance of an egg or germ, which Pouchet calls the spontaneous egg. If the correctness of these observations were established, it would be a curious corroboration of Lamarck's surmise.

Lamarck goes on to explain the production of the simplest organic forms by direct generation. Gelatinous and mucilaginous bodies are alone fitted to receive life. Into the mass of these the ambient subtle fluids penetrate, increase the interstices, and produce a cellular tissue, in which various fluids and liquids can enter and move. Caloric here plays the most important part. The lower animals are entirely formed of this cellular tissue. In the higher animals and plants this tissue is modified. Vessels are wrought in it by the motion of fluids; membranes, such as

bark and skin, are formed by its compression; and all other organs are derived from and developed by it. Lamarck in forming his theory seems to have confounded the areolar or fibrous tissue enveloping the muscles and other organs with the primordial cells from which many organs originate.

New combinations of matter are being continually formed by living bodies, by means of their organic movements, with the aid of the affinities or relations of matter, and the tendency which all compound bodies have to self-destruction, a tendency which arises from some of the combined principles in such bodies requiring to be fixed by the restraint of an external force. Hence come secretions and assimilations. In youth the parts of the body are soft; nutrition is consequently more than sufficient to supply the waste of the tissues, and the animal increases in size. As time goes on, the softer portions of the tissues are more easily lost or dissipated in the continual flux of matter than the harder portions; while in the repairs effected by nutrition, the harder portions are comparatively more numerous. Thus the tissues gradually harden, and further growth becomes impossible. At first the surplus nutriment collected by every part of the body serves the reproductive faculty, and goes to form a small but similar body. As the hardness still increases, nutrition is carried on with greater difficulty, and at length ceases to be sufficient to maintain the body in a state in which vital movements can be carried on, and the animal dies. This view, which accounts for the resemblance between parents and their offspring by supposing that organs in the latter are formed out of particles derived from the corresponding organ in the former, was probably suggested to Lamarck by Buffon's theory of organic molecules. It is reproduced, although with many improvements and additions, in Mr. Darwin's theory of Pangenesis, but is much older than any of these authors. Lucretius (Bk. iv. l. 1212), reproducing the atomic theory of the Greeks, says:—

Fit quoque, ut intendum similes existere avorum
Possint, et referant proavorum sæpe figuras,
Propterea, quia multa modis primordia multis
Mista suo celant in corpore sæpe parentes,
Quæ patribus patres tradunt a stirpe profecta;
Inde Venus varia producit sorte figuras,
Majorumque refert voltus, vocesque, comasque.

The theories all seem to rest on some materialistic idea, that a particular force can be transmitted from one body to another by a transmission of some of the actual particles impressed with or moving in obedience to such force.

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After giving this account of the general effect of life, Lamarck proceeds to discuss the principal faculties peculiar to different animals. He commences with his usual serene conviction of the truth of his own theories, and all facts to be deduced therefrom, by inveighing against the folly of expecting to find organs in animals lower in the scale of life than those in which rudimentary organs appear. As circulation is first sketched out in the class of insects, it is useless to seek for anything of the sort in Radiaria. It is equally absurd to attribute anything like respiratory functions to the leaves of plants. After this rather unfortunate beginning, he examines seven of the chief faculties. He defines—1. *Digestion*, as consisting in the destruction of the state of aggregation of the particles of aliment, and in a change of state and quality fitting the aliment, to form chyle and to repair the essential fluid: and 2. *Respiration*, as the process by which the essential fluid is repaired, after sudden alterations of it, where nutrition is too slow a process. The alterations intended are those arising from the supposed sudden dissipation of caloric, electricity, and nervous or other subtle fluids necessary for producing motion and other vital functions. Lamarck, however, while he recognises oxygen as the most important principle of this reparation, makes no allusion to any development of heat from the combination of such oxygen. He divides the special systems of respiratory organs into four sorts, which are Lungs and Tracheæ, fitted for breathing air; and Branchiæ and Aquiferous Tracheæ, adopted for breathing water: the last being found in Radiaria (echinoderms and jelly-fish). In animals not having a definite circulation, respiration is effected in organs diffused over the whole body, the respired fluid carrying its influence to every part, and the essential fluid not travelling further than the respired fluid. In animals having a circulation, on the other hand, the respired fluid is admitted into a special organ, and there is a special circulation of the essential fluid, either complete or incomplete, within such organ. A very slow movement of the essential fluid takes place among the infusoria, and probably a more rapid one among the polyps. In higher animals a separate system of organs is required to carry on the definite circulation which these obtain. This system is first sketched out in the Arachnida (spiders, mites, &c.), and formed in the Crustacea. The theory—that respiration is intended to effect changes in the circulating fluid—seems open to some question. The ultimate object is to provide the organs of the body with the oxygen necessary to enable them to carry on the vital functions, and the alteration which undoubtedly takes place in the blood seems generally to be but a means of carrying the oxygen to these organs. The other functions

Lamarck mentions are those of the muscles, of sensation, of sex, of circulation and intelligence.

In the third part of his *Phil. Zool.* Lamarck develops at some length his theory of sensation, instinct, thought and will, as dependent on the motions of a subtle fluid, which he considers to be probably an animalized form of electricity. He believes that the fluids to which he attributed irritability and motion in animals may, like their blood, become more complex and retainable—"contenable"—in the higher animals, although still remaining invisible. A special fluid traverses the nerves, and being used and lost in them, is continually being separated from the blood of the arteries to make up the loss. The blood itself, as we have seen, is restored by means of respiration to its former state. The great separation of this fluid from the blood takes place in the grey matter of the brain, and other nervous centres, which is in a great measure composed of small arteries.

The nervous system always consists of two parts. (1) A central mass, from which, the fluid necessary to excite the muscles to contract, starts, and to which, the fluid conveying sensation comes. In vertebrata this centre is probably the ring (*Pons Varolii*?) of nervous matter round the continuation of the spinal cord into the brain, the medulla oblongata, or the medulla oblongata itself. In insects, the first bilobed ganglion is also a centre; but these animals may have several centres. The centres are the parts first formed, and though other parts may be larger and more developed, this is only the effect of the general law that exercise promotes growth. (2.) The nerves are the second portion. They consist of a medullary pulp, covered by a sheath, which retains the subtle fluid continually traversing them. They are, however, open at their extremities to enable the fluid to communicate with the various parts of the body. The pulp is secreted from the blood, or essential fluid of the animal. A special sheath covers every nerve-fibre, in addition to the fibrous envelope of the whole. The nerves were produced after the formation of the various centres by the movements of the special subtle fluid, working out channels and passages by which more easily to arrive at the place where it was required.

This view of the origin of nerves is not unlike the one given by Mr. Herbert Spencer (*Biology*. Section 302).

Movements, when effected by irritability in the lowest animals, are, as has been seen, due entirely to external stimuli; but Lamarck repeatedly lays down that muscular action is always accompanied by nervous action, of which it is the earliest and commonest effect. In higher animals sensation or feeling is also produced in the nervous system, and in higher animals still, which have a

special organ (the hemispheres of the brain or hyper-cephalon, as Lamarck terms it)—consciousness, thought, moral feeling, and will, also result. The precise action of the nervous system in those animals, in which it subserves muscular action only, is not laid down with any accuracy by Lamarck. He states that such action may be produced in three ways—(1) by external action; (2) by the internal feeling not regulated by the will; and (3) by such feeling regulated to a greater or less extent by the will. In all animals in which a nervous system exists, he considers it probable that the internal feeling exists. Its action, however, will be best understood by first taking the phenomena of feeling.

The soft character of the nerves, and especially of their medullary pulp, renders it impossible to adopt Hartley's view, and to consider them as vibrating cords, or transmitting impressions by vibrations of their component matter. They, however, all contain a portion of the subtle nervous fluid, which, by its movements or compressions and the shocks it receives, gives rise both to sensation and the emotions of the internal feeling. Every impression given to any particular part produces a shock to the whole amount of nervous fluid contained in the nervous system. This shock is propagated along the nerve to the centre, and thence to every part of the system, and afterwards produces a reaction, which comes from every part of the system except the particular nerve first affected, and is consequently propagated along such nerve, the only one not reacting. This causes the sensation to be referred to the extremity of this nerve, in the part originally impressed. On the other hand, the internal feeling is due to a general shaking of the nervous fluid, not accompanied by any reaction. The continual small impressions such fluid receives give rise to the feeling of personal identity, "*le moi*," while the more violent impressions produce actions and thoughts by sending portions of the nervous fluid to the brain, or directly to the muscles. By this automatic or involuntary actions are produced, as when a man starts at a loud sound, or flings down a hot iron. Consciousness only arises when a part of the nervous fluid traverses the special organ (the hyper-cephalon), in which its movements leave traces of its currents. These traces produce alterations in the currents which afterwards traverse the same part, and by these means feelings and moral sensibilities are produced, which by such alteration or modification of the movements of the nervous fluid give rise to corresponding actions. Habits in man and the higher animals, and instincts in the lower ones, (especially remarkable in insects,) are actions produced by the nervous fluid moving along courses which have been worn out by repeated currents flowing in the same or similar directions. The internal

feeling has thus a threefold faculty. First, to give notice of sensations whereby physical sensibility is produced ; secondly, to give consciousness of ideas and thoughts by sending portions of the nervous fluid to move in the channels or courses already worn in the hyper-cephalon, whereby moral sensibility is produced, as hereafter mentioned ; and, thirdly, to make the animal act instinctively or involuntarily. Only a small part of the nervous fluid is at the disposition and will of the animal, and this part is speedily used up in continual movements or intellectual operations, and requires to be reproduced before the animal can go on acting or thinking. It is thus that the sense of fatigue arises, the muscles not being themselves altered.

Conscious will and ideas arise from the motion of the nervous fluid in the organs of intelligence, the cerebral lobes or hyper-cephalon. This organ does not react on the nervous fluid. It is composed of innumerable cavities, to which the nerve fibres lead. The act of attention is necessary to prepare the organ to be impressed ; without such act, an impression will be perceived, but not felt ; but when attention has prepared the channel, the agitation of the nervous fluid originally produced by an external object is communicated to nervous fluid which traverses the hyper-cephalon, and engraves traces of its course on that organ. A simple idea is thus produced, which can be recalled by the nervous fluid being directed on the traces of the original sensation, and with the aid of attention bringing back the features of such traces to the notice of the internal consciousness. Lamarck denies the existence of any innate ideas, though they would almost seem to be a necessary consequence of his theories. If the offspring bears the close resemblance to the parent which he attributes to it, and ideas are the results of channels actually sculptured in the brain, it would appear at least highly probable that the child would be born with the power of reproducing all the ideas of its parent. Lamarck considers dreams and madness caused by disturbed currents of the nervous fluid traversing various parts of the hyper-cephalon, and the traces of many ideas uncontrolled by the internal feeling.

In forming judgments, a stream of fluid is divided and directed by the internal feeling on to different traces of ideas already engraved in the brain, after tracing which, the different portions acquire as many modifications of their original motions as there are traces of simple ideas, and then reuniting, these different motions are combined into one complex movement which produces the judgment ; complex ideas are derived from judgments, and complex ideas and judgments of the second order are obtained from complex ideas of the first order, in a manner similar to that in

which the complex ideas of the first order are derived from simple ideas.

Will is a determination by thought, and always the effect of a judgment. It is not really free, but the necessary result of the previous operation, as the quotient is in an arithmetical process. The appearance of irregularity in the workings of the will and the enormous variations in the results obtained from different people and at different times, arise from differences in the organ, produced by disposition, age, health, and other elements, all of which take part in the formation of the judgment. Attention is an act of the internal feeling acted on by a want or desire which directs a part of the nervous fluid which is at the disposition of the individual, on to the organ of intelligence. Preoccupation prevents this act, and then ideas or feelings do not engrave themselves on this organ.

The first thing that strikes one after reading Lamarck's attempted explanation of the processes of feeling, thought, and other acts of intelligence, is that even if it were true, it would explain nothing. There is the same difficulty, neither diminished nor increased, in the mind being conscious of a stream of nervous fluid in the hyper-cephalon, as in its being conscious of the pressure of a solid substance on the finger. It is possible, or at least conceivable, that such a stream may be an essential link in the chain connecting external phenomena with consciousness. It is certain that some operation in the lobes of the brain is such a link, but it is highly improbable that Lamarck's fanciful sketch represents what really takes place, and if it did, it would throw no light soever on the problem of consciousness. Lamarck has described a sort of hydraulic calculating machine which requires both to be originally set in motion and also to have its final results read off and interpreted by an intelligent mind. Such a mind he seems sometimes to attribute to what he calls the internal feeling, which, however, he often treats as only a sort of valve. In one respect he is particularly unfortunate. He has based all his explanations of life and intellect on theories of imponderable fluids, like the caloric invented by Black, and the various electric fluids. These theories had, even before Lamarck wrote his *Philosophie*, been assailed by Count Rumford. (*Phil. Trans.*, A.D. 1798, and Sir Humphry Davy, *Chemical Philosophy*, 1812.) They were not, however, really overthrown till Joole and Mayer, respectively, published their views and experiments on the nature of heat, about 1842-3. Lamarck was so fond of imponderable fluids that he even considered sound to be propagated not by air, but by a peculiar imponderable fluid, which he elsewhere represents as a modified form of caloric. He based his theory on the discrepancy between the observed velocity of sound and

that calculated for it by Newton, and refused to admit the explanation of Lagrange and Laplace, who showed Newton's calculations to be defective in not taking account of the action of heat in increasing the elasticity of the air. These physical theories of Lamarck now impart to his biological speculations a much greater air of falseness and fancifulness than they really deserve. In order properly to do justice to them when comparing them with modern speculations on the same subject, they should be as it were translated out of the language of subtle fluids into that of transmutable forces. Lamarck has in several cases anticipated theories which have since been advocated with great ingenuity, but he has in such cases often disguised them in phraseology borrowed partly from ideas now exploded, and partly from his own imagination. His views of life generally agree with those of Mr. Darwin and Mr. H. Spencer in so far as they all endeavour to explain the phenomena of life by the action of ordinary physical forces, and refuse to recognise any special vital force or fluid. On the other hand, he held the doctrine of the daily recurrence of spontaneous generation, which doctrine is at the present day advanced chiefly by the advocates of the principle that some special form of force is necessary to produce vital phenomena. In mental philosophy, as we have seen, Lamarck altogether rejected the doctrine of the freedom of the will, while in religion his views seem to have been a curious mixture of Pantheism and Deism.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

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*[Under the above title a limited portion of the Westminster Review is occasionally set apart for the reception of able articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the work, contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it may advocate. The object of the Editor, in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]*

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ART. VIII.—THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

FOLLOWING that essential principle of Liberalism which requires that all questions of common interest and concern be treated from a common and universal point of view, I propose in this paper to treat of the Established Church neither as a Churchman nor as a Nonconformist, but simply as a member of the State. It is as a citizen that I see with regret an ancient and noble department of the State, endowed with vast wealth of resource, high prestige, a wide-spreading and magnificent organization, and, in short, every appliance for promoting in the highest degree the highest welfare of the whole nation, and yet restricting its benefits to a moiety of the nation, and conferring even upon that moiety but a doubtful good, while to the rest it is a fountain of perpetual bitterness.

That the position of the Established Church of England should be regarded as a grievance by the Unestablished, or Nonconformist Church in England, will appear natural and inevitable when we consider that, of the immense property set apart by the piety of many generations for promoting the moral and spiritual welfare of the whole English people under State supervision, the entire control and disposal are in the hands of a body which comprises only about one-half of the nation.

It might be supposed from this statement of the case that the party most aggrieved were the Nonconformists; and, to judge from the demeanour of that party, the supposition would appear to be justified. But there are very many within the Established Church who find the preponderance of grievance to be with themselves, inasmuch as they are affected by the causes which

have led to its limitation far more seriously than any can be who are without its pale.

But while we may reasonably take this view of the case as between the two parties referred to, there is yet a third party which suffers more seriously than either, and one to whose grievances the citizen is bound to attach a paramount importance. This is the nation itself. In a vast variety of ways, all springing from the causes which have so disastrously affected the Church, the development of the nation in every direction, social, political, religious, intellectual, and moral, in which development is desirable, is arrested, retarded, or diverted. For the most fatal element that can be introduced into a nation, as into a family, is the spirit of dogmatism—the spirit that leads a man to believe that he is in exclusive possession of all truth; and it is this spirit, with its accompanying host of malignant sprites, that our Church has inherited from Rome, and retained in all its intensity, thereby fostering bigotry, intolerance, jealousy, dissension, insincerity, and lowering the standard of morality generally by exalting authority above reason, assertion above proof, profession above conviction, and opinion above conduct.

The modes whereby some of the parties concerned have attempted to account for the evils they cannot fail in some measure to perceive are characteristic of their respective standpoints. Thus the Nonconformists are unanimous in charging all the blame upon the connexion of the Church with the State. Drawing a rigid line of demarcation between things sacred and things secular, they contend that the union is one of Christ with Belial, and call loudly for the “liberation of religion from State control.”

In the Establishment itself the conviction is universal that the present position cannot long be maintained, and opinion on the subject is mainly of two kinds, the party holding one desiring to be separated from the State, solely in order, apparently, to be free to return upon the doctrine and practice of Rome, and thus become more exclusive, and recede still further from the catholicity incumbent upon an institution claiming to be national; and the other party desiring to retain the State connexion, but at the same time to obtain various degrees of relaxation in the conditions of membership.

For the simple unattached citizen, who views things from a standpoint at once practical and ideal, and disregards both tradition and authority, none of these parties have lighted upon either the true grievance or the true remedy. Bringing the achromatic light of reason and experience to bear upon the question, he hesitates not to apply to things claiming to be divine the same principles and tests which he finds indispensable for

things secular. For him the faculty of truthfulness is sacred, whatever it be applied to, and he knows of but one set of faculties whereby truth is to be ascertained. These are the mind and conscience of the living generations of men—faculties which must be left to operate freely, if their verdict is to be rendered in accordance with the facts.

It is, therefore, to the limitations placed by the Church upon opinion and expression, that the citizen finds himself compelled to ascribe, not only its own shortcomings, but also a large share of the defects under which we labour as a people and nation.

It appears, then, to the citizen that the desired end is to be attained only by applying afresh the principles of the Reformation, and completing that great movement by emancipating the Church from all its trammels. Those trammels are not what the Nonconformist imagines, nor is the end precisely that which the High Churchman desires. Those who come nearest to the citizen's view belong to the third party, described as the Broad Church. It has not yet spoken out very clearly; but this may be because its spokesmen have been clergymen, and under bondage. Perchance these will not refuse to let a layman formulate for them the wishes they are debarred from expressing.

While freedom is what, in the view of all the parties concerned, the Church requires, the freedom which alone the citizen can reasonably grant is not of the kind imagined by the others.

It is somewhat remarkable that, while professing the greatest veneration for the Reformation, the Nonconformists should have failed to comprehend its spirit and intention. It does not seem to have occurred to them, while calling for the liberation of religion from State-control, that it is not the religion, but the ecclesiastical organization, of the Establishment which is really controlled by the State. The State has no interest whatever in narrowing the intellectual boundaries of the Church or restricting its sphere of action. The limitations under which the Church suffers are really self-imposed; and though they have the sanction of the State, and are enforced by the law, in common with the conditions of other corporate bodies, as constituting a contract, they were specified and insisted on by those whom we may regard as the officials of the department. The State, to which the Reformation was originally due, would, doubtless, have readily acquiesced in complete freedom but for the action of those Churchmen whose influence was paramount, and who used it to arrest and subvert the movement.

By demanding the separation of the Church from the State, while failing to object to the imposition of dogmatic limitations, the Unestablished or Nonconformist sections of the Church in England have betrayed their ignorance of the real significance of

the Reformation, as well as of the point where the pressure really falls. Had they raised their voices on behalf of freedom of opinion and expression, and shown by example their faith in the power of truth to win its way in a fair field, they might then indeed claim to be true children of the Reformation, and worthy to aid in completing it by striving for the emancipation of the National Church from its fetters.

This section of our countrymen, however, as I have said, has not yet learnt what the Reformation meant. For it has not yet learnt that, though fighting Rome with its own weapons, and using Dogma to combat Dogma, the Reformation was essentially a repudiation of all dogma. Using the dogma of Biblical Infallibility as an engine of destruction against the dogma of Papal Infallibility, the Reformation, by its very assertion of the right of private judgment in the choice of Infallibilities, struck at the root of all Infallibility, and consequently of all dogma whatever. And it is through their failure to comprehend and accept the spirit of the Reformation, that the Nonconforming communions have subjected their own religion to precisely the same bondage that religion suffers from in the Established Church; and in their confusion and distress they cry out for the liberation of religion from State control, when all that the State is interested in controlling is the Ecclesiastical organization, and not religion at all.

It is only a superficial view of our recent School legislation that could obtain for the Nonconformists credit for having reached any sound principle in respect of dogmatic teaching. They insist only that such teaching shall not in any way proceed from the State. And so far from objecting to the imposition itself of definite theological tenets, they, with scarce an exception, rival Rome in enforcing their own favoured dogmas among themselves. The fact is notorious that the children of Nonconformists are not permitted to grow up unbiased in respect of their religious conclusions, or left free to form them for themselves, any more than in the most sacerdotally governed communions.

Having, however, by the part they have taken in promoting the School-board system, consented to, or rather insisted on, State-interference on behalf of the education of the young, they have cut from under themselves the ground of their objection to the principle of a State Church.

In more ways than one is the establishment of the School Boards an attempt to create an institution nearly corresponding to the Church. In fact, the affinity between the Church and the School is so close, both in design and function, that it is impossible to draw a rigid line between them,—as impossible as between youth and age. For, rightly considered, what the School is to

youth, that the Church is, or ought to be, to maturity—the continual developer of the mind and spirit in a continually ascending progression, as co-architects of the fabric of man. If thus far man be but a squat and distorted figure, it is because, for the most part, instead of building him up, his architects have been content to sit upon him.

Our recent School legislation, in which may be included our University reforms, is based on the recognition of two broad well-defined principles. One, that the State, as a State, should provide facilities for the development of the faculties, moral, intellectual, and spiritual, of its members. The other, that it should not control the direction or limit the extent of that development.

Now, as it is impossible to draw a line between the rudimentary education of the youth and the higher education of the adult, it is impossible consistently to call upon the State to provide the School, and at the same time forbid it to establish the Church. For what but a part of the higher or highest education of man is the teaching that an enlightened Church ought to afford?

This, then, is our position at present. The Nonconformists concede the principle of the Established State Church as a teaching institution, but refuse to the State any right to impose dogmatic tenets. In other words, if the Established Church were made a dogmaless institution, and freed from limitation upon opinion and expression, the Nonconformists would be able to accept it as the crown and completion of the system of education whereof our National Schools constitute the base.

Having thus shown that the Nonconformist half of the Church and Nation cannot consistently object to the liberation of religion from its dogmatic limitations, let us see what reception the measure is likely to receive in the Establishment itself.

It is certainly not from the large class of highly educated laymen who, nominally at least, belong to the Church, that opposition is to be apprehended. It is a matter notorious to all who mix with these that whatever their vocation, philosophic, literary, scientific, artistic, or in any other way professional, they are unanimous in favour of the most extended relaxation of the terms of Church membership. The effect of the existing limitations is to cut them off, not only from the benefit of its ministrations, but also from one of the most coveted of careers; and year by year we see them flocking more and more to other professions, owing solely to these limitations, until the Church is fairly starving for lack of men of ability to minister in it.

Judging from the experience of other departments of the State when a re-construction is proposed, we might expect the officials

of this one to be unanimous and strenuous in their opposition. But so far from this being the case, a large and influential party among the clergy of the Establishment are avowedly eager for the change. While there is a multitude of others who, without openly avowing their desire, indirectly betray their approval by habitually making for themselves a selection from the dogmas they have sworn to, and explaining away, rejecting, or ignoring the rest.

By the imposition of tests, not only did the Church make itself responsible for innumerable immoralities, but it laid within itself the seeds of mortal disease. By persisting in their retention, it will commit suicide outright, for, claiming to lay down a pathway of approach for the soul towards God, it virtually inculcates Atheism. By relegating all revelation of truth to a distant past, it insists that the world should be governed by the dead and not by the living. By requiring that we shape our conceptions of the Universe by the conceptions of men who lived and died ages ago, it requires of the Almighty that he limit his manifestation of truth to us, to the kind and degree vouchsafed to them. The creed or belief of any age is but the index to the height of the Divine presence of truth in that age. And the design of the religious test is to limit all perception and expression of truth to the standard of some one age. The whole principle of religious tests, therefore, whether in Church established or in Church independent, involves the wild presumption of dictating to God as well as to all future generations of men. For it not only prohibits further progress to man, but it prohibits to God further manifestation of himself. This is nothing less than an assumption of infallibility on the part of those who practise it. And involving as it does the banishment of God and truth from the living world, it is essentially an atheistic principle.

To come to that party within the Established Church whose members implicitly receive all its dogmas, and believe that without them it would be no Church at all. Even to these the change we are considering would in some respects be a boon. For, where opinion and expression are free, there will be no impediment to the utterance of their convictions, and their utterances will have the additional weight of unimpeachable sincerity. Granting them their position, that the traditional dogmatic system is necessary to the constitution of a true Church, they will still have the satisfaction of believing themselves to be that Church, even though constituting a portion of a dogmaless Establishment; and they will still be free to strive to increase their following.

This, if I mistake not, is precisely the position assumed by the members of the High Church party in the Establishment at

the present moment. They regard themselves as alone the true Church within the Church of England. The main difference in their position would consist in the fact, that their limitations would be purely and avowedly self-imposed, and devoid of any recognition by the State. But as they already repudiate the authority of the State, both in doctrine and practice, this would not signify to them.

Of course the question does not fail to suggest itself—Are they right in defining a Church as a dogmatic institution? It would be no easy task to produce evidence proving that it was the intention of its Founder to make it so, or that it should for ever continue to be so. History exhibits dogma itself as capable of development. Why should it not develop into something beyond and above dogma; even as the seed originally buried in the ground loses itself by developing into the roots and stem of a fair plant patent to all?

So far from the assumption, that dogma constitutes the essence of the Christian Church being obligatory, they are surely not without justification, who find in the history of its Founder indications—that for him life was more than belief, conduct more than opinion, practice more than theory, love more than knowledge; and that he would Himself, could he be consulted afresh, be foremost in reprobating the importance attached to what at best are but human deductions from his imperfectly reported utterances. This is far from being an untenable or unreasonable view; and for those who hold it, there is little difficulty in believing that, so far from dogma being necessary to a true Church, it is precisely in proportion as the Christian dogma has been brought forward, and the Christian life withdrawn into the background, that the Church has lost sight of its mission, and failed to be a true Church.

But whatever the convictions of any party in a body claiming to be national, it must be content with the liberty to hold and teach them, without requiring that they be authoritatively imposed on others. It is equal justice that we require of the State, and equal justice forbids the selection and imposition of any set of opinions, no matter how strongly their adherents may be attached to them.

Dogma at best is but a slippery basis. There are few dogmas of which the terms are not capable of various interpretations. We all know what became of it in the domain of Astronomy. True, this is an exact science. But Theology is by no means secure from peril through it. It is notorious that numbers of the most highly educated and intelligent of the clergy receive in a merely subjective sense dogmas which they allow their uneducated congregations to regard in a very different way. When people

generally become aware that multitudes of clergymen, High as well as Broad Church, consider themselves justified in reciting creeds without having a particle of belief in their objective or historical truth, and are content if they can find in them a subjective or spiritual meaning, and that herein consists the sole barrier that divides them from what is vulgarly regarded as perjury; a barrier, however, which, slender as it is, many of their brethren are without—the fate of the Church as a dogmatic, or any other kind of institution, will be sealed, and much that might be made profitable for spiritual culture be indignantly rejected.

With feelings of profound commiseration should we regard the men who occupy the positions last described. It is because the spirit of truthfulness in them is too strong to be quenched, but strives ever against the exigences of a state of society whose morality is in conflict with that of nature, that they find themselves exposed to the charge of apparent insincerity. Not upon them, caught young, as most of them have been, and fettered in a position from which they can in nowise escape; but upon the system we have retained from Rome must the blame be cast. For centuries has our entire social system been on all sides enclosed by a quickset hedge of tests, subscriptions, vows, and oaths. At every turn we have been met by oaths political, oaths social, oaths ecclesiastical, oaths religious, oaths theological. Everywhere have men been bribed by privileges, honours, and emoluments, to swear that they will maintain the existing fabric of opinion and custom, rather than endeavour to ascertain and teach what is truest and best. And so, truthfulness and improvement have been authoritatively suppressed, until of England it may emphatically be said—"Because of swearing the land mourneth."

It is true that some clergymen agree with the late Frederick Denison Maurice in regarding the Athanasian Creed as a valuable expression of the highest truth, and the conviction is one with which a thoughtful layman may sympathize. But what a layman cannot endure is that any, claiming to be teachers of the people, should conceal the real significance which that or any other symbol of their faith possesses for them, and leave their hearers under the impression that it is other than it really is. The age of mystery and its complement deceit, has for ever passed away; and the Church will not be the less a true Church for abandoning its traditions in respect thereto.

The abolition of tests would involve the abolition of prosecutions for heresy, and of those hybrid institutions the ecclesiastical courts. No small boon would this be to the bishops, whose chief function then would consist in providing congregations with

teachers likely to work in profitable accord with them on the basis of free speech and free expression.

It has been asserted that such a reconstruction would have the effect of turning the "Church" out of the Establishment; but it seems to me that rather would it give admission to that half of the Church which is now out of it. Most gladly would the Nonconformists, I believe, return to it as to an inheritance from their portion in which they have long been unjustly excluded. The admission to the function of minister of any man who, by ability, attainments, and character, has shown himself worthy to instruct his fellows, combined with liberty for the ministers and their congregations to determine their own formularies, will leave no pretext for Nonconformity. If under a régime so expanded as to allow of every able cultivated man presenting the best the universe has revealed to him of itself, we fail to find that chief good which is the ultimate object of all earnest striving, we cannot be expected to be more successful under a continuance of the limitations prevailing hitherto.

The general Christian consciousness, of which dogma in its best sense, is regarded as the formulated expression, is identical in kind with other consciousness. Any difference, arising as it does from difference of cultivation, must be in direction and degree. Let all have adequate culture, and then, if dogma be true, the consciousness of all will be adequate for the recognition of its truth.

With freedom in place of dictation as the basis of the reconstructed Establishment, and consequently no harassing "Act of Uniformity" to be appealed to in behalf of interference, the lamentable bitterness and hostility which now animate each section against the others, will disappear. We have lately seen on our walls placards proclaiming Disestablishment as the best cure for Ritualism. Probably a better cure for that, or for any system of doctrine or practice which is based upon erroneous or partial views, would be found in the freedom of treatment that must result from throwing open the doors to the entire intellect of the country. But it is not for the sake of "curing" some peculiarity which we ourselves do not happen to have, that we should aim at the Church's emancipation; but for the sake of more justice, more truth, more charity, all of which will come with more liberty.

But so far from regarding Disestablishment as a "cure for Ritualism," there is good reason to consider whether the propounders of such remedy have ever tried to realize in their minds the spectacle which would be presented by the English Church after its removal from the tempering influences of the State. Let us endeavour to anticipate it.

Rich and powerful in its splendid and wide-reaching organization, its multitude of cathedrals, churches, chapels, and school-houses, and endowments of manifold variety, this great sect will overshadow the land, to the extinction of all rivals; gaining vigour and boldness as it becomes oblivious of the long nightmare of secular influence; ranging itself more firmly than ever around its traditional dogmas; and, strong in its new-found unity, dictating terms to the State itself, as a new monster to a new Frankenstein. Scarcely a year passes without some incident that reveals the tremendous amount of unreasoning enthusiasm that is pent-up in the English breast, longing for some object on which to exercise itself. Let the Church, as it is, be set loose to fight the battle of life for itself, and its members, forgetting their differences, will manifest on its behalf an enthusiasm that will utterly defy reason, and perchance carry the country captive to a new Rome, with its head-quarters in our midst. Farewell then, will it be, to freedom and the hoped-for civilization of the future; and farewell to the supremacy of the State; for of little avail will be its resistance to fierce and wide-spread fanaticism backed by such union and wealth of resource as the Church disestablished will command. Farewell, in short, to man's mind and conscience as the ultimate court of appeal for truth and right. By suffering the Church to have a dogmatic basis at all, the State put the knife to its own throat. By fostering it into power and greatness, and then disestablishing it, leaving that basis unimpaired, the State will inflict upon itself the fatal wound. It was a mere jingle of words that Count Cavour uttered and that has so attracted our Nonconformists. "A free Church in a free State"—where the Church is possessed of overwhelming wealth, prestige, and power—is an impossibility. We might as well try to imagine a free army in a free State. The Italian statesman mistook the point where alone freedom can be accorded to a national Church.

With such a vision before them, it is no wonder that numbers of the national clergy, caring all for the Church and nothing for the State, are as eager for disestablishment as any Nonconformist. It is to them but another name for supremacy. They know that the legislature would not turn them adrift portionless. They know that all the other religious bodies together could not vie with them in prestige and influence. And they know that the more daring their assumption, the more resistless would be their fascination for those who constitute the bulk of every community, the semi-educated and the emotional. In the Church disestablished the majority will rule; not the majority of a community already free, enlightened, and given to healthy disputation, but a majority wedded to tradition, and eager to

justify their independence by consolidating their newly-gained empire. It seems impossible to over-estimate the damage which the creation of such a power within the State will inflict upon the State—a power whose fundamental principles are in direct antagonism to those of the State. The citizen, therefore, can recognise but one condition on which the State can turn the Church adrift and allow it to retain a particle of national property—namely, the condition that the Establishment be given up to the nation, and not to a section of it merely.

So far from discerning the effect of separating the Establishment from the State, the body calling itself the "Society for the Liberation of Religion" proposes to appropriate the property of the Establishment to the endowment in perpetuity of the very system of dogma to which alone religion is really in bondage. Ignoring the self-evident proposition, that religion cannot be free when opinion is biased and fettered, and consequently that the endowment of opinion is equally immoral and pernicious, whether it proceed from the State or from a private source, the Society I have named reserves all its indignation for the State connexion alone. Whereas, if it were consistent in its professions, it would call upon the State to exercise once again the power which it wielded at the Reformation, and itself set "religion" free, abolishing the articles, tests, creeds, and whatever else serves to fetter religion in the Establishment. The abolition of the restrictions at present imposed upon opinion, alone is requisite to make the Establishment available for all classes of thinkers and teachers, and convert it into a really national institution. If, then, the nationalization of the Establishment is what the Nonconformists really aim at, why do they not propose such an abolition of its limitations, instead of proposing to take it out of the hands of the State altogether? They must know that it is only under the pressure of the State that such a reform can be accomplished; and that, left to itself, the "Church" would fasten the fetters upon "Religion" tenfold more firmly than before. For the experience of all dogmatic religious organizations proves how delusive would be any expectation that "the Church," when "liberated from State control," would or could reform itself. Its property and its traditions would constitute a nucleus around which its constituents would cling with the indomitable persistency of a mechanical attraction. Indeed, so far from putting an end to the endowment of dogma by the State, the scheme propounded by the Liberation Society would actually put it out of the power of the State ever to withdraw such endowment. It is as if, grudging the payment of an annual income the Society insisted on

making over the capital from which the income is derived; and this is precisely the course we have pursued in Ireland.

But when fitted for the reception of the nation by being released from its dogmatic limitations, there will no longer be any plea for its severance from the State. For it will then be the dogmaless National Church that is the natural and necessary complement of unsectarian national education in primary school and university.

For the citizen, then, there is but one way of adapting the Church Establishment to the national needs; and that is by freeing, not its organization from State-control, but its formulas and teaching from all limitation by Article, Test, and Creed, and whatever serves to make it an exclusive and sectarian body; so that the whole spiritual and intellectual life of the country may have room to develop freely within its pale, without rebuke or dictation from any quarter whatever. With our Established Church thus widened to the utmost dimensions of thought and knowledge, and the religion of the country no longer at odds with its intelligence, the national edifice of our higher uses will at length be happily completed, and of a piece throughout; having our new unsectarian, and therefore national, system of elementary instruction for its basis, our thoroughly reformed and no longer sectarian endowed schools and universities for its centre, and our reconstructed and nationalized Church Establishment for its crown; the whole capable of fulfilling for us higher and wider uses than ever did church or school that the world has yet seen.

To conclude with some words I have used elsewhere:—"Let us complete the Reformation by freeing our Church from its limitations, which are of the nursery. Let us release our teachers from the corner in which they have so long been cramped, and they will soon learn to take greater delight in exploring the many mansions which compose the whole glorious house of the universe, and unfolding in turn to their hearers whatever they can best tell, whether of science, philosophy, religion, art, or morality, not necessarily neglecting those spiritual metaphysics to which they have in great measure hitherto been restricted, and the consequence of which restriction has been but to distort them and all else from their due proportion. In the church thus reformed, all subjects that tend to edification will be fitting ones for the preacher. But whatever the subject, the method will have to be but one, always the scientific, never the dogmatic method. The appeal will be to the intellects, the hearts, and the consciences of the living; never to mere authority, living or dead. There will be no heresy, because no orthodoxy; or rather, the

question of heresy as against orthodoxy will be a question of method, not of conclusions. From the pulpits of such a church no genuine student or thinker will be excluded, but will find welcome everywhere from congregations composed, not of the women only and the weaker brethren, but of men, men with brains and culture! Who knows what edifices of knowledge may be reared, what reaches of spiritual perception may be attained, upon a basis from which all the rubbish of ages has been cleared away, and where all that is useful and true in the past is built into the foundations of the future! Who can tell how nearly we may attain to the perfections of the blessed when, no longer straitened in heart and mind and spirit by a narrow sectarianism, but with the scientific and the *verifiable* everywhere substituted for the dogmatic and the incomprehensible, the veil which has so long shrouded the universe as with a thick mist shall be altogether withdrawn; when the All is revealed without stint to our gaze in such degree as each is able to bear, and Theology no longer serves but to paint and darken the windows through which man gazes out into the infinite!

"Thus reformed, amended, and enlarged, the established churches of Great Britain will be no exclusive corporations, watched with jealous eyes of less favoured sects. Nonconformity will disappear, for there will be nothing to nonconform to: Fanaticism, for there will be no Dogma; Intolerance and Bigotry, for there will be no Infallibility. Comprehensive, as all that claims to be national and human ought to be, no conditions of membership will be imposed to entitle any to a share of its benefits; but every variety of opinion will find expression and a home precisely in the degree to which it may commend itself to the general intelligence.

"The bitterness of sectarian animosity thus extinguished, and no place found for dogmatic assertion or theological hatred, it will seem as if the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and a new heaven and new earth had come, in which there was no more sea of troubles or ought to set men against each other and keep them from uniting in aid of their common welfare. Lit by the clear light of the cultivated intellect, and watered by the pure river of the developed moral sense, the State will be free to grow into a veritable city of God, where there shall be no more curse of poverty or crime, no night of intolerant stupidity, but all shall know that which is good for all, from the least to the greatest."*

In these remarks I have confined myself mainly to principles, and said little about details, confident that when the former are

* How to complete the Reformation. Thomas Scott, publisher.

settled there will be no insuperable difficulty about determining the latter. Only let the question be recognised as within the sphere of practical politics, and the man who can carry it to a triumphant solution will not be wanting. Such an one, I may confess, I have sometime had in my eye; one who loveth both our Church and nation, and has in his earlier days written us a book, though a book not tending precisely in the direction I have indicated. But he has grown much since then. Once let him see that there is no other right way, and that Church and country are alike ready to own the touch of a hand that shall bring them together again in the bond of a common need, and he will surely not refuse once more to wave the wand of his eloquence to charm away an evil not less than those which have already owned the force of his enchantment, and thus accomplish a good at once surpassing and crowning all his other achievements. He is asleep now, enjoying a well earned rest; but in that sleep who knows what dreams may come to him?

In the meantime why should not a society be formed having for its object and designation *The Nationalization of the Established Church*?

EDWARD MAITLAND.



CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE writer of "Supernatural Religion"¹ has conferred a boon on all students of theology. Calm and judicial in tone, fully acquainted with the facts of the case, and scrupulously exact in stating the arguments of adversaries,—no more formidable assailant of orthodoxy could well be imagined. Whenever the history of Christian theology in the nineteenth century shall be written, a place of honour will belong to the anonymous author of "Supernatural Religion." We are informed in the preface that the book "is the result of many years of earnest and serious investigation, undertaken in the first instance for the regulation of personal belief, and now published as a contribution towards the establishment of Truth in the minds of others who are seeking for it. The author's main object has been conscientiously and fully to state the facts of the case, to make no assertions the grounds for which are not clearly given, and as far as possible to place before the reader the materials from which a judgment may be intelligently formed regarding the important subject discussed." Before entering on the details of the book, it is simple justice to the author to say, that his acquaintance with the critical literature of his subject is as nearly as possible exhaustive. For instance, in discussing the Muratorian Fragment, he has made use of the latest German monograph on the subject, published only last year; and in touching on subjects slightly more remote, he has shown a correct judgment as to the authorities to be cited. The only important lacunæ in the author's critical apparatus are perhaps Lipsius "On the Peter-legend" (Kiel, 1872), and Kuenen's "History of the Religion of Israel." It is true that the latter work is referred to in a note on page 90, but the statements about the repeated apostacies of the Israelites in the text must surely have been written prior to a perusal of Dr. Kuenen's "admirable inquiry." After a brief but candid and weighty introduction, in which the author remarks that "the time is now ripe for arriving at a definite conviction as to the character of Christianity," we are launched at once on the discussion of Miracles, which forms Part I. of the work. Miracles as Evidence; Miracles in Relation to the Order of Nature; Reason in Relation to the Order of Nature; the Age of Miracles; the Permanent Stream of Miraculous Pretension; Miracles in Relation to Ignorance and Superstition;—such are the subjects which occupy the first place in the inquiry. Two points in this *a priori* part of the work have struck us as possibly open to exception. First, that there is no philosophical definition of "super-

¹ "Supernatural Religion." An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation. In Two Volumes. London: 1874.

natural." Not a few readers, who sympathize with the author in his tendencies, will regret this absolute surrender of a term capable of still doing good service, if properly explained. But we leave such matters to the philosophers. As against Dr. Mozley and his school, the refutation of supernaturalism is complete. The other point we referred to is the absence of any treatment of prophecy. And yet "the fulfilment of prophecy" counts for one of the chief evidences of "supernatural religion." Possibly the author may yet be induced to supplement his work in this important respect. Unless this is done there will still be a loophole of escape for the supernaturalist. Nowhere is this more clearly shown than in the latest work of Ewald, "Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott," which is indeed referred to by our author at the foot of page 30, but in a way likely somewhat to mislead the reader. For Ewald clearly shows that, in spite of his sympathy on many points with the Rationalists, he is still at bottom a Supernaturalist, admitting as he does a specific distinction between the prophetic revelation of Israel and that of other nations. It is unnecessary for us to point out the confusedness of such a theory, which, however, will probably be highly acceptable to many *soi-disant* liberals among ourselves. We have no space to follow the author through the mazes of his controversy with Archbishop Trench and Canon Mozley. So far as the former is concerned, one is half inclined to repeat what Goethe said of Lessing and his controversy with the "Hauptpastor Goeze." But Dr. Mozley is certainly, so far as ability is concerned, a foeman worthy of any steel, and we can only regret that so much dialectic power has not been expended in a better cause. The chapter on "The Age of Miracles" strikes us as particularly useful. Its contents are excellently summed up in the quotation from Dean Milman on p. 87, where it is remarked how important it is to seize the singularly credulous spirit of the primitive Christian age. In the discussion of the post-Christian miracles, reference might have been made to Mr. Twistleton's examination of the best-attested of them in his work, "The Tongue not Essential to Speech," published last year. We have been told that the received view in the Theological School or Tripos of one of our universities is that of Bishop Kaye—viz., that the thaumaturgie power died out with those on whom the apostolic hands had been laid! Yet the certificates in support of the miracles of the Curé of Ars, forgotten, it appears, by our author, are sufficient, one would have thought, to convince any one who believed in the Gospel miracles. Before quitting the first part of the book we desire to call attention to the author's correction of Dr. F. W. Farrar's misconception of Hume's argument from experience at the end of Chapter vi. In Part I. the author has shown the futility of the *a priori* argument in favour of miracles. In Parts II. and III. he examines the evidence as to the date and authenticity of the records on which the miracles depend. His result, as regards the first three Gospels, is, that there is not "a single distinct trace of any one of those Gospels during the first century and a half after the death of Jesus." The same statement applies to the Fourth Gospel, and is fully confirmed by the in-

ternal evidence. This part of the work is even better than the first, and will give Canon Westcott, whose book on the Canon is constantly referred to, much trouble to answer. The exposure of the assumptions of that learned and amiable, but most prejudiced, scholar was greatly needed. Its value to the student is, however, diminished by an evident bias towards scepticism. Thus, insufficient allowance is made for the inaccuracies of memory. Verbal differences, or even the jumbling of passages from different Gospels, do not *necessarily* prove that the writers were not quoting our Gospels. Even the Old Testament, which was considered almost automatically inspired, is quoted (from memory) very incorrectly, *e.g.* by Athenagoras; and there are several instances in Justin, in which a wrong reference to the Old Testament is given. Perhaps the impossibility of Justin having known the Fourth Gospel might have been pointed out more effectively. Now and then the knowledge of the reader is assumed on points where the ordinary reader is hopelessly ignorant—*e.g.* why Ignatius's martyrdom must have been in Antioch, Dec. 20th, 115, or upon what grounds Keim and Scholten doubt St. John's residence in Asia Minor. But these, mostly slight, defects do not prevent the book from being a most valuable contribution to the liberal side of this great controversy, and we look forward with interest to the continuation promised in the last chapter. We are bound to add that the concluding chapters prove the author to be a warm friend of spiritual, though not, in the ordinary sense of the word, of supernatural, religion.

Whatever else the author of "Supernatural Religion" may be, one thing is certain, that he is a scientifically trained critic. He has learned to argue, and to weigh evidence. This cannot be said of the author of "Jewish History and Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib."² In spite of its high moral tone, and appreciation of Isaiah's literary qualities, the book, so far as it is original, is utterly valueless to the critical student of Hebrew prophecy. The author has learned much from Ewald, but has revolted from that brilliant scholar's always dogmatic and sometimes arbitrary combinations, and charges the faults of Ewald upon collective German criticism. We have never read so much nonsense on the subject of Biblical criticism as in a few sentences on pages 16 and 161. The attempt at a comparison between German and English criticism, as if the former had all the genius and the latter the common sense, is too absurd to be repeated. The book has its good points, as we have said already. If about fifty pages of it could be cut out, they would furnish the germs of excellent expository lectures. Many interpretations borrowed from Ewald and Alexander (an unequal pair) have received a new and attractive setting in thoughts of Wordsworth and Maurice. But the audacity of the author's attempt to bolster up the unity of Isaiah on the basis of the cuneiform inscrip-

² "Jewish History and Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib." An Inquiry into the Historical Meaning and Purpose of the Prophecies of Isaiah. By Sir Edward Strachey, Bart. Second Edition, Revised with Additions. London: W. Isbister & Co. 1874.

tions, not one of which has he read, is only equalled by the tenuity of his Hebrew scholarship (a Hebraist will easily find the proofs of this). To prove this to the satisfaction of the author, would be impossible in a few sentences, but the reader may be warned not to trust the judgment of one who *may* be a politician (though his defence (p. 137) of the "divine right" of the Israelites to Canaan and the Normans to England inclines us to doubt it), but is certainly in no sense a Biblical scholar or an Orientalist. It is nothing to the point to quote the opinion of the late Mr. Maurice, "that the description in the 14th chapter exactly answers to Sennacherib, and not the least to Nebuchadnezzar or Belshazzar," or the observation of the Dean of Westminster that Sir E. Strachey's argument "seems to be very strong for supposing that by the 'King' in Isaiah xiv. 4 is meant the King of Assyria." For whatever other merits these eminent persons may have, a talent for historical criticism is not one of them, and nothing can be more disastrous to the view of Biblical literature maintained by Dr. Stanley than the concession so unwisely made in the passage referred to. It is true that Sargon calls himself "King of Assyria, and viceroy (of the gods) of Babylon," but this is no justification of the view that the "King of Babylon" in Isaiah xiv. 4 is really equivalent to "King of Assyria." It would be quite as absurd to assert that "Toi King of Hameth," in 2 Sam. viii. 9, was a King of Assyria, and as for the passage Micah iv. 10, it simply shows that Babylon was at this time in the possession of the Assyrians (comp. v. 5); nothing *can* possibly prove that the words "King of Babylon" by themselves can mean "King of Assyria." The fact seems to be that Sir Edward Strachey has not yet persuaded himself to apply the ordinary laws of psychology to the Old Testament. The very best test of a critical theory is this, is the place which it assigns to this or that book of the Canon consistent with a belief in the natural development of human beliefs? Now if anything is miraculous, the sudden attainment of a Babylonian standpoint both in history and in doctrine, which, on Sir Edward Strachey's theory, must be ascribed to Isaiah, is doubly and trebly miraculous. And yet Sir Edward Strachey proposes to explain Isaiah without recourse to miracles! His view of prophecy is equally inconsistent with a genuine belief in the laws of psychology. He seems to agree with Delitzsch that it is impossible to determine the compass of prophetic revelation, and with Tholuck that the Hebrew prophets had a sort of natural predictive faculty. But, so far as historical facts are forthcoming, they are entirely opposed to such theories. A thorough examination of Old Testament prophecy has proved that the form assumed by the vaticinations of a prophet is conditioned by his historical circumstances (see papers by Dr. Riehm, of Halle, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1865). And certainly Isaiah himself distinctly claimed the possession of a supernatural faculty (see Isaiah vii. 11, viii. 11). A choice specimen of Sir E. Strachey's theology is to be found in his remarks on the Trinity (p. 91), where, essentially at one with the orthodox, he sees "in the language which combines the plural Elohim with the singular Jehovah, the preludings of that revelation of the

Trinity in Unity which the spirit of man was not yet educated to receive in its spiritual meaning." He believes too that "there is evidence of the anticipation of a personal Messiah by the Hebrews from very early times" (p. 105), a belief which stultifies the historical criticism of the Bible. On page 73, he takes the "law" referred to in Isaiah for the law "given by Moses," and on page 101 he even cites a passage of Deuteronomy as "the words of Moses." It is painful to have to speak so disparagingly of a work which has evidently cost its author much labour, and which has been so carefully revised in the second edition, but Sir E. Strachey is but one of the most conspicuous (Mr. Matthew Arnold is another) in a large number of *dilettanti* critics, the hollowness of whose pretensions is a sore impediment to true progress. What would Mr. Darwin have said if he had been compelled to review a book of the same calibre on the Origin of Species? But we willingly admit that a purely literary critic might find as much to commend as we have found to condemn.

The second best theological work which has been translated for many a long day (Ewald's "History of the People of Israel" being the first) is Kuenen's "Religion of Israel,"³ of which the first volume has just appeared. Though known for some time to a few indefatigable students, and of late talked about by two or three popular English writers, its contents have been sealed to the great majority of English readers by the accident of its Dutch origin. It may now be confidently predicted that Kuenen will be, not only referred to, but studied, not only by theologians, but by all who take any interest in the origin of religions. For Dr. Kuenen does not write primarily for a learned public. His style is clear to a fault and free from all appearance of pedantry, though he has poured out a rich stream of learning in the numerous appendices. His work is one of a series of histories of "the principal religions" (note the phrase), designed for the general educated public, and written by scholars who are authorities in their several departments. Dr. Kuenen, in particular, is, after Ewald, the most profound Christian student of the Old Testament, and he has the advantage of Ewald, as has been remarked by a recent English critic, in his "strict subordination of theories to facts, and absolute freedom from critical prepossessions." It would be easy to multiply proofs of this assertion, and the tendency, from which some even advanced liberals are not exempt, to accept Ewald as a kind of infallible authority, would supply a fair excuse for doing so, did the space at our disposal permit it. But a slow and thoughtful perusal of the work will be the best means of protecting the reader from the unwholesome influences of this self-constituted pope. Dr. Kuenen's truly critical spirit is nowhere more conspicuous than in his arrangement. He takes for his starting-point, not the hazy period of the so-called "patriarchal history," but

³ "The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State." By Dr. A. Kuenen. Translated from the Dutch by Alfred Heath May. Vol. I. London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate. 1874.

the eighth century B.C., for which materials of undoubted authenticity are supplied by the contemporary prophets. From these he endeavours, "but as yet only in a general and preliminary manner," to determine what must have been the course of the religious development of the Israelites. He is thus led to the conclusion that "the Israelitish religion, originally closely related to that of many other Semitic tribes, gradually and under the influence of Israel's peculiar fortunes assumed in the minds of the prophets another and more elevated character." He now ventures to sketch the outlines of the history, beginning with the residence of the tribes of Israel in Goshen, and arrives in the present volume at the end of the eighth century B.C. In the succeeding volumes he will continue to trace the religious development of Israel in chronological sequence down to the close of the Jewish state. The points on which Dr. Kuenen's work comes into sharpest contrast with its predecessors are the origin of Hebrew prophecy and the development of monotheism. We can give but a faint sketch of Dr. Kuenen's hypothesis. According to him, Samuel is the true founder of prophecy. Before his time the prophetic ecstasy was associated, not with the religion of Yahweh, but with the nature-worship of the Canaanites. But towards the end of the period of the Judges a religious revival took place among the worshippers of Yahweh. Some, like Samson (?) and Samuel, took the Nazarite vow of asceticism; others, of whom Samuel was the leader, banded themselves together to cultivate an ecstatic enthusiasm. Samuel, in fact, enlisted a tendency which he saw to be at once fascinating and dangerous, in the service of a sterner religion. He also formed schools for the creation of an artificial prophetic enthusiasm. By degrees Yahwism grew in spirituality, and this ecstatic element fell into the shade. Then came the age of the great orator-prophets, Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, who were conscious of an inner call, but free, or all but free, from the accessions of ecstasy which characterized the earlier period. As to the development of monotheism, Dr. Kuenen ascribes an important share in it to "the influence of the war between Baal and Jahveh upon the minds of those who had remained loyal to Jahveh." In other words, the persecution of the stricter adherents of Yahweh in the reign of Ahab produced a strong counter-movement in the minds of the prophets. "Why Jahveh and not Baal? Why should they die rather than renounce Jahveh? These questions were laid before them by the very circumstances of their position. For those who endeavoured to answer them a new light was thrown on Jahvism" (p. 361). And so arose the deep gulf of separation between Yahweh, the only true God, and the heathen "non-entities," as the Hebrew prophets call them. Is this theory sufficient to account for the spiritual religion of Isaiah? This is what Dr. Kuenen's critics, orthodox as well as liberal, may contribute to determine. Does the author allow sufficient place to the intuitions of genius? And were the results of Israel's higher religious development really so far superior in spirituality to those of the development of Egyptian and Assyrian religion? No doubt there is a sad confusion of the spiritual

and the unspiritual in the latter. But was not this chiefly owing to the want of an anti-sacerdotal party, such as was formed in Israel by the prophets? We content ourselves with throwing out these questions for consideration. But there can be no doubt whatever among impartial critics on the value of Dr. Kuenen's researches, and in particular on the great light which he has thrown on the popular religion of Israel. He has completely overthrown the traditional notion, borrowed, it must be confessed, from the Biblical narratives, of the deliberate apostacies of the Israelites. What the writers of the "historical books" describe as apostacy and rebellion was really either opposition to religious innovations, or, in the earlier period, the natural consequence of the altered circumstances in which Israel was placed. We trust this may be sufficient to whet the reader's appetite for one of the few satisfactory books in theology to which we can point. It must be added, however, that the work is offered to the English public in the same form in which it was published in 1869-70. The restless progress of archæological inquiry will probably have modified the author's opinion on several points of detail, but the main results of the inquiry have not been affected. The translation is thoroughly admirable, and in every way superior to its predecessors in the same series.

Bishop Colenso has sent us the sixth part of his "Critical Examination" of the so-called "Speaker's Commentary." He is sarcastic on the inconsistencies of Mr. Espin, the commentator on Joshua, who accepts all the other miracles in that book, but not the sun and moon standing still at Joshua's word. Not that Mr. Espin is troubled by the scientific objections, but, simply because there is no collateral evidence of the miracle, he adopts the theory that the words of Joshua are poetic, thereby agreeing with Ewald, the liberal, and Hengstenberg, the orthodox, critic. It seems he is not unwilling to rationalize, if he can do so in good company. Our limits forbid us to go at any length into the details of the bishop's criticism, especially as we shall be able to supplement them directly from an unexpected source. Suffice it to say that he has shown grave reasons to question Mr. Espin's competence and accuracy. In one place, however, the bishop's answer to Mr. Espin seems to rest on a misconception (p. 9). The term "Great Sidon" is not equivalent to "capital of Phœnicia," but is simply opposed to "Little Sidon." That Sidon was divided into two towns, called respectively "Great" and "Little," is proved by an inscription of Sennacherib, *Brit. Mus. Coll.*, vol. i. pl. 38, line 38.

Mr. Driver, an Oxford Fellow, has brought out a little work on "The Use of the Tenses in Hebrew," which is doubly welcome as coming from such a hot-bed of the unhistorical view of the Hebrew Scriptures. No better foundation can be laid for an accurate study of the documents of the Old Testament than this most lucid, most trust-

⁴ "The New Bible Commentary, &c." Critically Examined by the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal. Part VI.: Introduction to Joshua—The Book of Joshua. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

⁵ "A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew." By S. R. Driver, M.A., Fellow of New College. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1874.

worthy and most complete exposition of a subject so obscure to many Hebraists. Though primarily intended for beginners, for whose difficulties it shows an intelligent sympathy, it may be read with pleasure by all, from the traces of individuality and independent judgment which abound throughout. It is no disparagement to say that the most valuable part of the work is derived from Ewald, for it was Ewald who revolutionized Hebrew grammar, and all his successors must perforce build upon his foundation. But the author has shown great judgment in re-casting existing materials, and has added contributions of his own, which have at least the merits of sound sense and simplicity. These are to be found in the chapters on the Cohortative and Jussive, and the Hypotheticals, together with Appendix II. on the Original Signification of the Jussive, though some may think that in the latter the author has done insufficient justice to the remarks of Olshausen in his unhappily still incomplete *Lehrbuch*. Readers of the "Speaker's Commentary" will be amused, as well as instructed, by his examination of a note in that work, in which a most sweeping assertion is made as to the biblical use of the imperfect for pluperfect. Mr. Driver is strongly of opinion, and he will not be alone in thinking so, that the "Vau conversive" never introduces a pluperfect:—the result is not unimportant, even from a theological point of view (see the orthodox commentators on Gen. ii. 19). Canon Cook, at any rate, has shown an utter want of philological conscience in stating that "no grammatical objection is made to this construction [imperfect for pluperfect], which is *common* in the Old Testament." Other instances of the "Speaker's" grammatical blunders are noticed on pp. 249, 250. Not the least useful part of the work is the appendix on "Arabic as Illustrative of Hebrew," which, though containing nothing new to the scholar, and slightly too apologetic in tone, will, we hope, do something to promote the application to Hebrew of the comparative method. An excellent index facilitates the use of the volume, which from the large number of references may be used to some extent as a grammatical commentary on the Old Testament.

Dr. Oehler is well-known to German students by his valuable articles on the theological ideas of the Old Testament in Herzog's "Realencyclopädie." The present work is posthumous, and mainly based on University lectures. It is a valuable collection of the facts of the subject, but presents no material advance on the views already expressed by the author, who is much hampered by his orthodox, or at least semi-orthodox position. We are glad to hear that a translation has been put in hand by Messrs. T. and T. Clark of Edinburgh, though we should have been still more glad if H. Schulz's *Alttestamentliche Theologie* (2 vols., Frankfurt on the Maine, 1869), a work of a much broader and more progressive theology, though not quite so full of facts, had been the handbook selected. We have only to add that the work demands a careful and critical study, and should be always at the side of the Old Testament student.

* "Theologie des alten Testaments." Von Dr. Gust. Fr. Oehler. Zwei Bände. Tübingen: Heckenhauer. 1874.

An important contribution to our historical theology (Mr. Max Müller has naturalized the term in England) is Mr. Bosworth Smith's lectures on "Mohammed and Mohammedanism." It gives us a clear, accurate, and in the best sense popular account of the leading facts in Mohammed's life, with such a broad and impartial judgment as might be expected from a lecturer at the Royal Institution. The first lecture is introductory. It is there shown that the historical as opposed to the primeval religions of the world are moral in their origin, not theological; that the great value of Islam to the student consists in the fact that it was born and grew up in the full light of history; that religions differ in degree, rather than kind; and that only in the broadest and vaguest sense is it possible or desirable that the world should be Christianized. An interesting sketch is given of the progress constantly being made by Islam in Africa, and the moral and social blessings it brings in its train. Of the other lectures we must content ourselves with referring to the fourth, in which the spirituality of Islam receives full justice, in opposition to a popular error, and the opinion is finally expressed that "Mohammed comes next to Christ in the long roll of the great benefactors of the human race." The passages to which we should take most exception are those in which the author borrows from Mr. Matthew Arnold, whose eminence as a Biblical critic he singularly exaggerates. Will the author allow us further to point out that the formula "*appropinquante mundi termino*" was not peculiar, as he supposes, to the tenth century, though some eminent writers have repeated the baseless assertion?

Among recent works on the history of the Church, the first place belongs of right to Dr. Newman's collected tracts (*Causes of Arianism, Heresy of Apollinaris, &c.*),⁷ with which may be grouped the new edition of his *Lectures on Justification*,⁸ a work of historical importance, designed to show that there is little but a verbal difference between Catholic and Protestant views on Justification. "The Church and the Empires"⁹ contains some agreeably written essays on such subjects as the formation of Christendom, Champagny's works on the Roman Empire, the Church and Napoleon I., &c., with brief memoir of the author, Mr. H. W. Wilberforce, from the pen of Dr. Newman. Mr. Lupton deserves great credit for his affectionately careful edition of Dean Colet's *Lectures on Corinthians*,¹⁰ now first published.

⁷ "Mohammed and Mohammedanism." Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in February and March, 1874. By R. Bosworth Smith, M.A. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1874.

⁸ "Tracts, Theological and Ecclesiastical." By John Henry Newman, D.D., of the Oratory. London: B. M. Pickering. 1874.

⁹ "Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification." By John Henry Newman, sometime Fellow of Oriel College. Third Edition. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1874.

¹⁰ "The Church and the Empires." Historical Periods. By Henry William Wilberforce. Preceded by a Memoir of the Author, by J. H. Newman, D.D. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

¹¹ "An Exposition of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians." By John Colet, M.A., &c. Now first published, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by J. H. Lupton, M.A., Sub-Master of St. Paul's School. London: George Bell & Sons. 1874.

Dr. Kelle traces the baleful effects of Jesuit teaching on the Austrian gymnasia, from information derived from contemporary documents.¹² The Jesuits have had a reputation for being skilful educators. But so far as Austria is concerned, this should be entirely destroyed by the present work. "One must bring grammar itself," says a Jesuit writer, "into the service of 'Gottseligkeit' (an untranslatable word), and pursue it in a godly manner." And here, though somewhat out of its place, may be mentioned the fifth volume of the excellent translation of Ewald's "History of Israel,"¹³ containing the history of Ezra and of the Hagiocracy in Israel to the time of Christ. Bound as we are to protest against the growing tendency to idolize Ewald, it would be wrong to disparage the deep learning and enthusiasm conspicuous in every volume of this great work. The period between the so-called Captivity and the rise of Christianity is one of the most important and most obscure periods of religious history, and here Ewald is perhaps seen at his best.

We regret extremely that we can only draw attention to Mr. Stopford Brooke's very interesting lectures on "Theology in the English Poets."¹⁴ It is indeed a sign of the times that theology of such a broad and humanizing character can be preached without opposition in a Church of England pulpit. Considered merely from a literary point of view, the work has a very high value; the nine lectures on Wordsworth are evidently based on a familiar and sympathetic acquaintance of many years with that poet of philosophers. The book would have been more complete had Mr. Brooke brought the poets whom he describes into closer connexion with the great European movement, of which Rousseau and Goethe are the two most prominent representatives. But his object was not so much historical or critical as to exhibit English natural theology in its purest form, as it is to be found in the poetical, which often differs widely from the prose, works of our greatest recent poets. Blake, Shelley, Keats, and Byron are reserved for another volume.

"Catholic Thoughts on the Bible and Theology"¹⁵ is the sequel to the volume noticed in our last number. Its value would have been greater ten years ago, but it will still find access to many troubled hearts within the pale of the orthodox churches.

Our sermons this quarter come from Mr. Haweis¹⁶ (who has invented a new kind of apologetics based on magnetism and spiritualism!), Dr.

¹² "Die Jesuiten Gymnasien in Oesterreich." Vom Anfange des vorigen Jahrhunderts bis auf die Gegenwart. Von Dr. Johann Kelle. Prag: 1873.

¹³ "The History of Israel." By Heinrich Ewald. Translated from the German by J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A. Vol. V. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

¹⁴ "Theology in the Christian Poets: Cowper, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Burns." By the Rev. Stopford A. Brooke, M.A. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

¹⁵ "Catholic Thoughts on the Bible and Theology." By the late Frederic Myers, M.A., Perpetual Curate of St. John's, Keswick. London: Isbister & Co. 1874.

¹⁶ "Speech in Season." By the Rev. H. R. Haweis, M.A. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

Lee¹⁷ (whose importance it is difficult for a southern liberal adequately to appreciate), Mr. Baldwin Brown¹⁸ and Mr. Maclaren,¹⁹ both full as ever of highly-toned Christian feeling, and, lastly, Archbishop Manning,²⁰ whose chastened eloquence shows no signs of diminution.

We have also received Sir Bartle Frere's weighty letters on Eastern Africa²¹ (he thinks the energy of Mohammedan missionaries is the energy of despair); Dr. Holtzmann's lecture on the rise of Christianity in Rome,²² illustrated by the buildings and monuments; Lord Robert Montagu's answer to some Protestant objections;²³ a book of well-meant and, in part, well-thought "Cautions," by Mr. Titcomb;²⁴ a good documentary account of the history and mode of the papal elections;²⁵ Oosterzee's "Christian Dogmatics"²⁶ (ponderous and commonplace, as even orthodox *scholars* must admit); Dean Church's agreeable, but superficial, lectures on ancient religious poetry;²⁷ a "Golden Treasury" edition of that exquisite religious classic, the "Theologia Germanica";²⁸ Mr. Kingston's attempt at a theory of creation in harmony with the facts of science;²⁹ Mr. Scott's examination of texts on the existence of a Devil;³⁰ Mr. Suckling Browne's reply to Evolutionism;³¹ Canon Bright's hymns;³² Dean Howson against Sacramental

¹⁷ "Sermons by the late Robert Lee, D.D., Minister of Old Grayfriars Church, Edinburgh." Edited from his Manuscripts. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1874.

¹⁸ "The Higher Life: its Reality, Experience, and Destiny." By James Baldwin Brown, B.A. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

¹⁹ "Sermons Preached in Manchester." By Alex. Maclaren. Third Series. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

²⁰ "Sin and its Consequences." By Henry Edward, Archbishop of Westminster. London: Burns & Oates. 1874.

²¹ "Eastern Africa as a Field for Missionary Labour." By the Right Hon. Sir Bartle Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., D.C.L. London: John Murray. 1874.

²² "Die Ansiedelung des Christenthums in Rom." Von Dr. H. Holtzmann. Berlin. 1874.

²³ "On Some Popular Errors concerning Politics and Religion." By the Right Hon. Lord Robert Montagu, M.P. London: Burns & Oates. 1874.

²⁴ "Cautions for Doubters." By the Rev. J. H. Titcomb, M.A. London: Religious Tract Society.

²⁵ "Die Pabst-Wahl nach ihrer geschichtlichen Gestaltung und dem gelten den Rechte." Prag: 1874.

²⁶ "Christian Dogmatics." (Theological and Philosophical Library.) By J. J. Van Costerzee, D.D. Translated from the Dutch. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1874.

²⁷ "The Sacred Poetry of Early Religions." Two Lectures. By R. W. Church, M.A., Dean of St. Paul's. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

²⁸ "Theologia Germanica." Translated from the German by Susanna Winkworth. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

²⁹ "The Unity of Creation: a Contribution to the Solution of the Religious Question." By Francis K. Kingston. London: Trübner & Co. 1874.

³⁰ "Christianity and a Personal Devil." An Essay. By Patrick Scott. London: Pickering. 1874.

³¹ "Divine Revelation, or Pseudo-Science." An Essay. By R. G. Suckling Browne, B.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

³² "Hymns and Other Verses." By William Bright, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Second Edition Enlarged. London, Oxford and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1874.

Confession;²³ and a highly-jejune "Catechism," translated from the German by Colonel Ouvry,²⁴ which entirely ignores the phenomena of religious experience.

Mr. Monck's "Introduction to the Critical Philosophy"²⁵ is an excellent little manual, admirably adapted to its aims, which deserves the gratitude of the students for whom it is intended. We regret that it is deformed by a preface which trenches almost upon the law libel, because such things, though they may have their proper place, seem to be out of place at the beginning of a philosophical treatise. While the Kantians refute people who resolve "understanding" into a modification or product of "sensibility," they either never dream or else refuse to believe that recent discoveries in physiology, physics, and biology, are destined to cast important light upon the relations of sense to reason. They suppose new light to be both superfluous and impossible. Kant, we believe, would have judged differently. If modern opportunities had been within his reach, the *Kritik* would have taken a different shape. To investigate this problem, and thus to make their philosophy progressive, should be the aim of his followers. Three things are conspicuous in what they proudly term "modern philosophy:"—the contentiousness of the Kantians, the variety of the derivative schools, and the strong inclination now shown in many quarters to fall back upon Kant as a safeguard against multifarious vagary. These things are ominous: it is for them to interpret the omen. We observe with pleasure in Mr. Monck some hints of a suspicion, that lines of investigation do exist in the despised sciences which are capable of throwing light upon his master. Speaking of the *First Analogy of Experience*, he says: "How far this Analogy is connected with the modern theory of the Conservation of Force, I leave it to others to trace out" (p. 54). If he will undertake this inquiry and the kindred problems which it suggests, and can pursue it with success, he will do more than the Kantians have yet done to show the true value of the Transcendental Philosophy. We believe that a very important part is to be played by that philosophy; we hope that the Kantians will assist in its development.

Only a very small part of Mr. Mahaffy's work²⁶ is before us. This displays him in his usual character of an acute and well-informed writer and an eminently contentious Kantian. But he might find language quite capable of expressing his meaning and less "vivacious"

²³ "Sacramental Confession." By the Very Rev. John S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. London: Isbister & Co. 1874.

²⁴ "An Unsectarian Catechism of Christian and Social Instruction, for the Use of Parents and Schools." Translated from the German by Col. H. A. Ouvry, C.B. London: Frederic Norgate. 1874.

²⁵ "An Introduction to the Critical Philosophy, Intended for the Use of Students." By W. H. S. Monck, Barrister-at-Law. Dublin: William McGee. 1874.

²⁶ "Kant's Critical Philosophy for English Readers." By John P. Mahaffy, A.M., Fellow and Tutor, Professor of Ancient History in the University of Dublin. Vol. I, Part III. London: Longmans. 1874.

than that used by him in the following passage. "Even now, the German Kantians are in the dark on the subject, and the last edition of Kuno Fischer's Commentary, published in 1869, repeats its former blunder, which I had corrected in my translation of the book" (p. 329). We have noticed several other flowers of speech, some of which are not much inferior in rudeness to the foregoing.

The "Mental Physiology"³⁷ of Dr. Carpenter is a highly entertaining and instructive treatise. But it is rather a contribution to the popularization of knowledge, than, as he styles it himself, a contribution to the science of Human Nature (p. viii.). Viewed in this light, we think it excellent; and qualities which would be faults if it were taken at its own estimate, become merits. The application of "unconscious cerebration" and "ideo-motor action" to explain the doings of planchette, table-turning and rapping, spiritualism, mesmerism, and the host of such like "phenomena," is especially interesting. We do not doubt that this gives the right clue to the division between what is mere imposture and what is startling fact in them. At present the "spiritualistic world" is such a heterogeneous mass, where dupes and impostors, dolts and intelligent but puzzled spectators, are so inextricably mingled, that anything which can be called investigation is hardly possible, and anything which can be called evidence is drowned in the din and hubbub. We think that if the last mentioned class will give serious heed to Dr. Carpenter, he will supply them with a basis for sober inquiry of which they stand in great need. On the question, how far narratives of wonders can be believed, even when coming from honest witnesses, the following passage (quoted by Dr. Carpenter from Miss Cobbe) is very edifying:—

"It once happened to the writer to hear a most scrupulously conscientious friend narrate an incident of table-turning, to which she appended an assurance that the table rapped when *nobody was within a yard of it*. The writer being confounded by this latter fact, the lady, though fully satisfied of the accuracy of her statement, promised to look at the note she had made ten years previously of the transaction. The note was examined, and was found to contain the distinct statement that the table rapped when *the hands of six persons rested on it!* The lady's memory as to all other points proved to be strictly correct; and in this point she had erred in entire good faith" (p. 457).

This is followed by another passage equally to the purpose but too long for quotation. Dr. Carpenter is far more happy when engaged strictly upon his own subject, than when he strays into philosophical criticism or theory. Thus, he has much that is excellent upon "volition," but his remarks upon "the will" are confused and unsatisfactory.

"It will, I doubt not, be considered by many, that there is a palpable inconsistency between the two fundamental doctrines which are here upheld;—

³⁷ "Principles of Mental Physiology, with their Applications to the Training and Discipline of the Mind, and the Study of its Morbid Conditions." By William B. Carpenter, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., &c. &c. London: 1874.

that of the dependence of the Automatic activity of the Mind upon conditions which bring it within the *verus* of Physical Causation; and that of the existence of an independent Power, controlling and directing that activity, which we call Will" (Preface p. ix.).

The note upon this passage, in which he quotes Hartley, and his allusion to "John S. Mill, the most powerful advocate of Automatism," make it plain that Dr. Carpenter here meant in some sense to assert the doctrine of "Free-will." But all his facts are perfectly consonant with Determinism. The truth is that Dr. Carpenter erroneously supposes Determinism to confine the will psychologically within the limits which he physiologically defines as the mind's "Automatic activity;" and that he confuses Determinists with the "Modified Fatalists" of Mr. Mill. Though this mistake has been often corrected, there is some excuse for Dr. Carpenter. The physiological analysis of volition is of later date than the psychological analysis to which he refers; and a man unversed in abstract speculation might fail to perceive the coincidence of the lines, by failing, as Dr. Carpenter has done, to grasp the psychological analysis.

Mr. Sully's volume of essays³³ is somewhat lacking in condensation and point, by which it falls short of the excellence which seems to be within his reach. It is an error to use more words than are needed; especially when the matter is made no clearer by the superfluity. But Mr. Sully is deserving of substantial praise. His speculations and criticisms are highly ingenious, and the topics which he treats are of modern interest. We quote the following passage as an example of his acuteness.

"When we look back regretfully on some unalterable actions in our past life, we are apt in imagination to recolour that past, giving it the moral tint which our present wishes suggest. And by vividly imagining to ourselves the aspect it would wear if it could be so transmuted, we easily lapse into the illusion that it might have been other than it was without the interference of any new impulse" (p. 135).

There is a smack of affectation and conceit in everything about Mr. Woodward's book,³⁴—even in the typography, where one word is printed "spirit[nal]" and another word "reason[ably]," with many like freaks,—which stirs the bile and provokes to the use of harsh language. Therefore we hope to be pardoned for saying roundly, that it is abjectly foolish and unworthy of a moment's attention. The volume is prefaced by a fragment of "The Hermit," a poem by Mr. Woodward. If we may judge by this short specimen, his poetry is even worse trash than its brother prose,—

"Si minus esse potest quam quod nil esse videmus."

³³ "Sensation and Intuition: Studies in Psychology and Aesthetics." By James Sully, M.A. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

³⁴ "A Treatise on the Nature of Man, regarded as Triune; with an Outline of a Philosophy of Life." By Thomas Best Woodward. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1874.

We do not dismiss Dr. Hamilton's "Autology"⁴⁰ with the contemptuous brevity which we use to Mr. Woodward's theory of man's "spiritual constitution," because he seems to be a respectable divine of owl-like gravity, and not a conceited popinjay. But we fear that his excellent intentions can do no good in the line which has brought him under our notice. He tells us that "intelligent and candid criticism will be thoughtfully considered;" and candour compels us unwillingly to tell him that there is no meaning whatever in the jumble of words which he mistakes for the exposition of a philosophy. Pious persons, with their heads full of Scripture, conscience, the devil, and so forth, are apt to undergo a kind of mental perturbation or rumbling which they mistake for thought. This sometimes issues in an attempt to justify the ways of God to man. Hence we have Autologies and the like. The absurdity of Dr. Hamilton's talk about Kant, whom he presumes to criticise, almost passes belief.

"The points of beginning from which the inquiries of this book set out in search of truth, were the work of Jonathan Edwards on the 'Freedom of the Will,' and that of Immanuel Kant, entitled the 'Critique of the Pure Reason'.... The works of Edwards and Kant are the cooled and hardened masses of lava thrown out from the volcanic depths of the human mind by the eruptions of its own metaphysical forces. In these vast masses, strewn roughly along the rugged steepes of study and inquiry, are found many precious stones and valuable metals, with much of baser matter, such as mere cinders, ashes, and débris" (p. 1).

This jargon prepares us for something funny.

"Of the many fundamental errors of Kant it is necessary here to note only this one: viz., The division of judgments, or knowings, into the two kinds of Analytical and Synthetical. It is a totally false and artificial division, and one that is mischievous in all its results. There can be no such division in nature; for all judgments, or knowings, are, of necessity, analytical knowings" (p. 470).

We advise Dr. Hamilton to read Mr. Monck's little book. The result, we fear, will put him to some considerable expense for alterations, because he has stereotyped his ponderous volume.

Mr. T. H. Green's General Introduction to Hume's "Treatise of Human Nature"⁴¹ is a valuable contribution to philosophical criticism and the history of philosophy. Its method is rather critical than historical, though it follows historical arrangement. Starting with Locke, it passes through Berkeley, to trace the filiation of Hume.

⁴⁰ "Autology: an Inductive System of Mental Science, whose Centre is the Will, and whose Completion is the Personality. A Vindication of the Manhood of Man, the Godhood of God, and the Divine Authorship of Nature." By the Rev. D. H. Hamilton, D.D. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard & Dillingham. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1873.

⁴¹ "A Treatise on Human Nature: being an Attempt to Introduce the Experimental Method of Reasoning into Moral Subjects; and Dialogues concerning Natural Religion." By David Hume. Edited, with Preliminary Disquisitions and Notes, by T. H. Green, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford, and T. H. Grose, Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford. In Two Volumes. London: Longmans. 1874.

The key to the whole is the application of a critical analysis; and the pivot of the analysis is, in a word, the Kantian distinction between "understanding," and "sensitivity." Locke is convicted of a perpetual equivocation in his "simple ideas," between mere feeling on the one hand and a thing or a quality of a thing on the other. This equivocation reproduces itself in the double meaning of existence, taken either as momentary consciousness or as reality. The examination is carried out in great detail along every line indicated by Locke; and in every direction, as we pursue the antithesis between reality and the work of the mind, we find that it eludes our grasp. Thereby he is pushed through a series of inconsistencies and difficulties which cannot be surmounted.

"In the history of subsequent philosophy two typical methods have appeared of dealing with this chaos of autinomies. One, which we shall have to treat at large in writing of Hume, affects to dispose of both the outward and the inward synthesis—both of the unity of feelings in a subject matter and of their unity in a subject mind—as 'fictions of thought.' This method at once suggests the vital question whether a mind which thus invents has been effectively suppressed—whether, indeed, the theory can be so much as stated without a covert assumption of that which it claims to have destroyed. The other method, of which Kant is the parent, does not attempt to efface the apparent contradictions which beset the 'relation between mind and matter;' but regarding them as in a certain sense inevitable, traces them to their source in the application to the thinking Ego itself of conceptions, which it does indeed constitute in virtue of its presence to phenomena given under conditions of time, but under which for that very reason it cannot itself be known. It is in virtue of the presence of the self-conscious unit to the manifold of feeling, according to this doctrine, that the latter becomes an order of definite things, each external to the other; and it is only by a false inclusion within this order of that which constitutes it that the Ego itself becomes a 'thinking thing' with other things outside it" (p. 112).

In such a sketch there is room for difference of opinion, as to how much is history and how much is the result of the critical apparatus used to group and co-ordinate the facts. If we have not mistaken Mr. Green's estimate, we should put the historical connexion between Locke and Berkeley at a lower level than he does. Nothing is over-coloured or unduly pressed by Mr. Green. He is careful to point out (p. 133) that Berkeley was a mere theologian with a theological motive, and indicates this motive with great felicity (p. 139). Perhaps, however, he underrates the fragmentariness and shortsightedness of Berkeley. The truth is, we believe, that the different phases noticed by Mr. Green in different works of Berkeley, were the shifts of a conjuror likely to be worried by the fiend whom he had summoned to help him. To put it otherwise, the stick which he had snatched up to beat his dog, showed signs of turning to a red-hot poker in his fingers. And his difficulties were pressed upon him, not by philosophy or systematic criticism, but by his own dogmatic theology. He began to suspect in secret, that he had been playing a dangerous game; and he showed his soreness by the unique display of bad temper which marks his Vindication of the Theory of Vision. Another point which makes

for the same conclusion is this. The phrase "mathematical atheism" contains two terms; and Berkeley was not content to attack the "atheist" through Locke, but also attacked the "mathematician" by vehemently asserting and trying to prove the Differential Calculus to be mere nonsense. We think that his overt criticism of Locke was an afterthought: he had picked up his stick first. This does not abolish the historical connexion; but it materially affects the view to be taken of it. In the Introduction to the second volume, Mr. Green pursues a similar criticism of Hume's ethics with a similar result; namely, to show "that the philosophy based on the abstraction of feeling, in regard to morals no less than to nature, was with Hume played out, and that the next step forward in speculation could only be an effort to re-think the process of nature and human action from its true beginning in thought." His object has been to divert the attention of the young "from the anachronistic systems hitherto prevalent among us to the study of Kant and Hegel" (p. 71). The dissection of the dog was perhaps well worth the trouble, viewed as a "Propædæutik" to Kant and Hegel. Viewed in itself, the carcass is hardly worth kicking. The intellectual activity of Young England will not care to mumble the dry bones. Whether it will betake itself to Kant and Hegel, is a question of the future; and prophecy, says George Eliot, is of all forms of error the most gratuitous.

We have received a copy of Mr. Wallace's translation of the "*Logic of Hegel*,"⁴² but too late for us to do more than to mention it to our readers, some of whom may be glad to know that the work is now to be had in an English version executed by a scholar of eminent talents and acquirements.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

MR. DUDLEY BAXTER¹ has done good service in disentangling the very intricate question of Local Taxation, and presenting in a brief and compact form not only the main points involved in the controversy, but some highly useful suggestions for the direction of legislation. The work contains the substance of a speech on Local Government and Taxation, delivered at the Social Science Congress at Norwich, in September last, and four letters respecting Mr. Goschen's Report on the Increase of Local Taxation, which have been published in several of the leading London daily papers. Mr. Baxter notes how, of late years, in the place of the old Poor Law system there has sprung up "an active system of local self-government by representative institutions, applying all the new ideas of relief of the poor, and the neces-

⁴² "*The Logic of Hegel, translated from the Encyclopedia of the Philosophical Sciences; with Prolegomena.*" By William Wallace, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1874.

¹ "*Local Government and Taxation, and Mr. Goschen's Report.*" By R. Dudley Baxter, M.A. London: R. J. Bush. 1874.

sity of improved roads and drainage, and lighting and police, and of educational and sanitary reform. But according to the usual habit of the Anglo-Saxon mind, each of these objects was pursued independently by the creation of a new jurisdiction and governing body, regardless of all existing institutions." Mr. Dudley Baxter's leading suggestion is to consolidate all the different kinds of districts into one kind of district, which should be a subdivision of the county, and itself be subdivided into parishes and townships. Local Government would then be reduced to its old triple and harmonious gradation of county, district and parish areas and authorities, which the experience of olden time in our own country, and of the present time in continental countries, shows to be the most symmetrical and practical system of management of local affairs.

Professor Fawcett,² in the new edition of his "Manual of Political Economy," has introduced a fresh chapter, specially devoted to the subject of local taxation. It might be doubted whether it is well to flood what is intended to be a purely educational treatise with topics so redolent of excited controversy at the present moment as local taxation and the "Nationalization of Land." This is, however, more excusable in the region of political economy than elsewhere, as that science depends for its constant nutrition upon facts which every day's experience is bringing to light for the first time, and therefore a purely abstract mode of treatment would not only be undesirable, but impossible. One serious charge made by Professor Fawcett against the existing system of local taxation and government is the amount of local indebtedness which is being rapidly accumulated throughout the country, and yet which has hitherto attracted so little notice. "Every facility," says the writer, "seems to be given to local authorities to get into debt, and, what makes the matter still more serious is, that, the circumstances under which these loans are contracted are frequently involved in inextricable confusion."

We are furnished with a precise statement of the sources of revenue for the year 1870 of the town of Pesth. The work is prepared by Herr Josef Körösi,³ and is translated from the Hungarian. The analysis of productive manufactories and commercial statistics is very exhaustive, and will afford highly serviceable data to those in search of such information.

A curious specimen of a really valuable, and original economic treatise is supplied by a pamphlet on Salt, in its economical and financial aspects. The writer is Dr. Alfred Schmidt.⁴ He reviews the history of legislation on the subject, as it is presented in all countries, and notices that, besides England, there are only two European States which enjoy complete exemption from salt duties: Norway, since 1844, and Portugal since 1846.

² "Manual of Political Economy." By Henry Fawcett. Fourth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. London: Macmillan. 1874.

³ "Untersuchungen über die Einkommensteuer der Stadt Pest für das Jahr 1870." Von Josef Körösi. Pest. 1873.

⁴ "Das Salz: Eine volkswirtschaftliche und finanzielle Studie." Von Dr. Alfred Schmidt. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig. 1874.

A little book published by Mr. King as one of the series of important military works he has recently been bringing out, and entitled the "Volunteer, the Militiaman, and the Regular Soldier"⁵ deserves special attention. It is written by a "Public-School Boy," and, perhaps on that account, shows a trifle more military enthusiasm than we altogether approve. But it is a good and compact little work, and treats the whole topic in a clear, intelligible and rational way. There is an interesting chapter styled "Historical Retrospect," which very briefly traces all the main steps in the growth of the English army from the time of the Anglo-Saxons. The writer is at great pains to examine the real facts concerning enlistment into the different branches of the army at the present day. His main suggestions concern the decentralization of the army, so far as to make each military district self-governed and subject to (1) a staff-officer to issue orders to the troops; (2) a staff-officer to direct the administrative (or civil) work; (3) a financial officer to issue money and credit accounts. Each department in a district would be represented by its head at the central office. It will be seen that the basis of this reform is an improved organization of what either already exists or has recently been adopted.

It is a great improvement to the new edition of Gaius, by Drs. Abdy and Walker, to have appended to it the text and a scholarly translation of the Rules of Ulpian.⁶ Roman law is not only becoming generally recognised as the only avenue to the effectual study of foreign law, but it is taking its true place as the essential basis of legal education wherever conducted. It is, however, scarcely possible to understand and grasp the true spirit of Roman law without a familiar acquaintance with the actual language and terms of the original and native exponents of that law. The gradual popularization of Gaius' Institutes has done a good deal in this direction, but the rules of Ulpian might advantageously be ranked side by side with the Institutes of Gaius and of Justinian. The true position of Ulpian considered both from an historical and educational point of view, is excellently described in a preface to the present edition, which even exceeds in erudition, breadth of view and precision of criticism, the somewhat remarkable preface prefixed to the original edition. Ulpian's aim was, in the opinion of his present editors, entirely different from that of Gaius. Ulpian wished to draw up a handbook for the use of practising lawyers. "Now that a book of practice is improved by a systematic arrangement is obvious. Ulpian, therefore, writing in the reign of Caracalla, took, as a model, the educational treatise which his brother lawyer had published a few years previously, introducing into it important and necessary modifications. Whilst, then, on the one hand, he omitted all antiquarian disquisitions as out of place in a book of practice, on the

⁵ "The Volunteer, the Militiaman, and the Regular Soldier." A Conservative View of the Armies of England, Past, Present, and Future, as seen in January, 1874. By a Public-School Boy. London: Henry S. King. 1874.

⁶ "The Commentaries of Gaius and Rules of Ulpian." Translated, with Notes, by J. T. Abdy, LL.D., and Bryan Walker, M.A., LL.D. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1874.

other he introduced large interpolations on such matters as *dos* and its *retentiones*. These topics Gaius (writing for beginners) had passed over unnoticed, because they involved more detail than principle; because, also, a student could very well comprehend the general scheme of the Roman law, without any special acquaintance with them." The Editors also notice that the very title prefixed to Ulpian's work bears out their view. Principles (*institutiones*) are for beginners, but rules (*regulæ*) aid the memory of those who have passed through their course of study, and are now engaged in the active business of their profession.

The purpose of the "International Scientific Series" is to provide a set of treatises from the hands of competent authorities in all countries on a great variety of scientific topics with the view of coordinating the different branches of Science by common methods of treatment, and of making students conversant, as far as may be, with one another's work. Most of the topics hitherto handled have, naturally enough, been connected with the strictly physical sciences, but Professor Sheldon Amos, following Mr. Walter Bagehot and Mr. Herbert Spencer, has added to the series a work on a branch of moral science. The "Science of Law" necessarily covers much of the same ground as that covered by the writer's "Systematic View of the Science of Jurisprudence," though the mode of approach employed in, as well as the objects kept in view by, the two works is very different. In the new work, the deeper relations of Law to the foundations of Society are subjected to more laborious analysis, and the technical part of the subject, though constantly borne in mind and used either as illustrations or as lines for marking out the limits of the different portions of the whole topic, are kept more in the background. The object of the present work is to enable every scientific thinker to apprehend the universal and permanent ideas in law, without being perplexed by the jargon of some particular system which is often presented as the only notion of Law, and which therefore goes a long way to repel persons from the study of it. Indeed Law has, proverbially, but most unjustly, acquired a special reputation for being dry, abstruse, inhuman, and suitable to be studied only by its unhappy devotees. It is from such a reputation as this that Professor Sheldon Amos has done his best to redeem Law by establishing it, once for all, on its platform of Science, and compelling it by the use of exact conceptions, accurate terminology, and precise classificatory divisions to rival all other sciences in its method as it yields to none in its importance and its interest.

Mr. Jenkins' glances somewhat askew at England. A native of England, as he assures his audience, he has imported into his public appearances both as a litterateur and as a dealer in politics, a certain undignified self-assertion which carries upon it an indelible stamp of American bringing-up. This idiosyncrasy is added, in the present

⁷ "The Science of Law." By Sheldon Amos, M.A. Being Vol. X. of the International Scientific Series. London: Henry S. King. 1874.

⁸ "Glances at Inner England." A Lecture delivered in the United States and Canada by Edward Jenkins, M.P. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

volume, to a very conspicuous—perhaps a resultant—impotency to understand or describe even the English movements and questions with which Mr. Jenkins has most cared to identify his name. Not that the exclamations to which he gives utterance are untrue, except as being outside the inner truth of the things which are their subjects. Numbered paragraphs, with marginal notes, on Vested Interests, on Mr. Whittier's poem against Established Churches, on Privilege, Education, the English Poor, and other topics, are spiced with quotations and semiquotations which may or may not be profane both to the humanity Mr. Jenkins professes to respect, and to the Book to which he professes fealty. At the same time some of Mr. Jenkins' ideas are ludicrously incorrect. It would have seemed impossible, for instance, that anyone with his experience of elections could say that America needs to take warning from a decay of political interest prevalent in English society. It is unnecessary to allude to the uselessness and folly of trying to make himself popular in a foreign country and in a British dependency by enlarging upon, and exaggerating by isolating, the evils which infest our body politic, instead of straining every nerve and muscle in patient and unobtrusive labour, both in and out of Parliament, to amend the present and avert impending ill.

The third volume of Mr. Herbert Spencer's collected *Essays** will be received by the public with much satisfaction. Mr. Spencer's philosophy is so homogeneous and consistent and yet so subtle and comprehensive that a copious use of illustration cannot be dispensed with. And no more effective or lively mode of illustration exists than what is supplied by well-sustained controversy. It is not true that controversial writing is always the most favourable medium for the enucleation of truth in all its proportions; and therefore in every controversy it usually happens that he gains the most by it who is the greatest adept in the use of logical weapons, offensive and defensive; that the living prospers at the expense of the dead; and the one who is nearest at hand and talks loudest and speaks last has no small advantage over his adversary who is at a distance, or who is over-gentle or feeble in debate, or who does not care to reply. Whatever may be the fate of M. Comte and Professor Huxley, certainly Mr. Spencer makes good capital out of their real or alleged opinions when brought into rivalry or contrast with his own. Mr. Spencer's points of difference with M. Comte are exhibited in the very intelligible form of parallel passages arranged side by side. Of course, as the selection and arrangement of the passages is in Mr. Spencer's hands and not in M. Comte's, this itself must weigh heavily against the latter. Mr. Spencer, too, can qualify and explain his own language as he goes: M. Comte cannot. This is no allegation against the perfect fairness and candour of Mr. Spencer, but is only a subtraction from the value of the comparisons of two systems of philosophy founded upon the production of such isolated materials.

* "*Essays: Scientific, Political and Speculative.*" By Herbert Spencer. Vol. III. London: Williams and Norgate. 1874.

Nevertheless this mode of exhibiting some of Mr. Spencer's most characteristic opinions will be found very interesting to his readers. For instance, to the assertion on one side of the page that M. Comte's ideal of society is one in which *government* is developed to the greatest extent, Mr. Spencer opposes his own conviction that "the form of society towards which we are progressing is one in which *government* will be reduced to the smallest amount possible, and freedom increased to the greatest amount possible—one in which human nature will have become so moulded by social discipline into fitness for the social state that it will need little external restraint, but will be self-restrained." Our own recollection of M. Comte's teaching, as a whole and not as expressed in fragmentary passages, leads us to believe that his ideal in the future did not differ widely from Mr. Spencer's; that the field of temporal government in M. Comte's, as in Mr. Spencer's scheme, was to be constantly restricted; and that what Mr. Spencer means by "social discipline" M. Comte really meant by the "spiritual power." The Essay on "Specialized Administration" will also be read with great interest.

Among the most curious features of the day, though it be one as yet little noted, is the extreme variety in all respects of the persons who are favourable to the opinions on Cremation so ably and succinctly brought together by Sir Henry Thompson's¹⁰ pamphlet on the subject. The last few years have been fruitful in questions which have been hitherto thought too delicate or indelicate for public discussion, but upon which as soon as they were once put before the public it has been found that there existed already an immense mass of private individual conviction directly opposed to the common practice of all ranks of society. Among these questions is that as to the best mode of disposing of the body after death. The present fashion of burial,—with all the ghastly train of hidden processes which the mind refuses to follow either for its own body's ease or for that of others, and which Sir Henry Thompson properly refuses to do more than hint at—has been growing increasingly unpopular for a long time in so far as it has become almost indissolubly mixed up with a pompousness, a fussiness, and an extravagance equally repugnant to the feeling of those who are really mourning, to the good sense of the practical, and to the wisdom of the philanthropic labourer among the poor. We are all beginning to see the evils of ruining a family for the funeral of its breadwinner, of exhausting the savings of years in rrape and feathers, and of turning away from all the solemn lessons of bereavement in order to secure that dress shall be becoming and fashionable enough to deprive it of all real expression of anything except the wealth and vanity of the wearers or of their abject subjection to the vulgarest caprices of dressmakers and milliners. To break off these galling and offensive chains would in itself be a sufficient argument for a change of our mode of burial; but there are others of at least equal cogency. That the health of large towns has been affected by the existence of burial grounds in their

¹⁰ "Cremation: the Treatment of the Body after Death." By Sir Henry Thompson, F.R.C.S., M.B. Lond. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

midst is an uncontroverted fact ; and the precaution which the present day has introduced of compelling all burials to take place outside the limits of the more populated districts does nothing but secure to our immediate descendants a like legacy of disease and death. The very beauty of the spots so sacred to the sentiment of many is an outcome of unmentionable loathsomeness and a source of death. The inspectors of cemeteries insist upon the necessity of planting trees and flowers and shrubs—the quicker growing the better—to neutralize the gases that escape at every pore of the teeming graveyard, and houses are advertised as overlooking the lovely plantations without mention of that share of those gases which find their way out into the atmosphere unaffected by the insufficient number of vegetable growths. A common stumblingblock to those who start at the thought of burning the dead in ancient Saxon fashion is the idea that so quickly to do away with the outward semblance—hidden from sight though it be—is a sort of irreverence ; and yet it is probable that no one person would personally prefer to become, so far as the body is concerned, a source of mischief or an object on which the thoughts of survivors cannot rest, instead of being, if not positively utilized, at all events neutralized, and made such as the tenants of the funeral urns which ancient taste has made the form for even our most modern sentiment to assume both in verse and in many monuments. And what we would others should do to us, we should do to them. Even in the service of the Church which it seems most difficult to alter, what is the meaning, or is there any meaning, under our present system, of the phrase, “Earth to earth, *ashes to ashes*, dust to dust?” Sir Henry Thompson answers all questions as to the possibility of burning the dead without the horrible and unhealthy effects produced in India by the custom, and indicates the sort of mechanism by which a few ounces or pounds of dry white ash may be returned to the reverent care of survivors, without any possible injury or annoyance to any part of the population, at the end of an hour. The dread, felt more frequently than acknowledged, of premature burial and a horrible awakening would be put an end to by cremation ; partly because the introduction of the new system would be a good opportunity for the much needed appointment of officers to certify the fact and cause of death in every case by personal inspection, and partly because, in the then highly improbable case of mistake, the process itself would secure instantaneous and painless death. Again, it has been warmly argued that the impossibility of exhumation in cases of suspected poisoning would tend to increase that form of murder ; but the appointment of such officers as those named, would be a far greater safeguard than the chance of exhumation, and Sir Henry Thompson points out other precautions which might—were it thought worth while—easily be adopted. There seems small reason to doubt that either our own or a future more sensible generation will change the present repulsive and extravagant mode of dealing with “the ashes of the dead” for a more ancient and reasonable one, and Sir Henry Thompson earns the hearty thanks of all who wish to see the day and share the benefit.

Mr. Heath¹¹ is quite right in his belief that such a book as he now publishes is much needed. The fugitive paragraphs in newspapers,—whether in leaders or in reports of speeches—which have been a chief source of information as to the condition of our agricultural population, for most people lack the solidity of information and authority which Mr. Heath has carefully gathered together out of tedious blue-books, and by personal and minute investigations in the Western counties of England. The degradation he found usual among the cottagers was extreme, or rather perhaps it should be said that the deprivation was so; for the degraded minds seem to have abounded more among the landlords and farmers, than among the noble and uncomplaining labourers, who have so bravely and forbearingly acquitted themselves under the guidance of Mr. Joseph Arch. An account of the great migration system, set on foot by Canon Girdlestone, is well-timed, since it is easy, now that the district under his influence is—through the obstinacy of employers—becoming almost too thinly populated, to say that his system was a mistaken one. There can be no doubt that to him belongs the high honour of having been the first remote mover in the great regeneration of the agricultural labouring classes of England. The actual rising did not, as is largely believed, originate with Mr. Arch. He was invited by a dozen men who lived in his neighbourhood to address them and their friends; but things were so ripe for progress that the secretly convened meeting numbered some fourteen hundred men. That dozen of men, again, were incited to their action by a letter sent to a local paper by two or three farm labourers of Weston-under-Weatherley, near Leamington, complaining of the hard conditions of their lives. Mr. Heath is most fair in his endeavour to point out to what degree the farmers are accountable, and to what degree blameless, in regard to the condition of their labourers. He gives many instances of extreme cruelty and hard dealing; but he also enlarges upon the difficulties which beset a man holding his land without any security of tenure. There are very useful chapters in the volume on agricultural children; on the National Agricultural Labourers' Union; on the depopulation of our western counties; on emigration, past, present, and future; and on the possibilities that lie before our peasantry. The whole work is singularly free from dry statistics, and will be welcomed by all classes of readers anxious to be easily informed on the subject of which it treats.

Mr. Cave Thomas¹² is anxious to put in a strong plea, in these days of theoretical education, for a system of education which shall not so much seek to develop individual capacity as to supply defects and so produce a real symmetry of mind. It is at once an obvious thought that this desirable end calls for a clear-sightedness and wisdom in parents and teachers which is not too commonly to be found. But

¹¹ "The English Peasantry." By F. G. Heath. London: Frederick Warne & Co. 1874.

¹² "Symmetrical Education." By W. Cave Thomas. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1873.

the protest is not without its use,—if indeed any thoughtful theory can be useless on so vexed a subject as education; since the revulsion from old formulæ is showing some tendency to carry society into the opposite extreme of cultivating chiefly that which appears on the surface of a child's nature, and so frequently leaving untouched all the depths which would give strength and solidity.

Mr. Symonds¹³ papers on various Greek and Italian cities are some of them reprints of magazine articles, and bear the impress of their origin in the close packing of classical and mediæval allusion which characterizes them. The volume would be useful as a guide book in Corsica and Sicily, and is somewhat pleasant reading in England; but it is overweighted with long, florid descriptions of scenery and natural beauty. In a chapter on the songs of Tuscany, and at the end of the volume, are some graceful translations. Mr. Symonds remarks on the absence, in the popular songs of Tuscany, of ballads and of any element of magic or witchcraft—an absence accounted for possibly by the intensely practical and realistic nature of the Italian people.

Miss Kortwright¹⁴ has begun to think about the position, rights, duties, and opportunities of women in a very shallow and conservative vein, but with so much genuine kindness of heart and sincerity of purpose that there is a fair chance of her coming, like those she inclines to revile for their larger efforts and aims, to see that the objects she would incite all women to strive for, are not the highest attainable, nor the only or most desirable, and also that even they must result from or necessarily involve that freedom from legislative or social restriction which is sought for by the women whom she denounces as unfeminine and misguided. It is a well-meant little book.

In attacks upon an enemy whose forces are of every variety, disciplined and undisciplined, regular and utterly wild and barbarous, forces and weapons of all sorts may without disadvantage be used. Therefore, Luke Limner's¹⁵ vague sentences and haphazard hits at the absurdities of women's dress may be welcomed, though they are perhaps more valuable as straws showing which way some puffs of wind are blowing. Until the whole subject of modern dress, both men's and women's, is taken up and dealt with thoroughly as in opposition to all the dictates of propriety, usefulness, economy, and artistic culture, nothing much will be done by passing and partial declamation against temporary enormities.

Mrs. Hooper¹⁶ is Professor of Domestic Economy in the Crystal Palace School of Art, and so has a claim to respectful attention from a public which is awaking to the importance to health and comfort of

¹³ "Sketches in Italy and Greece." By John Addington Symonds. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1874.

¹⁴ "A Little Lower than the Angels." By Fanny A. Kortwright. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1874.

¹⁵ "Madre Natura versus the Moloch of Fashion." By Luke Limner. Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly. 1874.

¹⁶ "Little Dinners, How to Serve Them." By Mary Hooper. London: H. S. King & Co. 1874.

good cooking in the sense of economical ways of preparing digestible and various foods. The tide is setting so strongly in this direction as to make it quite unnecessary to do more than say that these receipts appear to be not extravagant and to be somewhat novel and promising. Indeed, the danger is greater that,—what with those enemies of the higher education of women who insist on cooking as the true feminine function, the doctors who write so largely on foods and diets, and the overwhelming mass of Englishmen who quarrel with their very bread and butter,—Britons may fall into the error of not simply eating to live—as they fain would do—but into the opposite extreme, and simply live to eat.

A native of Mysore¹⁷ is anxious to arouse public attention to the state of affairs in his native country in the prospect of that country being shortly handed over to a native ruler. The young Maharajah is being educated with the express purpose of restoring to him his hereditary honours, and it would seem a matter of course that his territories should be handed over to him in the condition most certain to conduce to his prosperous government of them. That is to say, that either the certain future result should be anticipated, and trained native officials and employes of all grades should be appointed in all branches of State service, or there should be as large an admixture of natives under English superintendence as is compatible with the interests of the province. At the same time all possible economy should be practised, both in order so to fill the exchequer as to give the young ruler a good start, and in order to set him a good example. How different the facts are this pamphlet shows in a most temperate and cautious way, doing full justice to the good intentions of Government and to the abilities of the officers to whose hands the administration of Mysore has, during nearly half a century, been entrusted. At first instructions were issued that the agency employed should be exclusively native, and that native institutions should be carefully maintained; and the administration was, in fact, conducted upon practical rules intended to meet actual wants and which were in accordance with the habits of the people. But when the administration fell into fresh hands the somewhat crude system, which was suited to the stage of education then attained by the people, seemed too disorderly, and departments were organized for all manner of things; fresh divisions made fresh places for European officers; and each new want was felt to be supplied by the creation of a new department and new posts, until the superior grade officers have increased from thirty to a hundred and thirty-five, of whom less than thirty, not of the first grade, are natives. And the arrangements are in a curious state of disorder. Revenue officers are vested with judicial functions, and this avowedly for the sake of training them and not for the public interest; while throughout the whole judicial system there is no original or appellate court with assessor judges. That it might be well to secure the help of

¹⁷ "The British Administration of Mysore." By a Native of Mysore. Part I. London: Longmans. 1874.

native experience as well as to train the future race of native judges is beyond question. Fresh legislation is imposed from time to time without due modification for the present condition of the population, and of a sort so complicated and intricate as to be most unsuited to that condition. This is as true of the criminal as of the civil law, and is productive of grave evils. A new police system having proved a terrible failure, an effort was made to organize the native system; but the instructions issued were incomprehensible to the uneducated police, and the whole thing does not work. Gaols on the reformatory system have been built all over the country, the cost—exclusive of the money for building—of supporting each prisoner being twice as great as the wages of labourers. A land survey and revenue settlement was organized in 1862 under good agency imported from Bombay, and it is at work, but it is in danger of being erroneously carried out from a want of due consideration of the position and condition of the country. It was intended to be a settlement for thirty years; but the people are so deeply imbued with a belief in the practical permanency of their ancient annual assessments that this term of thirty years would, did they at all comprehend it, be rather an unsettling; and, again, as it was calculated that the first settlement would not be made in less than thirty years there would seem to be a prospect of the department becoming a permanent one. At the same time it is difficult to say what is to become of the purely European staff when the whole government falls into native hands. The department has professed to train young Englishmen, but it should have trained young natives. The native of Mysore enumerates the various sources of revenue, and points out both calamities resulting from the adoption of foreign systems and ideas and those resulting from government monopoly—as, for instance, in the farming out of the right to sell arrack. The forests and jungles needed special supervision, but instead of a well-trained small body of foresters a host of inexperienced men without special knowledge have been allowed to make experiments, a number of new offences have been created, some of the most valuable timber is practically prohibited on private ground, and this department is another failure in every sense. But absurdity and mismanagement perhaps reach their culminating point in the department of Public Works, in which various bodies of officials have tried their hands and have done very little, and now the thing to be done is to repair and conserve, by European agency, the tanks and roads and irrigation which owe their existence to previous native work; and all this is estimated to cost sums totally out of proportion to the work. The making of the Mysore State Railway, long ago surveyed, is now indefinitely postponed in favour of irrigation works, while much irrigated land lies waste for want of enterprise and the means of communication. The education department seems also to need a complete revision, as well as the army; but for details both of these and of the departments already spoken of, the inquirer cannot do better than refer to this most able pamphlet. The second part, "Suggestions for the Future," will be welcomed by all who are interested in the great population of Mysore.

A Governor of the Royal Hospital for Incurables¹⁸ writes of elective charities—or rather of the opponents of election to charitable institutions—in a tone which shows him to have the deepest sympathy with the receivers of the charity he is to help to administer. He is most royal in his disdain of the Charity Organization Society, corporately and individually, and of all who think that anything charitable might be mended; and he is to all appearances quite incurable in his habit of taking all that his foes say to be unfounded or grossly fabricated, and all that his co-operators assert as irrefragable proofs of the justice of their cause. The brochure is scarcely worth notice, except as a specimen of the indignant vested interest encouraged to speak freely under the shadow of a Tory Government. It may well be that such publications will serve a useful end.

"Prince Florestan" may possibly be intended as a satire upon Radical opinion; or upon the state of public opinion which makes Radical opinions incapable of being carried into practice; or upon half-a-dozen other things. But it is in reality a very good comment upon the result of Eton and Cambridge education. It is to be doubted whether anything in the world, called by the name of a system, or plan, or theory of education, except our English Public School and University "system" could produce so raw and thoughtless a young man as this Prince Florestan. And yet how good a description it is of "just what you would have expected" of an undergraduate. The unceremonious way in which he packs up and goes to receive his dignities without a thought of civil leave-taking of any one but his tutor; his jaunty jokes with the first "subject" he meets with; his light-hearted advances to the keeper of the greatest hell in Europe, and his desire that they should work together in unity; his quick conclusions as to his chief adviser's character; his purely comic view of the population he had to control and educate just on the ground of its paucity of numbers; his whole aspect of mind towards the politics of his dominions, as though politics were a game, and it did not signify one tittle to himself or anybody else whether he played at them or not;—are not these the familiar, everyday correlatives of the jaunty, good-humoured selfishness and ignorance which is the armour with which our young men come forth to fight, or to run away from and leave unassailed, the whole mass of misery and wrong by which, blinded or seeing, they are surrounded even in the nursery, the school, and the University?

The second edition of Mr. Matthew Arnold's²⁰ important work on the Higher Schools and Universities in Germany derives an access of interest over and above that properly due to the original edition from the remarkable theory of Church and State which Mr. Arnold contrives

¹⁸ "Elective Charities and their Opponents." A Review. By a Governor of the Royal Hospital for Incurables. Unwin Brothers: Oxford Court, Cannon Street, London. 1874.

¹⁹ "The Fall of Prince Florestan of Monaco." London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

²⁰ "Higher Schools and Universities in Germany." By Matthew Arnold, D.C.L. London: Macmillan. 1874.

to enunciate in his new preface. *Apropos* of education in Germany, Mr. Arnold is naturally led on to comment upon the recent ecclesiastical laws in Prussia as affecting education. This comment affords Mr. Arnold the opportunity of criticising with his usual skill and delicacy of diction the policy of England in the disestablishment of the English Church in Ireland, and the claims of the English Nonconformists in the matter of national education. We very much doubt whether Mr. Arnold's view of the Prussian policy is the correct one, or can even be substantiated by facts. He seems to decry in that policy not, as we think, what is alone there, the support of the State in its purely secular aspect, and of the Government as its instrument, against the insidious assaults and machinations of Rome, but a defence of a national religion and of its representatives against those who would warp the purely national tendencies into artificial directions. Starting with this theory, which we hold to be purely gratuitous, not to say imaginary, Mr. Arnold goes on to argue that it is the duty of English "Dissenters" to devote their energies rather to improving and broadening the national religion than to banishing religion altogether from the region of public action. Mr. Arnold has a very great faith in the virtue of numerical majorities, and he evidently holds that if the large majority of the nation hold, or profess to hold, certain opinions, it is no hardship on the minority to have those opinions enforced by public endowments and compulsory education. Mr. Arnold's language indeed is always so refined, and his manner of speaking of his opponents is so courteous and complimentary (though tinged with lurking contempt) that it is peculiarly hard to fix him with the responsibility of any opinions whatever. But this is what it comes to, and in Mr. Arnold's view, the test of rationality, beneficence, and truthfulness of doctrine is to be applied by the amount of attainable acquiescence. Of course, on this principle, an older system of belief has an invincible superiority of position over a newer one. What is spontaneously believed, and never questioned, is always to those who hold it full of "sweetness and light." No doubt, at one time, to the overwhelming majority of the Roman and Jewish world, Christianity seemed nothing but offensive to every sense and to be a darkness that might be felt.

Herr Emil Friedberg²¹ has published a laboriously prepared treatise on the recent history of the conflicting claims of the German States and the Papal authority in respect of the appointment of bishops. The work is enriched by a collection (published in a separate volume) of original documents, in all languages, on which the rival claims are founded. The subject is one of somewhat a technical, and especially a German nature, but the importance of stating in a compendious form the real facts of the case, and producing all the evidence on which they rest, cannot be rated too highly.

Swiss Allmends are common or commonable lands, and Mr.

²¹ "Der Staat und die Bischofswahlen in Deutschland mit Actenstücken." Von Emil Friedberg, Das Neunzehnte Jahrhundert. Leipzig: 1874.

Zinke²² follows up his previous discourses on Swiss communal life by a very useful and interesting collection of information on the common lands, their origin, political significance, privileges, and adaptability to former and to present conditions of life in Switzerland. That he gained his information during a month's excursion in Switzerland, partially planned for the express purpose of gaining it, merely secures to his readers a very fresh and bright little volume of travel sketches; while those who only seek the fruit of his inquiries may confine themselves to the last chapter in the book, although much collateral talk with fellow-travellers and with himself is pleasant and instructive. The Allmends include common land of all kinds, pasture, forest, or garden ground, generally each commune possessing some of all kinds. In the earliest days, before intercommunication between the valleys or intercourse with the rest of the world was made possible; before cereals or potatoes were grown or even known, "the Switzer was the parasite of the cow," and on the well-being of the cows all interests must have centred. Unless a family could pasture a cow on a bit of prairie ground during some part of the year, and during the summer weeks could drive it up to the mountain pasture while the prairie patch produced hay for the winter, that family could not live. Also without a sufficiency of fuel life could not be maintained. Under such hard conditions superfluity could fall to no man's lot; and so the best that could happen was for the village to hold in common the mountain pastures for summer use, because these were not capable of improvement by industry, while the prairie pastures, being capable of such improvement, were held in such permanent possession as made it worth a man's while to make the best of his patch. The forests were held in common, and fuel and timber were dealt out in proportion to the size—that is, to the needs of each house. This was obviously a perfectly fair arrangement in early days; but when money could be earned outside the mountains, and so labour could be purchased to make the prairie land more productive and capable of sustaining more cows, the old permission to send as many cows to the common summer pasture as had been maintained during the winter began to tell very unfairly in favour of the hirer and against the labourer, whose patch of pasture was necessarily less productive than when he gave his time to it. And so with capital came the first step in the inevitable destruction of the Swiss common land system. The theory of these Allmends well accounts for and excuses the old jealousy of "foreigners" existing in the Swiss Cantonal laws to our own day. Each incomer would decrease by so much the available property of each original burgher; and even now he is not admitted to rights in the common property of the commune or of its adherent or exerescent corporations. These corporations are not political entities, and, though varying greatly throughout Switzerland, they may generally be taken to mean "a section of the burghers possessed of landed property held for a definite object. For instance, they had at Lindthal a corporation for educational purposes

²² "Swiss Allmends, and a Walk to See Them." By F. Barham Zinke, Vicar of Wherstead and Chaplain to the Queen. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1874.

possessed of four alpes, or rights to portions of mountain pasture, and another for the encouragement of singing." It is at once clear that the Allmend system no longer answers the end which all land tenure systems must subserve or be changed for others more adapted to the time ; it no longer secures that the land shall produce as much food as it might produce if held by a smaller number of persons possessed of capital enough to introduce improved methods of cultivation. And it breaks down under the strain of temptation which employs all able-bodied men in the service of tourists just during those months in which they should otherwise be devoting themselves to their land. Without being tempted to discourse on English interests, Mr. Zincke insists on the fact that anything in any state of society must be swept away which interferes with (1) the utmost possible productiveness of land ; (2) such property in land as is requisite to secure that utmost productiveness ; and (3) association for the protection of that property.

The authoress of "*South by West*"²³—presumably a member of Mr. Kingsley's family circle—has the family gift of pleasant fluency with her pen. A visit to America, under the auspices of a well-known Church dignitary, gave her a favourable chance of seeing much of the country and of one class of society in Canada and New York in a very short time, and though she is not so democratic as some of her family, she makes up for some regrettable sentences by the fresh ardour with which she receives, and transmits to her pages, the impressions of each day. From the States she went westward to meet her brother, and the two young people seem to have led a pleasant rough and ready life, among the pioneer inhabitants of the city of Colorado, identifying themselves to the utmost with the interests of their temporary abode, and making the most of their opportunities for seeing the known and exploring the unknown wonders of nature in their neighbourhood. The descriptions of scenery throughout are terse and vivid. The latter part of the volume is much more exciting, containing the history of a perilous journey taken with some other English friends into Mexico, during a decidedly warm outbreak of revolutionary fires there. The party went for the purpose of ascertaining the best routes for the railways on the construction of which so much of the hope for a speedy pacification of Mexico must depend, and their route could not be merely chosen for security. The consequence was that they had various encounters with outlaw troops or banditti. A stay of some length in Mexico, with intimate acquaintance with most of the chief people of the city, gave the writer materials for chapters of special interest, and a final dozen pages sums up the resources of the country.

The sort of necessity under which newspapers appear to feel themselves placed, of sending correspondents to all quarters of the globe to report upon anything which may be happening there, is one which entails some results much to be deprecated in the interests of the manly straightforwardness on which Englishmen used to pique them-

²³ "*South by West, or Winter in the Rocky Mountains and Spring in Mexico.*" Edited, with a Preface, by the Rev. Charles Kingsley. London : W. Isbister & Co. 1874.

selves. The love of adventure seems to be now in the ascendant, and people merely smile to themselves while special correspondents and travellers jauntily confess to or boast of the disguises, the assumptions of other nationality, and the blank, downright, or implied untruths, to which they have had recourse in order to attain their end. It is to be doubted whether the game is worth the candle. Mr. Ker²⁴ was suspected, during his absence in Central Asia, of not going there at all, a charge to which he gives distinct denial, and offers proofs of his veracity; secondly, he was accused of sending wilfully false news of the fall of Khiva, but he says he was himself mistaken, and the natural conclusion is that he would have been just as well at home; a third charge about the dates of certain letters and magazine articles, he totally denies; for a fourth, of putting extracts from former writings in his letters to the *Daily Telegraph*, the readers of that journal will probably readily accept his excuse of want of fresh matter. But it seems a pity to ask a gentleman to go and deny his native country, and get into great difficulties in the effort to conceal the fact that he was spying on forbidden ground, at great pecuniary expense to his employers, and at great risk to his own life and health, without some greater and more certainly attainable result than in this case. Mr. Ker's style is that of the *Daily Telegraph*, and his book will be found amusing by many.

African travellers are invariably infected with the disregard of time characteristic of African races, and their books are either thicker or in more volumes than those of travellers in other lands. Mr. Skertchley²⁵ makes no exception to this rule. He has, however, an exceptional excuse for his long-windedness, inasmuch as he is bound to try to convey to his readers a vivid sense of the weariness with which he endured the eight months of friendly imprisonment inflicted on him by the king of Dahomey. Mr. Skertchley went out to Africa to make entomological collections, and was tempted by an invitation from the king to visit Abomey, the capital, and a region generally inaccessible to Europeans. On the understanding that he was to be free to return to Whydah after eight days, Mr. Skertchley ventured into the power of Gelelé, the king of Dahomey, but found that he was anxious to detain an Englishman during various sorts of "customs," in order that some misrepresentations of Dahoman fashions might be corrected. Mr. Skertchley was made a prime favourite and well treated during eight months, and saw all that there was to see. He reports that the human beings slaughtered at customs are either prisoners of war or criminals worthy of death by Dahoman law; but his testimony is made less valuable by his expressed conviction that negroes are of a race inferior to men, that they should be used for forced labour in our tropical possessions, that all missionaries to the Gold Coast have been canting and hypocritical, that all "old maids" are spiteful and vicious and might advantageously be enrolled in the army, and so on. The

²⁴ "On the Road to Khiva." By David Ker, late Khivan Special Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

²⁵ "Dahomey as It Is." By J. A. Skertchley. London: Chapman & Hall. 1874.

merit of this volume is that it contains a detailed account of Dahoman life during the period of Mr. Skertchley's detention.

Herr Robert Weisse²⁶ publishes a few pages of geographical, ethnographical, and critical notices, intended to accompany and to increase the comprehensibility and value of a second series of chromo-lithographed fac-similes of Herr Hildebrand's water-colour sketches of Eastern life and scenery. That the work is that of an enthusiastic admirer needs not to be said, but it need not necessarily have been such as would raise any such desire as it awakens to see the pictures to which its office is that of showman. Herr Hildebrand is said by Herr Weisse to be the second Columbus of Art, and to have revealed a new world of subjects to the artist and of interest to the public. It may be somewhat puzzling to the English mind to know what this may mean, but there is always the probability that a German means something by what he says. Otherwise, sketches in Japan, at Rangoon, Singapore, at the mouth of the Peiho, or in the Ladrone Islands—or, at least, their geographical equivalents—are not rare among us.

In sixty pages of tolerably close print Herr Herrmann Cohn²⁷ sums up what is to be said by an oculist from his point of view as to the merits of the specimens and sketches of school seats and tables, and of school-room windows exhibited at the Vienna Exhibition. It is to be feared that some time must elapse before an Englishman will gain the information, or care to print it, or hope to find a publisher or an audience for so apparently minute a piece of the infinite ramifications of educational questions. And yet Dr. Cohn successfully endeavours to convey a sense of the importance of the matter. Serious injury to the eyesight of masses of children is doubtless wrought by arrangements which throw the light on their books from the front or the right hand side when they are writing, or which provide seats in which it is impossible for them to sit properly for the needful time, and which are either so far from the desks they write on that they must stoop forward, or so near to the desks their reading-books lie upon that the eyes cannot get the natural focus. What the different requisites are, what inventions most nearly fulfil them, and what is left yet undone, are subjects clearly and altogether admirably treated in this little pamphlet. It is much to be wished that all members of school boards had to pass an examination in this and co-ordinate German monographs.

A very enterprising and valuable series of political pamphlets is in course of publication in Berlin under the superintendence of Professors Holzendorff and Oncken.²⁸ The pamphlets treat all the pressing political problems of the day, are written by men of the highest capacity, and are sold for a few pence each. The subjects are such as "The Old and the New German Empire," "The Five Millions," "The Reform of the Zollverein Tariff," "Cosmopolitanism and Patriotism," and the

²⁶ "Um die Erde Erläuternder Text zu den Chromofacsimiles der Hildebrand'schen Reise-Aquarelle." Von Robert Weisse. Berlin.

²⁷ "Die Schulhäuser und Schultische auf der Wiener Weltausstellung." Von Hermann Cohn. Breslau. 1873.

²⁸ "Deutsche Zeit-und-Streit-Fragen Klugschriften zur kenntniss der Gegenwart." Herausgegeben von Fr. v. Holzendorff und M. Oncken. Berlin: 1874.

like. No better mode could be conceived of giving political instruction to the people of a more deliberate, continuous, and responsible sort than is given even by the best of our daily papers. Indeed, the reckless speed with which our political life is run, through the action of Parliamentary institutions in this country, render thoughtful writing and reading almost out of the question.

A most useful series of Reports²⁰ is issued every two years by the State of Illinois on its "Public Charities." These reports not only convey information of the most reliable sort on the social condition of Illinois, but also serve to throw light on questions which are becoming matters of discussion everywhere. In one interesting passage, for instance, in the Report for 1870, Dr. M'Farland gives a brief historical review of the treatment of insanity from the earliest ages. The organization of an asylum suggested by Dr. M'Farland is well deserving of attention. The foundation of the whole is industry, and the male servants are not attendants but fellow-labourers. The description of the county gaol and almshouse system will also be read with especial interest. One chapter in the Report for 1872 has the comprehensive heading, "Misfortune, its Extent and General Statistics." Another chapter in the same volume is on "Crime and Criminals," and another on "Prison Reforms." It will thus be seen that the little "Public Charities" to which these reports alone profess to extend covers all matters of great social significance.

In a volume making no pretence to the character of a work of fiction, though it wears much of its aspect, Captain Johnstone²¹ has published a most interesting picture of Maori life as it was before the advent of Europeans into New Zealand. All the incidents which he has so skilfully interwoven into his work have trustworthy authority for their reality, and both characters and traditions are *bonâ fide* native Maori. The tone in which Captain Johnstone writes is far pleasanter than that of most colonists' writings: he is laudatory of the natives; nor is he, on the other hand, defamatory of the Colonial Government, though he points out with great regret the strange stupidity which made the rising of the Maories against Europeans in 1860 a quite feasible plan and entailed upon us the long war which must end in the extermination of the native population of the islands. The secret of the strength of the Maori organization lies in the fact that it is a race "truthful, brave, honourable," giving "willing obedience to the fundamental rule of Maori society which taught that the first duty of every citizen is to be prepared to bear arms in behalf of the commonwealth; and that far beyond the selfish luxury of the rich man, or the petty greed of the trader, is the simple patriotism which is ready to fight, and, if necessary, to die in defence of its country." If this be somewhat exclusively a military idea of virtue, there may be a deeper reason for Maori strength found in the fact that the race is descended from ten canoe-loads of people who

²⁰ "First and Second Biennial Report of the Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities of the State of Illinois." 1871 and 1872.

²¹ "Maories." By Captain J. C. Johnstone. London: Chapman & Hall. 1872.

came four thousand miles across the ocean as emigrants from an island where luxury and vice had made life intolerable to the vigorous and virtuous minority.

We have a curious antiquarian delight in reading the new series of the "Annual Register." The general order and plan of the great original series is, of course, imitated as closely as possible, and yet the lapse of time since the early numbers of the first work appeared makes itself strongly felt. There is something almost grotesque in the formal parallelism observed throughout. Thus, in the "Annual Register" for 1873,³¹ among the remarkable trials is, of course, the Tichborne case, and in the chapters on English History the debates on the Supreme Court of Judicature Bill. The chapters on Foreign History, including those on France, Germany, Italy, and Russia, are especially important, as the matter is not otherwise accessible to the general reader.

SCIENCE.

ONE of the most important scientific works of our time will probably be the Mathematical Physics, by Professor Kirchhoff,³² the celebrated physicist, of which the first instalment of the first volume has just reached this country. The custom of German publishers to publish any large work on scientific subjects in almost infinitely small portions and subdivisions cannot be too much deprecated. This work, as indicated by a short notice of the publisher's, is intended to give in the main Professor Kirchhoff's lectures at the university, and it is therefore difficult to see any reason for giving us in dribblets what must be now quite ready, having been elaborated by the illustrious Kirchhoff during so many years of his lecturing, which has attracted students to Heidelberg from all parts of the world. We have here in all little more than 100 pages, and as nothing enables us to form some idea of the probable extent of the whole, and the general plan even of the mechanical portion, we must confine ourselves to state here simply the subject matter of this first instalment, leaving a more critical review of the whole until such time as the work will have sufficiently advanced for critical purposes. In general, this first part embodies the mechanics of material points and the differential equations of motion of liquids and elastic solids. The integration of these equations for special cases is not to be found in this part, but will, without doubt, be given in the proper places as the work proceeds. To enter now more specially into the order in which the subject is treated, we may mention that Kirchhoff has preferred the following plan. He first of all develops Lagrange's fundamental equations of dynamics. From these he derives as a consequence D'Alembert's and Hamilton's

³¹ "The Annual Register: a Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, for the Year 1873." New Series. London: Rivingtons. 1874.

³² "Vorlesungen über Mathematische Physik." Von Dr. Gustav Kirchhoff, Professor zu Heidelberg. Mechanik. Erste Lieferung. Leipzig: Teubner. 1874.

principles, and again from the former he deduces as a special case the principle of virtual velocities. This leads now naturally to the statements and proofs of the theorems on energy and conservation of energy, the motion of centres of gravity, and the conservation of areas. Next follow the discussion of the possible motion of a rigid body, and the differential equations of this motion under given forces, which are integrated for the special case of no forces, as well as for the particular supposition of the action of gravity; the theory of the measurement of gravity by pendulum observations, and the inquiry into the influence of the earth's rotation upon the motion of heavy bodies, forms in itself a very exhaustive essay on the subject. The part is then brought to a close by preparing the reader in the first instance for the development of the equations of motion of continuous bodies which permit a relative displacement of their particles, and by investigating the change which an infinitely small particle undergoes during the motion; finally the equations themselves are formed after introducing the conception of pressure, and we obtain the values of the components of pressure in liquids and elastic solids; in the former also for the cases in which friction takes place. While refraining in the meantime, as we have stated, from a more exhaustive criticism, it is yet necessary to point out that the originality of the treatment of the subject by the distinguished author arises from an obvious desire to remove some of the obscurity which still clings round the primary conceptions of physical mechanics in the usual mode of treatment. The author considers it justly a main object of mechanics that the motions which are proceeding in nature should be *described* in as simple a manner as possible, and thus he has succeeded, by starting solely from our ideas of time, space and matter, to establish Lagrange's equations by mere mathematical reasoning. It is true that these equations have afterwards the appearance of leading to no real information on the actual motions of bodies; but in reality they form a kind of schematic outline for these motions, and it must be the aim of observation of real phenomena to fit the special facts into the general plan, while their principal advantage is that they render a language possible which, as proved by experience, is singularly well adapted for a description of motions in the most simple manner.

A work closely allied to the former, although totally different in the mode of treating the subject, is Dr. Proell's³ attempt of treating dynamics graphically. It is certainly remarkable that in England, the country *par excellence* of mechanics and great mechanicians, the graphical statics of Continental physicists has up to very recently received very little attention, and still less application in the solution of statical problems by graphical methods. It is a well-known fact, that while the purely analytical treatment of mechanical problems has led in many branches, for example in physical astronomy, to the grandest triumphs of the human intellect, the methods of analysis have not rarely refused assistance in many problems proffered by Nature herself or by the in-

³ "Versuch einer graphischen Dynamik." Von Dr. R. Proell. Leipzig: Arthur Felix. 1874.

geniety of man. The practical engineer of higher aims has often from various causes to resign all hope of real help from pure analysis, and methods which lead to a rapid and sure evaluation of numerical results or to a clear diagram of a mechanical process should certainly receive that attention in this country which they receive elsewhere. The Continental literature of the last few years is already rich in classical works on graphical statics, and Dr. Proell has now added a first attempt on graphical dynamics. The work is divided, as it seems, into three main divisions. In the first the action of external forces upon a freely moveable material point is graphically represented. The author shows in the commencement a geometrical relation between the three magnitudes: acceleration, velocity, and time. The constructions given by Dr. Proell form a striking parallel to the usual constructions in graphical statics where the curve of moments is determined from the curve of forces. The great value of the graphical method and its wide applicability is, however, specially visible in the constructions for the motions in a curve, and the application to the motions of planets with the help of the hodograph, will probably be for every reader a treat of the highest order. The second part treats of the actions of external forces upon a freely moveable but unchangeable system of masses. The contents of this portion are of the greatest interest, especially Chapter V., headed "Applications." Here the new constructions correspond especially to the progress of modern geometry. The third portion forms a complete whole by itself. It is the most useful and practical of all, showing the effects of external forces in machines, simple and complex. Here the engineer of every branch of the craft will find treasures of graphical constructions, which will open a new world to him, as we may say without exaggerating enthusiasm. The vast amount of calculation required for even a simple piece of mechanism can be easily replaced by a neat diagram, or a velocity-curve, which requires really a very small amount of skill. The text is accompanied by an "atlas" of plates, which, although in the main free from errors, do not appear to be executed with the usual elegance of German productions of this kind.

Professor Pickering's* work on physical manipulation is written on a similar plan to Professor Kohlrausch's *Practical Physics*, which has been reviewed in a previous issue of the *Westminster Review*. It has also great resemblance in its arrangement with a work recently published by Professor K  lp of Darmstadt. Professor Pickering's book contains a great deal of valuable matter, which will secure for it a grateful reception among teachers and students of practical physics. Nevertheless it has the great fault of being too little cosmopolitan in its tone, and too much a guide for particular students in a particular laboratory, with a particular set of experimental apparatus. There is a great deal of space unnecessarily given to explanations on matters which are usually found in every text-book of physics, while as a consequence of this the space given to directions is comparatively small, and

* "Elements of Physical Manipulation." By Edward C. Pickering, Professor of Physics in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Part I. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

these are in many cases very meagre, and render the book somewhat useless for students without a teacher. What student possessing the necessary apparatus could, from merely reading this book, perform one-half of the experiments described? Yet when we are to learn "physical manipulations," we expect to see them described in detail, so that with sufficient care we may be able to do what has been described. Fewer experiments, and much minuter directions for every one of them, with all precautions necessary—that is what we have a right to expect from a book of this kind, and this expectation Professor Pickering's book does not quite fulfil.

Professor George Forbes,⁴ of Glasgow, probably with a view of settling a somewhat useless and unseemly quarrel between Professor Tyndall and the biographers of the late Principal Forbes as to the respective claims of the latter and Canon Rendu as to certain discoveries, has published a translation of Rendu's original memoir, entitled "*Théorie des Glaciers de la Savoie*," together with supplementary articles by Professors Tait and Ruskin. Rendu's memoir is certainly written in a most fascinating style, and whatever his merits as an original discoverer—merits on which neither Professor Tyndall nor the Scotch philosophers are yet quite competent to judge finally—his mode of calmly and yet enthusiastically stating his conclusions bears the stamp of genius and of a great mind.

Mr. Proctor's⁵ new book on the universe and the coming transits is a collection of previously published articles. Those on the universe embody chiefly his well-known views on the distribution of stars in space—which we cannot disprove; while the second part of the book appears to be a collection of Mr. Proctor's contributions to the Monthly Notices of the Astronomical Society on the best method of observing the coming transit of Venus—which we have every desire to recommend as valuable contributions to science. The work is chiefly important on account of the excellent maps and diagrams which accompany it, and from which every one can learn a great deal. The first part of the work can be well mastered by every educated man, but the second part should in our opinion have been preceded by a somewhat popular essay on the whole subject, starting with the very elements of the geometry involved in the transit. In the present form this portion will, we fear, be unintelligible to the majority of Mr. Proctor's admirers.

We have rarely seen a more excellent work on trilinear co-ordinates than this little book by M. Schendel.⁶ The work is, besides, thoroughly original. Instead of taking as co-ordinates of the point the three perpendicular distances from the sides of a triangle, he starts with the triangular areas enclosed between point and corners of a triangle as co-ordinates, and obtains at once a novel and more general basis for

⁴ "*Theory of the Glaciers of Savoy*." By M. le Chanoine Rendu. Edited, with Introductory Remarks, by George Forbes, B.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

⁵ "*The Universe and the Coming Transits*." By Richard A. Proctor. London: Longmans & Co. 1874.

⁶ "*Elemente der Analytischen Geometrie der Ebene*." Von Leopold Schendel. Jena: Costenoble. 1874.

analytical geometry. The duality of point and line is thus made apparent with great completeness, while the conic sections admit by this method of a very uniform and compact mode of investigation. The whole theory of conic sections is treated very originally, and many interesting questions are suggested during the progress of the discussion. The work may be altogether characterized as a most valuable contribution to modern geometry.

A small but most useful work by Dr. Kubel⁷ on the various methods of analysing and testing the quality of natural waters, and especially those used for domestic purposes, is extremely welcome at a time when the importance of this particular branch of analytical chemistry is daily more and more recognised. It is well known that the relative merit of the various methods of determining the hardness of water, the quantities of sulphuric and sulphurous acid, ammonia, and organic matter present—that is, the presence of admixtures which originate from drains or sewers, and are either by themselves noxious impurities, or indicate the existence of sources of danger—have been for a long time subjects of controversy and inquiry. The author has therefore done great service by giving not only the various modes of proceeding, but also comparative reviews of the value of each method, as far as regards accuracy of obtained results, simplicity of the required operations, and corresponding limitation of the necessary apparatus and reagents. Methods which, *a priori*, do not fulfil these three conditions of a generally useful method of analytical investigation have been at once rejected by the author, and we cannot blame him for it, although the book is thus wanting in scientific completeness, and places the selective judgment of the author himself above that of every reader. On the other hand, the work has thus gained in brevity, and as it is written for, and may be very readily used by the manufacturer, the physician, and in fact every educated man, who has no great knowledge of scientific chemistry, we may well overlook this shortcoming of the book. The methods are mostly volumetric. These are easily performed, and give at once results quite sufficiently accurate for every general purpose. Nevertheless, the quantitative determinations are described in a great many cases, and where volumetric analysis is not sufficiently simple, the quantitative operations with the balance are the only ones given, as for example in the determination of silicic acid, the alkalies, &c. It is to be regretted that for the detection of lead we can only find qualitative methods, and no quantitative ones whatever. This is in our opinion a serious error, for although the professional chemist may easily refer to other sources of information, it is not so with the particular class of readers for which the book is specially designed. The chemical computations have received clear and satisfactory treatment, and there is also a very excellent chapter on the requirements and properties of wholesome water for drinking. We should very much like to see this little work translated into English with the addition of a small chapter on the quantitative determination of lead, and of manganese if possible.

⁷ "Anleitung zur Untersuchung von Wasser." Von Dr. Wilhelm Kubel. Braunschweig: Vieweg & Sohn. 1874.

Professor Josiah P. Cooke,^{*} of Harvard University, has enriched the "International Scientific Series," by what is in our opinion by far the most valuable and original work which has yet appeared in that series. For several years it has been a constant complaint of even advanced students, but particularly of educated men with scientific tastes, that to obtain clear logical insight into the theories which form the basis of modern chemical research, is a matter of exceeding difficulty. The student has either to work his way through many original writings of Laurent, Gerhardt, Williamson, Wurtz, and others, or he has to take in the "introductions" of various larger textbooks, which are hardly ever clear and complete, and generally presuppose the very knowledge which they teach in the part following the introduction. Professor Cooke has most happily discussed the old and new systems so as to show exactly the transition from one to the other. He does hardly ever assume a single reaction as already known, but he simply describes it, and shows cause, effect, and conclusion in harmonious sequence. The book is a great absolute gain to scientific literature, and will be read with like profit by the student and by the man of ripe chemical knowledge, to whom it presents a complete picture of the present state of chemical theories.

The "Smithsonian Institution" has at various times presented to men of science most valuable and elaborate works of reference. The present one is of extreme importance, and embodies an enormous amount of labour, which Mr. Clarke has accomplished with great fidelity. The tables are printed very clearly, and we have taken the trouble to check a number of data by comparing them with the original publications, without detecting a single error. The uncertainty of scientific determinations strikes one painfully in looking over such a work. Most considerable discrepancies, which cannot be explained by any of the usual shortcomings of experimental work, still exist almost throughout the whole range of facts. As an example, we may refer to the specific gravity of solid mercury; we have for this four determinations, varying in the result between 14.0 and 15.10. For common phosphorus there are eight determinations, varying between 1.77 and 2.09. It is quite similar with a great many other bodies. It would, in our opinion, have been much more convenient for reference if the substances had been arranged alphabetically. Any chemical classification is at present liable to become antiquated at some time or other, and in the present shape of the book we have often first to refer to the alphabetical list at the end, and then again to the tables themselves, before we obtain the desired information. The vast value of the work, whatever little objections may be raised against the arrangement, will appear from the fact, that it contains the names of no less than 2572 distinct bodies; there are given the specific gravities

^{*} "The New Chemistry." By Josiah P. Cooke, Professor in Harvard University. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

^{*} "The Constants of Nature." Part I.: Specific Gravities; Boiling and Melting Points, and Chemical Formula. Compiled by Frank Wigglesworth Clarke, S.B. Washington: Smithsonian Institution. 1873.

of 2263 substances, with over 5000 determinations; further, 2030 determinations of boiling point, representing 1205 different substances, and nearly 500 of melting point, for 326 different substances.

Mr. Perry's¹⁰ preface is not in agreement with the book he has written. He says that it is mainly intended for the use of students who can solve simple equations in algebra, and who know the simple definitions in trigonometry and the simpler facts in physics. We doubt whether such students would derive much advantage from his book, which is replete with formulas, often without any proof whatever, which even for their mere numerical working by the practical student require certainly more than the "definitions" in trigonometry. The whole has made upon us the impression of a rather hasty putting together of lectures and lecturer's notes. Some parts are quite unnecessarily elementary for such a book—for instance, the examples on the mutual conversion of thermometric readings, on expansion, on calorimetry, &c., while in the most important parts too much is expected from the intelligence of the student, and the teaching is therefore defective.

Professors Virchow and von Holtzendorff, of Berlin, are bringing out a long series of popular scientific essays,¹¹ of which we have just received two. Each paper is separately paged, and may be separately purchased; but regular subscribers gain an advantage in the price. Of those now before us, one (No. 195) is by Professor Perty, and treats of the boundaries of the visible creation according to the present results of microscopic and telescopic research. The author gives a short historical account of the origin of the microscope and telescope, and indicates briefly the results obtained by those instruments in the investigation of the "infinitely small and the infinitely great," devoting, however, the greater part of his space to the latter section of his subject. His final conclusion is that "we do not know overmuch of the world of the small, and only a very little of the macrocosmic world." The second of these essays (No. 197) strikes us as of a more practically useful nature than Prof. Perty's paper—it is a short treatise on the general characteristics and vital phenomena of the Ferns, by Dr. C. Luerssen, of Leipzig. The author gives a good general view of this group of plants, and describes their curious mode of reproduction very clearly.

The "*Elemente der Mineralogie*" of Dr. Carl Friedrich Naumann,¹² the first edition of which appeared in 1846, taking the place of a still

¹⁰ "An Elementary Treatise on Steam." By John Perry, B.E. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

¹¹ "Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge." Herausgegeben von R. Virchow und F. von Holtzendorff. Heft 195. "Ueber die Grenzen der sichtbaren Schöpfung, nach den jetzigen Leistungen des Mikroskops und Fernrohre," von Maximilian Perty; and Heft 197. "Die Pflanzengruppe der Farne," von Dr. C. Luerssen. 8vo. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1874.

¹² "*Elemente der Mineralogie*." Von Dr. Carl Friedrich Naumann. Neuente, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. 8vo. Leipzig: Engelmann. 1873-4.

older work by the same author, has, ever since its publication, been the principal text-book for students of mineralogy in Germany. We have now to record the publication of a ninth edition of this valuable book—an edition, the preparation of which must have been almost the final labour of its distinguished author, who died at the close of last year. Of such a book it is hardly necessary to say more than that in this edition the results of the newest investigations have evidently been carefully worked into their proper places. The characteristics of the book which render it peculiarly valuable to German readers are the extreme compendiousness of the special descriptions, which include in a very small space a most complete account of the different species of minerals, and the great fulness of what the author calls the "preparative part" of the work—that, namely, which gives an account of the general phenomena presented by minerals. The section on Crystallography in this part is especially valuable, the author having been perhaps the highest authority in Germany in this department. The book is illustrated with an immense number of woodcuts.

Dr. Oscar Peschel's "*Völkerkunde*,"¹⁸ is the result, as he tells us in his preface, of an engagement into which he entered some years ago with General von Roon to assist in preparing an edition of the latter's "*Völkerkunde als Propädeutik der politischen Geographie*." The bad health of Count von Roon having prevented his taking any share in the production of the work, it has been published independently by its author. In an introductory section, Dr. Peschel discusses the general questions of anthropology—the position of man in nature, the unity or multiplicity of the human species, the place of origin of man, and his antiquity. He speaks dogmatically upon none of these points, but indicates very fairly the arguments on various sides; his own opinion seems to be that man is a member of the same order of mammalia as the apes, and that he forms a single species which probably made its first appearance on the surface of a great continent now submerged by the Southern Ocean. The discussion of the nature and origin of species is remarkably good, and the author, while recognising certain defective points in the evidence supporting the Darwinian theory, finally comes to the conclusion that it furnishes the best explanation of the relations of existing to pre-existent organisms. Upon the question of the antiquity of man we find a good summary of the now familiar evidence: This general section must be regarded as a mere introduction to the body of the work, in which the author first discusses at great length the principles of ethnology, and then applies them to the investigation of the various races of man. The former he treats under three heads—those of the bodily characters, the linguistic characters, and the technical, social, and religious developments. It is impossible in our space to analyse the author's views upon these matters, which are discussed under numerous sections, and with a perfect freedom from all prejudices. As a final result of his work the author describes the varieties of mankind, which he arranges under seven "groups, races,

¹⁸ "*Völkerkunde*." Von Oscar Peschel. 8vo. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. 1874.

subspecies or species," leaving the reader to choose which term he will adopt. These seven primary groups are as follows:—1. The Australians and Tasmanians; 2. The Papuans of New Guinea, &c.; 3. The Mongolian peoples, including the inhabitants of the Asiatic Continent, the Malayo-Polynesians, and the aborigines of America, and divided into an infinity of subordinate groups which are here described in more or less detail; 4. The Dravida or non-Aryan inhabitants of India; 5. The Hottentots and Bosjesmans; 6. The Negroes; and 7. The Mediterranean, or so called Indo-European peoples.

Professor Gegenbaur's "*Grundriss der vergleichenden Anatomie*"¹⁴ is really a new and somewhat abridged edition of his well-known and admirable "*Grundzüge*," the abridgment being effected by the omission of some details and especially of the greater part of the notes. The general arrangement and treatment of the subject are the same as in the earlier work, the publication of the second edition of which in 1870 was noticed in this Review, but the author has incorporated with his work the more important results of the newer literature. Like its predecessor, the book is abundantly illustrated, and it is certainly the best compendium of comparative anatomy that we possess.

Professor Adolf Fick has brought out a second thoroughly revised edition of his "*Compendium of Human Physiology*."¹⁵ His object in this book is to give a connected picture of the bodily life of man. Commencing with the physiology of the muscles as such, he proceeds to explain their action as a means of moving the bones, and then passing to the nervous system he describes the physiology of nerve-tissue, of the system which it composes, and of the senses. Passing from these animal activities to the vegetative functions, he describes the physiology of the circulatory system and of the connected functions of circulation and secretion, and finally discusses the assimilative processes in connexion with the new formation of blood, and the general effects of the interchange of matter in the organism. The history of reproduction and development is, for some reason, relegated to an appendix. The physiology of the voice is treated of under the head of muscular work. The book, which is illustrated with a considerable number of wood-engravings, furnishes a good readable guide to the knowledge of the general physiology of the human body.

Dr. Pettigrew, in his "*Physiology of the Circulation*,"¹⁶ treats only of a small section of the science, but he describes the phenomena as presented in vertebrate animals in considerable detail, dwelling to a great extent upon the mechanism by which circulation is effected. As regards the lower invertebrate animals his statements are rather confused. With regard to the identity between the circulation in

¹⁴ "*Grundriss der vergleichenden Anatomie*." Von Carl Gegenbaur. 8vo. Leipzig: Engelmann. 1874.

¹⁵ "*Compendium der Physiologie des Menschen, mit Einschluss in Entwicklungs-geschichte*." Von Dr. Adolf Fick. Zweite gänzlich neu bearbeitete Auflage. 8vo. Vienna: Braumüller. 1874.

¹⁶ "*The Physiology of the Circulation in Plants, in the Lower Animals and in Man*." By J. Bell Pettigrew, M.D., &c. 8vo. London: Macmillan. 1874.

plants and animals, which it would appear to be the chief object of the book to establish, we do not think that the author by any means succeeds in making out his case.

Under the title of "*Organologische Studien*," Professor Leopold Auerbach, of Breslau," has commenced the publication of a series of physiological memoirs. The first number of this work now before us contains the first and second sections of an elaborate investigation of the characters and vital history of the cell-nuclei of animal tissues. The first section is devoted to the consideration of the structure of nuclei in the natural state and under the influence of various reagents; the second treats of the formation and increase of the nucleoli. The author adopts and argues strongly in favour of the endogenous theory of cell-formation, regarding the nucleoli as true daughter-cells, and even apparently as elementary organisms. In opposition to generally received opinions, he maintains that cell-nuclei generally contain many nucleoli (sometimes more than 100), although occasionally young embryonal cells may be found in which the nucleus is "enucleolar." In his view, as we understand it, the nucleolus is the most important element in cell-multiplication.

We took up these small volumes¹⁷ with an indifference tempered only by the name of the editor, a name which is in itself a guarantee against commonplace or ill done work. There did not seem to us to be much room for a small book on physiology as currently known; original physiological work is always going on and is always more than welcome, but popular handbooks are numerous enough, and several of them are written so well as to need no successors for the present. But when we come to look into the work before us we find that it differs somewhat from books like Lewes' "*Physiology of Common Life*" in that it is hortatory rather than descriptive; and being, as we see it is, the work of different hands, we might describe it as a collection of Sermons on Physiology. The various preachers lay down a groundwork of scientific instruction, and then draw wholesome counsel from this and exhort us to beware of physiological sins and follies. The Essays or Sermons are very various in merit, and while none of them come up to the highest level, some remind us in point of knowledge and perspicacity of their prototypes of the pulpit. The intention of the book is good, and its results cannot be without value, if not always as fresh and as pointed as may be. We could wish that there was a little less disposition to twaddle—that is, to repeat current ideas in half-considered words. For instance, the common statement is repeated, that "Unfortunately an absurd belief prevails that night air is dangerous." Now "dangerous" is perhaps a strong word; but we do not hesitate to say that night air, especially in the damper climates, is very liable to cause pulmonary irritation in persons thereto

¹⁷ "*Organologische Studien*." Von Dr. Leopold Auerbach. Erstes Heft. 8vo. Breslau: Morgenstern. 1874.

¹⁸ "*Physiology for Practical Use*." Edited by James Hinton. London. 1874. [Vol. CIL No. CCI.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XLVI. No. I. S

disposed, and that much circumspection should be used in permitting the windows of bedrooms to remain open at night. The chapter on the use of the bath, on the other hand, is written more thoughtfully, and warns the reader against the indiscriminate cold tubbing which is often depressing or exhausting even to strong persons who lead the sedentary life of citizens. On the whole, though these *Essays* have no great distinction of thought or style, yet they are intelligently and adequately written, and we hope they will prove useful to those for whom they are designed.

Mr. Hinton's *Introductory Lecture at Guy's Hospital*¹⁹ is very properly issued in its present form, as the address is one which, having great merits, has merits of a kind which are least adapted for oral exposition. Unless the audience at Guy's Hospital is a very exceptional gathering, Mr. Hinton's abstruse utterances would win a hearing rather on account of the respect due to a speaker of known ability than on account of the matter which he delivered. Very little, indeed, can the ordinary Guy's man have taken into his mind of the words as they fell from the speaker's lips, but many of the more thoughtful of his hearers have read them, no doubt, with interest by their own firesides. Indeed, as a certain imposing vagueness appeals to the open and generous brains of young men, it may be that Mr. Hinton's address has excited intense interest among the members of his own society. Nor can this little book fail to make its way to a larger and more critical public, for its chapters are concerned with great matters, and are conceived in a broad and imaginative spirit. The first part of the discourse is devoted to a consideration of the place of the physician, the second part offers for acceptance a particular law, deduced from the observed facts of progress in society and in the individual, which we cannot now discuss, and the third and last part is a discussion of the relation between the inorganic and the organic worlds. These subjects are handled by a man of high education and of a certain degree of imaginative power, but they are scarcely set forth by the hand of a master. There is a kind of mysticism in the manner of the writer too, which is not wholly different from magniloquence, and which makes us ask ourselves from time to time whether anything is really being added to our conceptions, or whether we are not receiving old things in new parcels. Be this as it may, writers of real speculative power are not common enough to be treated lightly, and we welcome Mr. Hinton's address for its many fine thoughts, for its comprehensive and scientific conceptions, and above all for its really high tone and style which, even if it be at times a little overstrained, is always high-minded and fastidious in purpose.

A book which should give wholesome counsel to persons of advanced years who, while not ill enough to submit to medical rule, are nevertheless liable to many little ailments which tend alone or together to diminish the sum of their days would be of real value. Dr. Gardner's attempt²⁰ is in the right direction, but it is so imperfect that we can

¹⁹ "The Place of the Physician." By James Hinton. London. 1874.

²⁰ "Longevity." By John Gardner, M.D. London. 1874.

scarcely welcome it with more than bare courtesy. It is not an intruder, but we do not anticipate much from its company. Dr. Gardner is the author of a work on "Domestic Medicine;" we are not familiar with the individual book, but the genus we know well, and there is a strong likeness to that genus in the volume before us. The reader will find in all alike a few shrewd and really useful hints, chiefly in the way of homely receipts the importance of which, however, is somewhat exaggerated; we find in them also a sublime faith in certain drugs which do not command so exclusive an attention from the profession at large, and we also find in them a great deal of very doubtful physiology, and warmed up fragments from the more antiquated standard authorities on medicine. Such is Dr. Gardner's present publication, and we are not prepared to say that it is wholly bad. Unfortunately, writers of this calibre are very fond of airing their scientific knowledge, or rather are very fond of declaiming their quasi-scientific prejudices, and in this particular again Dr. Gardner keeps true to the class to which he belongs. He is very angry with those unhappy men who cannot see that Life with a capital L, is something far higher and better than "its mere material envelope." He can comfort the doubting too by the following assurance on p.150. "Before the flood men are said to have lived five, and even nine hundred years; and as a physiologist, I can assert positively, that there is no fact reached by science to contradict or render this improbable."

Mr. Maclaren of Oxford is known as a successful trainer and gymnast wherever training and gymnastics are known. The first edition of his treatise on the subject²¹ was received with the favour which it so well deserved, and the appearance of this second and enlarged edition will, we trust, give a new impetus to the scientific treatment of the physical man, and a further discredit to the foolish and even brutal customs which so long have held their ground among trainers, in defiance even of common sense. If Mr. Maclaren's physiology leaves something to be desired in the matter of accuracy, yet it is mainly sound, and the mistakes we discover are scarcely such as to interfere materially with the rules which experience will justify. One of the best features in the book is the estimate of the comparative values of different kinds of exercise, and the author very properly condemns the fashion of exclusive devotion to one form of exercise to the neglect of others. For instance, Mr. Maclaren has often observed that in boating men the chest, so far from increasing, has positively diminished during the ordinary course of training for the oar, and he draws from this and other facts that to gain the highest advantage in this as in other sports the body must be trained all round on a well-reasoned plan, so that no parts are developed at the expense or to the neglect of others. It would be difficult to improve on this little book, which is written in a sensible tone and with a wholesome defiance of time-honoured prejudices which cannot be too highly commended.

²¹ "Training in Theory and Practice." By A. Maclaren. Second Edition London. 1874.

This little book²² consists of two lectures delivered by the author to an audience not specified. In them he treats of the chief facts relating to health from a popular point of view. It may be that the more people are pelted with sanitary tracts the better is the chance that they may take some notice of the subject. On no other ground can we see any reason for the multiplication of pamphlets like the present, which have not always the negative merit of accuracy in detail. We do not find any grave mistakes in Dr. Stocker's lectures, nor on the other hand anything which could be of the smallest use to an educated reader.

This is a gossiping book,²³ written by one of those rather whimsical beings who think that no truth has much force unless some great man has stood sponsor to it. We have every authority for the varied and somewhat incoherent statements in these few pages, ranging from Hippocrates and Ovid down to "a learned authority in Switzerland." Every page bristles with quotations from writers whose names appear in capital letters, and we are astonished to find that we have distinguished persons to help us to a belief in the most trivial as well as in the profoundest of maxims. Dr. Budgett thinks "life is a mystery;" Ovid, it appears, agrees in this striking sentiment; Dr. Watts, moreover, tells us how to improve its few but shining hours. Other eminent persons think a complete bath should be taken "at least once a month," and in the same paragraph it is said to be "sound philosophy" to attach a physician to a school and to pay him regularly,—so we presume that a great part of his duties will be to see that the young ladies do not hurt their constitutions by injudicious tubbing. In the course of his large experience the author seems to have noticed that "there are some so naturally constructed that there is a great development of the intellect, or the contrary;" and the same thing seems to have been more or less explicitly acknowledged by no less men than Dr. Johnson, Lavater, Voltaire and Rousseau. Dr. Budgett has a happy knack of unexpectedly combining the most unlike ideas, which of course is wit, as we have often heard on the best authority. Dr. Budgett is therefore a very witty writer. What he must be in private conversation we can scarcely imagine, for, to use his own quotation, "Colonel Oudet eloquently wrote, 'That human thought loses all that it has divine when it is imprisoned in a quill and drowned in an inkstand!'" What must Dr. Budgett's thought be when freed from such bondage?

We so recently expressed our high opinion of Dr. Maudsley's writings²⁴ that we need not now repeat it. Dr. Maudsley has done more perhaps than any living man to bring Mind and its diseases into the light of modern scientific thought. In his present work the author has touched upon more delicate ground—namely, upon the relations of insane persons to law—and he has written on the whole a very fair book upon a difficult and hotly contested subject. Lawyers and doctors

²² "Hints for Health." By J. S. Stocker, M.D. London. 1874.

²³ "The Hygiene of Schools." By J. B. Budgett, M.D. London. 1874.

²⁴ "Responsibility in Mental Disease." By H. Maudsley, M.D. London. 1874.

have been almost open enemies upon this subject; each camp has fought over the body of the lunatic, and each party has often been extravagantly wide of justice in its assertions and in its demands. If in this *Review* we have for the most part seemed to side with the lawyer rather than with the physician in the matter, we have done so, not because the lawyer has more abstract reason on his side, but because in our opinion a certain rude legality is at the present time less dangerous to society than the irregular sentiment of doctrinaires. If a Lord Chancellor condemned "not long ago 'the evil habit which had grown up of assuming that insanity is a physical disease,'" this Lord Chancellor must have been a very ignorant person; very ignorant, that is, of that degree of modern scientific psychology which has of late become the property of almost every well-educated man. On the other hand, the great bulk of alicnists who fearlessly propose to place every insane person, as such, out of fear of law, are equally in error, for they lose sight of quite as much of the other side of the question. Disease of the brain, in itself, is no more a passport to immunity than is Bright's disease, unless it can be shown that such cerebral disease had certain special results in a given case. It must surely be the duty of a physician in all such cases to ascertain whether his patient's state is one which was at a particular time susceptible to the ordinary influence of the laws of his country or not, and if so then in what degree. It is the physician's business to give such evidence to this point as may be comprehensible to a jury, and not to act as if his own diagnosis of unsound mind were equivalent to an acquittal. Yet this latter is the line which is far too often taken by the medical expert. We are not sure that even Dr. Maudsley is always fully aware of the true relation of the medical expert to the Court, which, as we may say once more, is not that of an umpire but of a witness whose duty it is to state clearly certain facts which his training enables him best to observe and to set forth; these facts of course must take their place with the rest of the evidence, and like the rest submit to the ruling of the Court and to the ordinary measures of probability. At the same time we admit that Dr. Maudsley can not only offer an opinion which commands the highest respect, but his whole tone of mind and his calm impartiality make error in him far less likely than in most other writers on lunacy. His present volume is indispensable to the lawyer as well as to the physician, and it will keep up the high character of the *International series*.

Dr. Cunningham's volume,²³ which is published as a thin folio to receive illustrations, contains the results of observations on the nature of the particles present in the atmosphere of Calcutta and the neighbourhood. It contains also a summary of the literature of atmospheric micrography. The author's observations must not be despised because his results are chiefly negative. The work was needed, and it seems to have been carried out with very creditable industry and care. The illustrations are numerous and well executed.

Whatever be Dr. Blanc's power as a speculative thinker, we cannot

²³ "Microscopic Examinations of Air." By D. D. Cunningham, M.B., n.d.

but be glad that one who has enjoyed such exceptional advantages for seeing the actual side of cholera should be disposed to give us some "practical notes"²⁶ and to "avoid all theories and hypotheses." Cholera, in Dr. Blanc's experience, has always appeared as something local and specific, and communicated from man to man, generally by means of drinking water, and not dependent on more general telluric or atmospheric movements. In support of this opinion Dr. Blanc relates certain facts within his own observation which strongly uphold such a view. On the other hand he shows that, so far as could be ascertained, no constancy whatever has been noticed in the wider cosmical changes which accompanied the various epidemics. If this be so, the prophylaxis of cholera should offer no great difficulties, and Dr. Blanc ventures to assert, and no man has a better right to make an assertion on this subject, that "few epidemics can be so easily warded off as those of cholera, if only we set earnestly to work to do so." As regards medicines, Dr. Blanc expresses himself most strongly against purgatives, for "their action is very liable to be followed by rice water stools and collapse," "whilst during the previous stage of diarrhoea few medicines are found more beneficial than opiates and anodynes." Dr. Blanc would endeavour to neutralize the poison in the intestines by the internal administration of chloralum. He seems, however, to have had no experience of this latter medication which is deserving of the name. Dr. Blanc's book is small but well worth reading.

The discovery and the tracing out of the nervous affections, which are now known to owe their origin to syphilis, are among the most honourable achievements of modern medicine. Not only, too, have modern physicians thus proved their clinical acumen, but in this instance they can boast of a corresponding therapeutical triumph. But too often the detection of obscure diseases and the interpretation of their inmost ways are but a revelation of the impotence of our art. With our growing knowledge of syphilitic nervous diseases, however, we have gained the power of curing some of the most distressing and fatal ills to which the body is heir. Although English observers have not been behind those of other nations in this branch of their study, yet it so happened that in England there existed no manual specially devoted to the subject. The observations of Reid, Wilks, Jackson, Allbutt, Moxon and many others, lay scattered in the files of many journals, and Dr. Buzzard²⁷ has done a good service in bringing this matter together, in enriching it with the farther results of foreign study, and in enlarging and controlling the whole by extensive personal investigation. The thirty-seven cases taken from his own practice, are very judiciously selected and very fortunately obtained; it is not every man who is in a position to produce an apposite instance of almost every variety of the disease. Dr. Buzzard not merely discusses for instance the insanities which belong to syphilis, but he has cases of his own to illustrate them; so again with respect to ophthalmic

²⁶ "Cholera: How to Avoid and Treat It." By H. Blanc, M.D. London. 1873.

²⁷ "Syphilitic Nervous Affections." By Thomas Buzzard, M.D. London. 1874.

signs, the author is not only well read upon this subject, but he has also used the ophthalmoscope extensively, and has formed his own conclusions as to its great value. We notice that Dr. Buzzard makes no reference to mechanical injuries as the occasional exciting causes of syphilitic disease of the brain or spine, as has been asserted by Dr. Clifford Allbutt. A few cases are not sufficient to prove so important an assertion, and we should have been glad to learn whether Dr. Buzzard had met with any experience of the kind. We hope that Dr. Buzzard will be called upon for a new edition of this excellent and unpretending little book. Its price is within the means of every one, and no one can afford to neglect the reading of it.

Dr. Külz's "Lectures on Diabetes"²⁸ follow very seasonably upon the work of Seegen which we lately noticed in this *Review*. Among other valuable researches Dr. Külz has laboriously investigated the action of Karlsbad water upon the disease, and has presented us with some materials which are worked out with the accuracy without which all talk about diabetes is vain. It is worse than vain for physicians to discourse upon the virtues of this, that and the other remedy in diabetes without minute daily analyses, and without the utmost caution in the discrimination of cases and in the regulation of conditions. Dr. Külz satisfies the most rigorous requirements in this respect, and we therefore accept his conclusions with some confidence. At the outset of his volume the author presents to us the careful records of the cases upon which his researches were made, and he distinguishes broadly between the mild and the severe kinds of the malady. One or two cases he describes as being of a "Mischform." In some cases autopsies were obtained, but with no important results. He agrees with other German observers and some English ones in withholding assent to Dickenson's belief in the constant occurrence of abnormal (perivascular) spaces in the central nervous organs. The second chapter is devoted to an impartial inquiry into the grounds of the great reputation which the Karlsbad waters have enjoyed as a cure for diabetes since they were recommended by Hufeland. The investigation is conducted upon one case only, but it is carried out with a thoroughness which gives it great value. We have not space to enter into detail, but we may say briefly that Dr. Külz thinks that the Karlsbad physicians have two factors at work in their cure—diet and the water—and he thinks that they can make no statements about the effects of the latter until they have thoroughly estimated the effects of the former alone. The third chapter deals with the observed effects of other reputed remedies, such as bicarbonate of soda, bromide of potassium and Fowler's solution of arsenic. From bicarbonate of soda in doses of one drachm to half an ounce daily, Külz says that decided benefit was obtained, but nothing like a cure; from bromides he gained nothing, nor did arsenic do much more. The chapter on the effects of sundry hydrocarbons separately investigated is of much interest and importance. Perhaps the fact of greatest interest to the diabetic is that inosite in the guise of young green beans

²⁸ "Beiträge z. Diabetes Mellitus." Von E. Külz, M.D. Marburg. 1874.

may be added to their scanty diet without fear of consequences. In the fourth chapter Dr. Külz gives the results of his inquiries into the effects of exercise as seen in his patients. In accordance with Dr. Brunton and other eminent authorities, he pronounces that exercise has certainly a most beneficial effect, and determines that the good is due to the muscular activity, and not only to increased rapidity of breathing. We have said enough to show that this small treatise is not only indispensable to all earnest workers on the subject, but in its minuteness and thoroughness is a good lesson to those who on scanty and imperfect observations attempt to foist remedies upon the public which have no real claim to consideration. We are glad to observe that Dr. Külz will publish some further results at a future time.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

PROFESSOR STUBBS' first volume of the "Constitutional History of England" is, we think, the best book that has reach us this quarter. It is unpretentious, and is issued as one of the Clarendon Press series, a series that has given to the world some good books and some exceedingly bad ones. It has given us "Veitch's Greek Verbs," "Brachet's Historical French Grammar," but it is also responsible for such books as Mr. Lee Warner's "Livy," and Mr. Simcox's "Juvenal." It is, indeed, a series which furnishes no guarantee for excellence. It is almost a pity that Professor Stubbs has allowed his valuable work to appear in such company; but the Clarendon Press series has one good guarantee, a guarantee against bad printing. Professor Stubbs, however, stands higher than most of those who adorn the list of Clarendon Press editors, and his book will win its own way. Constitutional history must necessarily be less attractive to the general reader than most of the matter which passes under the name of history. Mr. Stubbs has well said that constitutional history reads "the exploits and characters of men by a different light from that shed by the false glare of arms, and interprets positions and facts in words that are voiceless to those who only listen to the trumpet of fame." The slow and secular growth of institutions does not allow of the personal interest which attaches to the brilliant career of an individual. The student of constitutional history cannot permit himself to be recreated by those pleasant details of character which awake or sustain the interest of the general student of history. He moves in a higher atmosphere. On such students Professor Stubbs has conferred a real benefit by the publication of this first volume of his history. Of how many volumes the work is to consist we are not told, but those who have mastered the first, will be impatient for the second. This first volume brings the

¹ "The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development." By William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press.

history down to the end of the twelfth century. In a brief introductory chapter, Mr. Stubbs proves the fact that the German element is the paternal element of the English polity, and upon this basis the rest of his work is founded. The Celtic element, Mr. Stubbs practically eliminates, and passes on with a celerity, which scarcely convinces us of his thoroughness on this point, to the Anglo-Saxon system. In this he is more at home, and his chapter upon the allotment and division of land is better than anything that has preceded it, except the introduction. Mr. Stubbs does not consider that the Danish influence in this country was of great permanent influence. In this matter, he may, perhaps, not be quite right; but his chapters on the Norman Conquest are extremely valuable—the last one in the book being especially so. Here the constitutional history is traced down to the signing of Magna Charta (or “Carta,” as Mr. Stubbs prefers to call it). This is a starting-point with which a new volume may well commence. Mr. Stubbs’ book neither attracts nor repels the ordinary reader, and that is saying much. The subject can scarcely be adorned with the tropes and literary decorations of ordinary history, but it is one which itself lends dignity to the historian—in other words, it is a subject whereof, if the writer is not very dull, he is very successful. Mr. Stubbs is not very dull, and he is very learned. The book can be read, though we do not think it will be, by those who are not specialists, but to the student in the history-school at Oxford, for whose use it is probably designed, it will be indispensable. Unfortunately, the history-school is not much crowded, but the present book is so good that we wish it a public larger than that which ordinarily calls for the well-printed books of the Clarendon Press.

Two new volumes complete Mr. Froude’s account of that saddest episode in our history which is connected with Ireland.² It is gloomy, but fascinating reading, and is an episode not to the credit of either England or Ireland. Mr. Froude deals with both English and Irish in a spirit of historical impartiality; perhaps he metes out more blame to the English. The second volume begins with the year 1767 and Lord Townshend’s administration. This was indeed a dismal time. Mr. Froude shows how the old Irish parties, stirred by the American Declaration and the French Revolution, took fresh names and retained old vices; he traces with effect the growth of the delusive belief, which has never entirely left the Irish, that if once they were released from English influence, and had an Irish parliament assembled, they would be an united and glorious people, untouched by religious and political animosities. The means, however, which were taken for the realization of this dream, the history of the Society of United Irishmen under Wolfe Tone, the gradual sinking of the revolutionary party into impotent anarchy, and the interminable enmity of the Catholics and Protestants, fill up the pages of a dreary record. It is a gloomy and sickening record, in spite of Mr. Froude’s artistic skill and mastery of literary material. No one can read even a few pages

² “The English in Ireland.” By James Anthony Froude. London: Longmans & Co. Vols. II. and III.

without becoming at least a sadder man. It would have been less dismal if it had been written by a partizan of one side or the other, if it had been touched by some little colouring of belief, or enthusiasm, or love; but it is brightened by none of these. Mr. Froude, like a passionless recording writer, unfolds the wretched programme of misery, ignorance, brutality, and injustice, and leaves his readers to draw appropriate inference. So sad a story in anything but Mr. Froude's faultless style would be intolerable. In that, too, it is intolerable, and calls for earnest attention. We trust that even a Government whose first minister attributes every misery of Ireland to its contiguity to "a melancholy ocean," may learn something from these accusing, denunciatory chapters.

An inferior work,³ upon a somewhat kindred subject, is pleasanter reading. Mr. Burns gives us the history of the Scottish War of Independence. "Every thinking mind," he says, "should be open to consider the question, what would have been the state of matters had Scotland become a second Ireland?" Happily this has not been the case. Mr. Burns quarrels with English historians who have touched upon Scotch, or, as he prefers to call it, "Scottish" subjects, and is very keen in detecting "Anglo-Saxonism" even in native writers, but he adds that some of the warmest tributes to Wallace's memory are from English writers. It is therefore rather difficult to understand his grievance. He has one, however; and being fired by the movement for the erection of a national monument to the memory of the Scottish hero, William Wallace, he has written a wordy, but not uninteresting history of the War of Independence. The book, in truth, needs compression. Scotch writers must learn the lesson that Scotland is only one valuable, but fragmentary part of a great empire. She has, wisely for herself and happily for us, not played the part of Ireland, and to insist now upon national dignity is to sink to a low level of provincialism, which is unworthy of a great and admirable section of the British Empire. Mr. Burns, however, expends four hundred of his pages before he brings his hero Wallace upon the stage. After this the history marches along fairly enough; the story of Bannockburn is well told; and, after all, it is not difficult to forgive a Scot for that tinge of vainglory which is inseparable from provincialism, perhaps from patriotism. But there can be no question now-a-days that a historian must be, like Mr. Froude, above provincialism, if he is to reach a rank of consideration. To search in London journals for remarks depreciatory of Scotland, and to treasure such remarks as an insult, betokens a spirit which is unworthy of a historian, and which renders even his narrative suspicious. Mr. Burns' style is easy and unaffected. We only wish that he would remember that the glory of Scotland is the glory of England, that the interests of both countries are inseparable, and that no great name stirs a Scotch (we beg his pardon, a Scottish) heart which has not equal influence in the south; and when he issues the next edition of his work, we would beg of him

³ "The Scottish War of Independence, its Antecedents and Effects." By William Burns. Two vols. Glasgow: James Maclehose.

to omit his references to the "Anglo-Saxon" theory, and to compress the book into one volume, and we venture to predict that it will meet with admiring readers amongst those whose ethnical connexion with himself Mr. Burns is most anxious to disprove.

Lord Cockburn's journal⁴ belongs to a very interesting class of books, and is an interesting specimen of the class. Lord Cockburn wrote an unbroken narrative of contemporary events to the close of the year 1830, which was published in 1856. After that period he went on recording circumstances as they occurred, but often at large intervals. "This habit," he says, "of making a note of things worth observing at the time coincided with the change of life implied in my becoming Solicitor-General." It is fortunate that Lord Cockburn continued this habit, for the result to us is the present work, which is extremely readable. The first volume commences with the Reform Bill. Lord Cockburn was in personal intercourse with the Cabinet Ministers, and in constant communication with Lord John Russell, and says that he was much struck with the acuteness, brevity, and clearness of the Cabinet. When the Bill was passed he says of Scotland: "It is impossible to exaggerate the ecstasy; we are indeed to be brought out of the house of bondage, out of the land of Egypt." But we cannot go through these two volumes in detail. The first closes with 1843, and is full of interesting anecdotes and subjects of contemporary interest. On May 16th, 1836, there was an eclipse of the sun. Dr. Chalmers postponed his service that his congregation might see it. Lord Cockburn witnessed the obscuration, and was much interested. He is pleased with Lockhart's "Life of Scott;" he has a vivid remembrance of Scott himself. "I see him in the Court, and on the street, in company, and by the Tweed. The plain dress, the guttural burled voice, the lame walk, the thoughtful heavy face, with its mantling smile, the honest hearty manner, the joyous laugh, the sing-song, feeling recitation, the graphic story—they are all before me a hundred times a day." The second volume records events from 1843 to 1854. The subjects generally treated of are of local Scotch interest. Lord Cockburn has a high opinion of Thomas Guthrie, whose biography we noticed last quarter. He is throughout a Scotchman, everything Scotch interests him from the death of a Scotch physician in London (vol. ii. p. 201) to the vagaries of Glasgow students at home (p. 231). Of course he is enchanted with Sir A. Alison's "History of Europe," though he admits that that important work is occasionally "heavily copious." The two volumes are of considerable importance to those who concern themselves with Scotch feeling upon public events during the later part of the first half of this century, and any one who cares to know the opinion of a cultivated contemporary upon political matters during that period could not find it better or more pleasingly set out than in Lord Cockburn's Journal.

The life of Queen Louisa of Prussia⁵ has been written by Miss (?)

⁴ "Journal of Henry Cockburn," Being a Continuation of the Memorials of Hi Time, 1831-54. Two vols. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas.

⁵ "The Life and Times of Louisa Queen of Prussia." By Elizabeth Harriot Hudson. Two vols. W. Isbister & Co.

Hudson. Our authoress writes with enthusiasm, but her book wants compression, and it is difficult to draw from her wordy episodes a clear consistent idea of the Queen. Yet the benevolent and gentle disposition of the Queen is apparent. Briefly her history is this: She was born in 1776 at Hanover, and lost her mother at an early period of her life. Owing to the French Revolution she retired with her sister to Heldhurghausen where she remained till 1793. In Frankfort she met the Crown Prince of Prussia, to whom she was married in 1793. In 1795 she became the mother of the Crown Prince, Frederick William, and two years later became the Queen of Prussia. As Queen of Prussia she won unbounded popularity by her kindness, gentleness, and her care for her people. After the Battle of Jena she went to Königsberg. She sickened at her father's castle Hohenzieritz, and died in 1810. The national grief was great, and her memory is preserved by several institutions in Berlin which bear her name. Such is the story into which the authoress has woven a great deal of German history. The book is disproportionate both to its subject and the literary power of the authoress, but for readers who have unbounded time, and considerable German enthusiasm, the perusal may repay the labour which must be given to it. Otherwise it is scarcely *tant* at this time to hold up to excessive admiration a Queen who did little more than her duty, and who possessed in a high rank virtues which are commonplace enough in a lower.

Mr. Hosack's defence of another queen,⁶ Mary Queen of Scots, has reached a second edition. We have not much to say of it. It probably puts all that can be said in her favour as forcibly as it can be put. Unless the reader shares, for private reasons, Mr. Hosack's convictions, the book will not convert him. We know the character of the Scottish Queen; and though Mr. Hosack is eloquent and laborious, his work will not to any considerable extent affect English opinion, so long as Mr. Froude remains upon the other side. But the book is very elegant, and has fac-similes from the Bodleian library of two sonnets—if they may so be called—written by the Scottish Queen. Mr. Hosack finds comfort in the thought that, with all her faults, this beautiful, detestable lady was true to her religion. We will not grudge him this consolation, but will merely add—so much the worse for the religion.

The present *Life of Lord Strafford*⁷ is a good one. The lady who has written it has a dignified and powerful style, and must win the credit of having written the best biography of a life well deserving such a memorial. She has given us a series of vivid pictures which have cost her much research, and which are full of valuable information. The book, too, is good from an artistic point of view, and advances to the last catastrophe with the sweeping dignity of a classic tragedy. It includes, also, touches of domestic detail which do not

⁶ "Mary Queen of Scots, and her Accusers." By John Hosack. Vol. II. W. Blackwood and Sons.

⁷ "The Life of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford." By Elizabeth Cooper. Two vols. London: Tinsley Brothers.

detract from its dignity, and which waken or intensify the reader's sympathy.

Mr. Morris's story of the French Revolution⁸ fills up a real gap in the ordinary history of European events. There are many histories of the French Revolution, told from many points of view, and of different degrees of excellence. Mr. Carlyle's is possibly the best, but it is a large work; and Mr. Carlyle's style, and Mr. Carlyle's personality, which is never absent from his best books, are factors of his history which are not pleasing to all readers. It requires a special education to become an enthusiast for Mr. Carlyle's style; and unless one be an enthusiast for that style, his books are hard reading. Moreover such enthusiasts are becoming more rare, though those who wish to have a concise and trustworthy knowledge of the French Revolution are not decreasing in number. Possibly, as we have said, Mr. Carlyle's book is the best; indeed, probably it is; but the English students of history who wish to read about the French Revolution in a clear, simple, trustworthy volume, will value Mr. Morris's unpretending book. With such knowledge as they can acquire from him, they will be able to approach the works of Mr. Carlyle with a greater likelihood of enjoying his astringent writings.

Count de Montalembert's "Letters to a Schoolfellow"⁹ have been circulating throughout France for more than a year. They are certainly very wonderful letters to be written by a schoolboy, and reveal a depth of feeling and a power of language which one does not ordinarily associate with a boy in his teens. At the age of seventeen he writes of "Romeo and Juliet"—"How simple, how true to nature; and, at the same time, what sublimity in the ideas! What an abundance of admirable simplicity! How far does this tragedy rise above the masterpieces of our own stage!" The friend to whom Montalembert writes is the yet surviving M. Cornudet, whose letters must have been equally worth publishing, if we may judge from the enthusiasm which they awaken in Montalembert. Such publication his modesty forbids. Some people will remember that M. Cornudet was the man who boldly declared the injustice of the measure, urged by Napoleon III., to oblige the Orleans family to sell their property in France. For this declaration M. Cornudet was dismissed from the Imperial Council. We are, however, more concerned with the letters before us. They are fervent, clever, and affectionate; and, if they have not been tampered with, as we have not the slightest reason to believe they have been, they are indeed a remarkable instance of precocious ability. At the age of eighteen Montalembert met at Killarney the Irish agitator O'Connell. Later in life he did full justice to that patriot, but his first impressions were not favourable. He says (p. 259):—

"Out it must come—I was utterly disappointed. He is but a demagogue,

⁸ "The French Revolution and First Empire." By W. O'Connor Morris, Oriol College, Oxford. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

⁹ "Count de Montalembert's Letters to a Schoolfellow, 1827-30." Translated by C. F. Audley. London: Burns and Oates.

and by no means a great orator. He is declamatory, inflated, full of bombast; his arguments are loosely strung together; his fancy is devoid of any charm of freshness; his style harsh, rough and droopy, as it were. The more I see of him, the more I hear him, the more I am confirmed in my first opinion—to wit he is not stamped with the mark of genius or true greatness. But he defends the finest of all causes."

These are hard words, and are not corroborated by later convictions, but they are extraordinary words from a boy's pen. The whole book is full of such surprises, but we should like to know with what feelings it would be read by boys of our public schools. We venture to say that very few of them will be induced to read it at all, and that two-thirds of those who do will not understand it, and the remaining third will not care for it. And upon the whole we are not displeased that it should be so.

Professor Burrows' history of All Souls' College, Oxford,¹⁰ will be interesting to the members of that college, and perhaps to other students of history. He traces its fortunes from its foundation by Archbishop Chichele down to the present time, through the vicissitudes of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Revolution. With such an eventful period to treat of, and copious libraries at hand, it was not difficult for Professor Burrows to make a book. The importance of the work, however—if it has any—is due to the fact that many of the sources of his information lie unpublished in All Souls' Library, and in the Bodleian, and that it is well to have such documents brought together and made accessible. But Professor Burrows does not seem to have made the best possible book with his materials. With the names of Laud, Wood, Tillotson, Jeremy Taylor, and Wren to adorn his pages, he might have written a book which would be willingly read beyond the college walls. We doubt if he has done this. One good service he has certainly accomplished for his college; he has disposed of the malicious anecdote which used to assert, that by the statutes of All Souls the fellows of that Society were to be "*bene nati, bene vestiti, et mediocriter docti*." Chichele's statutes contain no such clause. The only authority for "*bene nati*" is "*de legitimo matrimonio nati*." The words "*bene vestiti*" are not found at all, and for the words "*mediocriter docti*" there is no authority. The expression is, "*grammatica sufficienter, et in plano cantu competenter eruditi*," a standard of learning which, though low enough, is not quite so bad as that which popular belief has substituted for it.

The ethnological history of the British people by Dr. Nicholas¹¹ has reached a fourth edition, and is not unworthy of the popularity it has achieved. It is true that Dr. Nicholas believes the Celtic element to prevail more largely in the national composition than do most historians; but he brings a weight of learned argument to support his theory. The argument is fivefold, and consists of the historical and

¹⁰ "Worthies of All Souls." Four Centuries of English History, illustrated from the College Archives. By Montague Burrows, Chichele Professor of Modern History, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co.

¹¹ "The Pedigree of the English People." By Thomas Nicholas, M.A., Ph.D., F.G.S. Fourth Edition. London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Co.

philological evidence, the evidence from topographical names, from the development of law, and from physical characteristics of the people. Dr. Nicholas makes most use of the philological argument, and he uses it well; his remarks upon the names of places are also good. From the wide admixture of Saxon and Celtic names he infers that they testify not only to the *previous* occupation of the island by the British, but to its *conjoint* occupation for a great length of time. Dr. Nicholas asserts that the name "Jones" is now more prevalent than "Brown" or "Robinson," and is closely followed by the "Scotts" and "Murphys," and only eclipsed by "Smith." If this be so, it is a fact which fits in with his theory—that the Celtic race have had a greater share in forming the British character than one ordinarily remembers. Dr. Nicholas is, however, an enthusiast; he sees Welsh faces under English hats. "Look the English in the face," he says, with amiable eagerness; "scan their features, *measure their skulls*" (and he gives some drawings of skulls), "watch the rapid and profound operations of their minds, and pious actions of their lives," and then of course you will know them to be Welsh. We are not by any means inclined to agree with all Dr. Nicholas' etymological assertions. We think him overbold, for instance, in deriving the English word "*could*" from the Welsh "*gallu*," "to be able;" "*cringe*" from "*crynu*," or "*crone*" from "*crino*," but we give him up at once his claim to "*basket*," "*coracle*," and "*cromlech*;" though we do not think those words will do him much good, as they have long since been acknowledged to be Celtic. The words "*denizen*," "*bastard*," "*poke*," and "*shriek*," may be doubtful; but words like "*whole*," "*through*," "*torch*," "*rule*," certainly did not come to us, as he would have us believe—from the Celtic. The book is, however, a good one, and if its author wished to prove that there was a large unsuspected element of Celtic in the British character he has proved it. Dr. Nicholas is probably a Welshman; we infer the fact from his thorough acquaintance with the Welsh language, and certainly not from his English style. If this be so, he is, it may be, the man whose name became rather well-known from its connexion with the Welsh University at Aberystwith. The present book is a further claim which he possesses to the gratitude of the Principality; we ought, perhaps, to say, to the gratitude of the British people.

Another work on English Ethnology takes a different view from that which Dr. Nicholas supports. The anonymous author of "The Norman people"¹² thinks that the Norman settlement at the Conquest consisted of something more than a slight infusion of a foreign element; that it involved, in his own words, "the addition of a numerous and mighty people, equalling probably a moiety of the conquered population; that the people thus introduced has continued to exist without merger (?) or absorption in any other race; that, as a race, it is as distinguishable now as it was a thousand years since." We shall

¹² "The Norman People and their Existing Descendants in the British Dominions." London: H. S. King & Co.

leave Dr. Nicholas to "measure the skull" of this anonymous writer, who is an antagonist to his theory. Our own remarks, meanwhile, shall be confined to the subject of his book. We have had several works this quarter which carry on what we may call the battle of the races. Mr. Burns is very anxious to prove that the "Scottish" race and the Anglo-Saxon are different; Dr. Nicholas endeavours to show that the Celtic race has so permeated the Anglo-Saxon that it is difficult to find a race which is not Welsh; and now the author of the "Norman people" sees a Norman aristocracy everywhere. Even our friend Mr. Arch, the illustrious head of the agricultural movement, is a Norman aristocrat; and is descended from "De Arches or De Arques, Viscounts of Arques and Rouen." Be it so; Mr. Arch does not need a Norman name to recommend his zeal or his integrity. Nor yet, on the other hand, is the author's mention of this name an incongruous allusion; the alphabetical series of Norman names which forms the body of the book will show many which are as little suspected of being aristocratic Norman names. We have not ourselves met a "Sneezum" or a "Snart;" we have not seen a "Quebe" or a "Mopsey," a "Lobb," a "Sass," or a "Windebank;" but we are quite prepared to meet those gentlemen, if need be, and to admit their claims to aristocratic descent. The book is certainly a laborious one, and contains much to interest genealogists, and those whose pleasure it is to trace modern from mediæval families. The alphabetical series of Norman names alone from the London Post Office Directory contains nearly ten thousand names, and the articles attached to some of them testify to considerable research. Upon the whole we think the book one of merit, and well adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. The introductory article is good.

Mr. Planché's two volumes¹³ deal with a similar subject—the companions of William the Conqueror, our first Norman aristocracy. He has collected numberless scattered notices of the principal persons, has connected them chronologically, and arranged them under separate heads. The result is that Mr. Planché has furnished a useful book of historical reference for the archæologist. But the book is something more than this. Mr. Planché carefully tells us, with a pleasing anecdote, that he is not addressing a learned assembly, and that he means to be popular. That he can never fail to be. So good-tempered and amusing a writer must win readers. He fears lest he should be misjudging the amount of interest which his subject has for the general reader; but if he is wrong, then the book by Dr. Nicholas, and the "Norman People," need not have been written either. "Apart from my own demerits as a writer," he very modestly says, "I may have miscalculated on the popularity of the subject—measured, to use a familiar proverb, other people's corn by my own bushel." But pedigree is a bushel which a vast number of people are constantly in the habit of using. We will not now blame them for this, but let at any rate the bushel

¹³ "The Conqueror and his Companions." By J. R. Planché (Somerset Herald). Two vols. London: Tinsley Brothers.

they use be a well-made one. Mr. Planché's bushel is of its kind an exceptionally good one.

Herr Von Hellwald's book on the "Russian Policy in Central Asia"¹⁴ is in some respects an unpleasing work. It is written, the translator tells us, in a censorious tone, approaching to a hostile spirit against England. The author does not think that it would be a misfortune to the Khanates of Central Asia, to Persia, or to Afghanistan if they fell under the rule of Russia. He believes that in India we govern the people like beasts, and that our empire there is not destined to be long lasting. Upon the whole, he concludes that we have not acquired the art of governing foreign races, and that our talk at home about humanity and freedom are "hollow phrases." So far does he carry this censorious spirit, that the translator paused at one time in his work, fearing lest the indignation which the work might arouse would traverse the good which it was likely otherwise to effect. It is, however, fortunate for our ministers and statesmen, who do not read German (if there be any such), that Lieutenant Wirgman decided to continue his very admirable translation: *fas est ab hoste doceri*, and the information which this book contains is important, whether it comes from an actual enemy, or concerns a possible one. There is no doubt, anyhow, that the author is a keen observer. Professor Vámbéry says of him that he has a thorough knowledge of his subject, though his zeal for Russian interest has led him occasionally into unfairness towards England. Let us, however, examine the information we may gain without considering the spirit in which it is given. Herr Hellwald openly asserts that Russia will not be satisfied until she gains the Golden Horn. By way of the Danube she has failed to reach Constantinople; she will reach it, therefore, from Asia. Persia will fall and become one of her earliest dependencies, and the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal will be at her command. There is no doubt that in China Russia is making rapid advances, and Herr Hellwald believes that unless some reform is begun by the young emperor, China will "come piecemeal" into her hands. Nor is her influence less in Japan, where a short time ago she concluded a treaty, by virtue of which, in case of war between one of the contracting parties and a third Power, the other party is in duty bound to close forthwith its ports against all ships of that Power. In case of a war with Russia, Japan would thus be closed against us. "Nothing is wanting," says Herr Hellwald, "to make it an offensive and defensive alliance but the name." If all this is true, it is well we should know it. The book before us is certainly the best upon the subject which has appeared in English. The last chapter, upon the rivalry between Russia and England, *must* be read by all who wish to have a competent knowledge of the Asiatic question. To some of the assertions made we demur. Is it, for instance, correct to say that since the year 1828, the Shah of Persia has been "a mere puppet pulled by Russian wire"? But, upon the

¹⁴ "The Russians in Central Asia." By Frederick von Hellwald. Translated by Lieut.-Col. Theodore Wirgman, LL.B. Trinity College, Cambridge. Henry S. King.

whole, we venture to think that the book is important, if not alarming, and that whether with good-will or ill-will towards us, the author has done us signal service in bringing the facts so forcibly before us that they must arrest our attention. Nor is our debt a slight one to Lieutenant Wirgman, who has accomplished his task of translation thoroughly well.

Mr. Piggott's work on Persia¹⁵ is a useful and unpretending work. Mr. Piggott does not disguise the fact that his book has been called forth by the recent visit of the Shah to our country. It is none the less useful on that account. It is not a work of original research, but it occupies the position of a really good and complete handbook of its subject. A brief history of the country, well told, is followed by an account of the religion, literature, arts, and sciences, which will make the reader understand better than any other book the position of the people who are subjects of the Shah. There are also given hints to intending travellers in Persia, accounts of the best routes, expenses, social habits of the natives, and other necessary information which it would be hard to find elsewhere. The book is a compilation, and a careful one, from other writers, but so much concise information with regard to Persia has not been brought together in a popular form before. We can especially recommend Chapter XI., which gives a bird's-eye view of the language and literature of the country.

The present *History of French Literature* is one of the series of historical handbooks edited by Mr. Oscar Browning, of Eton.¹⁶ The series hitherto has been a good one, and the present volume will give the practised student a fair insight into the connexion of the different periods of French literary history. The notices of individual writers are brief but good. Brief they must be when so wide a subject as that of this volume has to be treated of in 300 small pages, but perhaps more space should have been allotted to the more important authors. Molière, for instance, finds but meagre treatment. The criticism upon Voltaire is fairer, and is perhaps as good as so brief a notice could be. The chief fault we find with the book is that it is dull. It is sound, but it is dreary. It is impossible to imagine any one reading it for pleasure. Those who know anything of French literature would certainly not go to this English adaptation with a view of knowing more, and those who know nothing of French literature would not be much benefited by the perusal of its pages, which presuppose some knowledge of the subject. The fact is that a history of literature can only be of one kind, and is only useful to one class of readers. What earthly good is it to a boy or man to read a history of, let us say, Chinese literature, unless he is acquainted in some degree with Chinese literature? and if he is acquainted with the literature, the book should be a thorough one. Put a history of English literature written in Hindostanee before a Hindoo who has never read a word

¹⁵ "Persia, Ancient and Modern." By John Piggott, F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S. Henry S. King & Co.

¹⁶ "History of French Literature, from the French of Demogeot." By Christiana Bridges. Rivingtons.

of English—suppose that he has thoroughly mastered the handbook, what is the intellectual gain he has made? It is minute. Now if the present handbook is intended for those who are acquainted with French literature, then it is poor, inadequate, and jejune; if it is intended for those who have no knowledge of the literature, then it will add very little to their mental stock. We candidly confess that we think a history of literature can only be written for one class of persons—persons, namely, who are familiar with the literature in hand. The history, therefore, which is written for students of a language is practically useless. When a student is ready to study the history of a literature he should go at once to the fountain head. Those students of French who are capable of proceeding to a history of its literature ought certainly to be forbidden to study it in an English adaptation, though the adaptation be as well done as this is by Mrs. Bridges.

Mr. Bascom, in his "Philosophy of English Literature,"¹⁷ has at least taken the right view of his subject. His remarks are addressed to persons familiar with the literature of which he treats. His readers are supposed to be familiar with the authors who form what he calls "a network of forces" covering the whole field of English literature. But though Mr. Bascom has taken the right view of his subject, we are not convinced that he has dealt with it in the best possible manner. Mr. Bascom's style is not quite a pleasing one. He is fond of similes, and they are generally violent. We are told that the French "glide gracefully along on a surface sentiment," while an Englishman is "to the native born Frenchman what a skating rink is to the mountain lake" (p. 147). Byron is like the rocket, "driven aloft by the reaction, the spurn of its own spiteful forces" (p. 253). There are many instances of this kind of thing, and we get tired of them. Moreover, Mr. Bascom has not any very keen insight into literature. His remarks upon Chaucer contrast with the loving, patient appreciation bestowed upon him by Professor Lowell. Take this sentence (p. 43):—"I confess to a certain shame in speaking of Chaucer to the healthy and pure, so far is he from wholesome companionship;" and it must be admitted that Mr. Bascom has not yet put himself into a position to write a "philosophical" history of English literature. In his judgment of modern writers he is not very wise, and unpardonable slips render his book intensely offensive. One instance will be sufficient. On page 274 he speaks of "*Romola* and *Middlemarch* by George Eliot;" on page 275 he speaks of "*Romola* by Mrs. Lewes;" on page 277 he says, that "Bulwer, Charlotte Brontë, Mrs. Lewis, are not likely soon to be equalled." His language is moreover affected, and, at times, ridiculous. Books, like landscapes, owe their expression to the "floating, unbraided beam of morning," or to the "brilliant, long-lined cirri of evening, fading, trembling into night." This is not even "excellent fooling;" it is still less the "philosophy of English literature." Mr. Bascom, however, says that it will be sufficient "if the lines of thought struck out

¹⁷ "Philosophy of English Literature." A Course of Lectures delivered in the Lowell Institute. By John Bascom. New York: G. B. Putnam's Sons.

and the considerations brought forward are those which interlace and occupy the field." Whilst we are in complete ignorance of what this may mean, it would be unfair to assert that the book has not accomplished its purpose.

Mr. Forsyth has collected and published the essays¹⁸ which at different times during the last sixteen or seventeen years he has contributed to various quarterlies and periodicals. He has been led to do this from a desire to rescue his anonymous productions from "the wave of oblivion which so soon passes over ephemeral literature." Mr. Forsyth's essays make a large volume really worth reading; and there is a fascinating odour of literature about all that he writes, that makes the volume thoroughly acceptable. The more ambitious essays are legal or political, and were written for the *Quarterly* or the *Edinburgh Review*. They are all good, especially that on "Criminal Procedure in Scotland and England," which was first published in 1858. But we confess to liking the shorter essays best. The article from *Fraser's* on literary style will perhaps most repay the general reader. Even that has faults; no one acquainted with German will agree with Mr. Forsyth when he says (p. 171) that the German word for "translation" means "upsetting;" but the essay is both amusing and instructive, and the advice imparted sound and good. The papers contributed to *Fraser's* and to *Good Words* are bright and taking, and worth perusal. Of the whole of them we may say that, though they do not make up a great work, or form the basis for a lasting literary reputation, they are yet clever intellectual efforts with which we are glad to be acquainted. They resemble, to some extent, the conversation of refined and intellectual society, which delights and exhilarates, which uses and does not exhaust the interest of a subject, and which fills the canvas of a picture with a subdued and grateful light.

Mr. Forsyth has sent us also a paper¹⁹ of his read before the Victoria Institute. We confess we like him less in the capacity of lecturer than in that of essayist. Nor are we attracted by the Victoria Institute before whom this paper was read. This institute is one of "professed Christians," and its chief object is to investigate the questions of philosophy and science that bear upon the "great truths revealed in Holy Scripture." A society so limited in its action, and practically so limited in its conclusions, is one to which we can give but little confidence. However, Mr. Forsyth's lecture was a good one. It is full of that aroma of literature of which we have already spoken; and though it shows Mr. Forsyth at something of a disadvantage, it shows also the diversity and facility of his ability and the fluency of his pen. His list of unsolved historical difficulties (p. 19) is capital. Mr. Forsyth's writings ought to be better known.

In 1826 Dr. Channing sent to Miss Aikin his work on the character

¹⁸ "Essays, Critical and Narrative." By William Forsyth, Q.C., LL.D., M.P. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

¹⁹ "The Rules of Evidence as applicable to the Credibility of History." A Paper read before the Victoria Institute. By W. Forsyth, Q.C., LL.D., M.P. London, R. Hardwicke.

and writings of Milton. Miss Aikin had previously met Dr. Channing at her aunt's, Mrs. Barbauld's, house in Stoke Newington; and from this receipt of the book on Milton is dated the commencement of a correspondence which lasted nearly twenty years. An agreement was made between the correspondents that all the letters should belong to the survivor. They were given upon Miss Aikin's death to the present editor,²⁰ her niece. The representatives of both families have now given their consent that the letters should be published, and the present volume is the result. It may be read with pleasure, as giving the views of two liberal-minded persons of culture upon important subjects in the first half of this century. The first Reform Bill, the accession of Queen Victoria, the Slave Question, the Lake Poets, Miss Martineau, the social and political differences of England and America, are topics which engage the writers. But the interest which the book awakens is circumscribed by several modifying circumstances—*e.g.*, the long intervals between the letters; the fact that Dr. Channing did not highly estimate his portion of the correspondence, nor intend it for publication (Preface, viii.); and the fact that most readers will probably not estimate very highly Miss Aikin's portion of the correspondence. But the publication of private letters is always attractive to some minds, and the present collection is better than the average.

A brief but interesting memoir of Mr. Lynch,²¹ gives us in a small volume the story of his uneventful life. Mr. Lynch was the author of a selection of hymns which, twenty years ago, under the title of the "Rivulet," awakened much controversy. They were not hymns of great merit, nor were they hymns which could be by any means accused of heterodoxy, but they were without the ordinary catchwords of Evangelism, and they drew down upon their author a storm of sectarian abuse. They were not worthy of the attention they attracted, nor of the abuse they received. Mr. Lynch's attitude during the tempest was dignified; indeed, he exhibited upon the occasion a talent for controversy which we can only regret he did not make more use of. To the excited crowd of religious papers that attacked him he replied:—

"By the frequent perusals of *Records, Banners, Advertisers, Watchmen, &c.*, I have learnt the whole 'trick' of religious newspapers. I could set up one myself if I were only wicked enough. . . . The *Morning Advertiser* daily celebrates, in the queerest way, the nuptials of Jerusalem and Newmarket: 'Life in Jesus' and death in the 'ring,' are presumed to have equal interest to its readers. In one page fifteen divines are insulted, all for the glory of God and the *Morning Advertiser*; and in another more than forty horses have their merits or demerits meritoriously discriminated. I fear the Editor of the *Advertiser* does more to jockey the saints than to sanctify the jockeys."

This extract will illustrate Mr. Lynch's peculiar power, which, we think, really lies rather in the line of caustic controversy than in that

²⁰ "Correspondence of W. E. Channing, D.D., and Lucy Aikin, from 1826 to 1842." Edited by A. L. Le Breton. Williams and Norgate.

²¹ "Memoir of T. T. Lynch." Edited by W. White. London: W. Isbister & Co.

of sacred song. But those who wish to read a brief and good account of the "Rivulet" controversy will find it in this volume.

We may here mention that Dean Alford's *Life*²² has reached a third edition. Some time ago we foretold a wide popularity for the book; this it has found, and we have nothing to add to our previous remarks.

The "*Life of Cherubini*,"²³ by Mr. Bellasis, is one which fills a void in musical literature. The information about Cherubini lies for the most part in scattered pamphlets, periodicals, and dictionaries. Mr. Bellasis has brought all this together, and his own earnest love of his subject makes a unity in the mass of musical criticism with which he deals. The introduction of musical passages into his text gives the book something of the appearance of a concert programme; but it is not upon the whole objectionable, and we infer that Mr. Bellasis is writing for musical readers. The main incidents of Cherubini's life are these. He was born in 1760, at Florence, and produced several operas while still very young. His great triumph was "*Les Deux Journées*," written about the year 1800, in Paris. In 1805 he wrote "*Faniska*" for the opera at Vienna. In 1806 he returned to Paris, and became one of the directors of the Conservatoire. In the latter part of his life he devoted his talents to ecclesiastical music, and confirmed his reputation by several masses and a requiem. He also continued to write operas, of which, perhaps, "*Pygmalion*" is the best known. Mr. Bellasis does not describe Cherubini as an agreeable man; he was brusque to rudeness. We must not omit one anecdote (p. 272): "One day he was walking along the boulevards, when it began to rain. A gentleman driving by recognised the maestro, and alighting, placed his vehicle at Cherubini's disposal, who got in. The gentleman, who was going a different way, said, 'M. Cherubini, will you lend me your umbrella?' 'No, I never lend my umbrella,' was Cherubini's reply, and he drove off." But Mr. Bellasis says that Cherubini was not so bad as he has been painted. We hope this is so. Mr. Bellasis has written a careful and good biography.

We wish that it were possible for us to devote more space than we have at our disposal to Mr. Russell's estimate of Mr. Mill's *Autobiography*.²⁴ The position of this *Review* to Mr. Mill cannot be mistaken; and we assert that it would be impossible for a more generous, loyal, and appreciative perception of the merits of Mr. Mill's calumniated *Autobiography* to be attained than that which is made manifest in Mr. Russell's essay. It is a right noble utterance. Of Mr. Russell we knew nothing before we read this pamphlet. It is certain that he is a writer of clear and keen insight, and the master of a pure, restrained style. Nothing that has been

²² "*Life, Journal, and Letters of H. Alford, D.D.*" Edited by his Widow. Third Edition. London: Rivingtons.

²³ "*Cherubini: Memorials of his Life.*" By Edward Bellasis. London: Burns & Oates.

²⁴ "*On the Autobiography of John Stuart Mill.*" Read before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. By E. R. Russell. Liverpool.

written in reference to the Autobiography has so struck us with the conviction of the writer's power. The literary society of Liverpool, if it appreciates this essay, as we believe it deserves, may be well proud of its production. We only ask that the pamphlet should be read. It is the testimony of an honest and clear intellect to the brightest and greatest that has been amongst us for many years.

The "Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland" during the years 1606-1608," are preceded by a preface of 122 pages, in which the contents of the State Papers themselves are freely discussed by the editors. This preface deals also with the papers calendared in the entire series of papers from the beginning of the reign of James I. It is followed by the calendar, and by a good general index.

Sir Thomas Hardy has edited the second volume of the "Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense."²⁶ This "register" is to end in a third volume, for which volume the editor reserves his remarks and illustrations. The present volume has a general index.

Mr. Piazz Smith, Astronomer Royal for Scotland, has published a new and enlarged edition of his work, "Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid."²⁷ It contains some beautiful topographical and mathematical views of the great pyramid. Mr. Smith believes that he has discovered the secret of that mysterious monument, and argues his theory with much learning and ingenuity. Unfortunately for those who are not specialists, Mr. Smith does not succeed in convincing those who are, of the correctness of his views. The result is a pamphlet,²⁸ wherein Mr. Smith sets forth his grievance against the Royal Society. It appears that he has resigned his Fellowship in that Society, owing to the Society's refusal to listen to his paper "On the Length of a Side of the Base of the Great Pyramid." Mr. Smith has shown a great amount of zeal in investigating the question at issue, and we are sorry that he should be at variance with the Society. The Royal Society is one, however, in which we must have supreme confidence; but we cordially commend his book to those who are capable of estimating its merits; they need not, however, read the pamphlet, for it does not exhibit Mr. Smith at his best.

We wish to acknowledge the receipt of the fourth volume of M. Taine's "History of English Literature,"²⁹ in Mr. Van Laun's excellent translation; a Memoir of Count Ottavio Tusca,³⁰ an Italian Old Catholic;

²⁵ "Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I. 1606-1608." Edited by Rev. C. W. Russell, D.D., and John F. Prendergast, Esq. Under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longman & Co.

²⁶ "The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Bishop of Durham, 1314-1316." Edited by Sir T. D. Hardy, D.C.L. Published under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls. Vol. II. London: Longman & Co.

²⁷ "Our Inheritance in the Great Pyramid." By Piazz Smith, F.R.S.E., F.R.A.S., Royal Astronomer for Scotland.

²⁸ "The Great Pyramid and the Royal Society." By the Same. London: W. Isbister & Co.

²⁹ "History of English Literature." By H. A. Taine, D.C.L. Translated by H. Van Laun. Edinburgh: Edmonston.

³⁰ "Memoir of Count Ottavio Tusca, an Italian Old Catholic." By the Rev. L. M. Hogg, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

Mr. Sime's History of Germany,³¹ which seems good; and of another number of Mr. Black's translation of M. Guizot's History of France.³²

Our notice of the German literature which has reached us is necessarily brief. Herr Von Reumont's Life of Lorenzo de' Medici³³ is perhaps the most noteworthy book. Herr Von Reumont looks upon Lorenzo de' Medici as the result and symbol of the latter half of the fifteenth century, a time when production and enjoyment reached its highest and most spiritual perfection. Our author will not separate Lorenzo from the times and circumstances with which he was surrounded, and his book gives us pictures of that time. He shows us in a clear way how Lorenzo, as head of the great house of the Medici, surpassed his father in magnanimity, prudence, and generosity, no less than in his zeal for art and science; how he brought into an equilibrium of power the States of Italy, and by his honourable policy maintained them in a just equipoise of peace and security. Florentine air and Florentine beauty pervade this graceful work.

Herr Trenkle's History of the Industries of the Black Forest³⁴ is full of information for the student of industrial economy. The chief occupations of this district are divided by Herr Trenkle into two classes: the first comprises mining and ironworking; the second includes timber-floating, brush-making, straw-binding, weaving, &c. Of all these trades the book gives complete statistics.

We have also received a Sketch of the Life of Bishop Hurdalek of the Bohemian Church;³⁵ and a very admirable Manual of Ancient Geography,³⁶ which we should like to see translated. Also some Reports of the Proceedings of the Geographical Society at Berlin.³⁷

The Early English Text Society has sent us this quarter some volumes of considerable value. Mr. Furnivall's "Holy Grail"³⁸ is re-edited from the unique MS. in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The poem is an excessively dull one, but it forms part of that series of English Arthur romances which the committee have undertaken to print.

The great work of the Society during the present year is the publication, for the first time, of the *Cursor Mundi*.³⁹ The Society tell us that the text "sparkles with quaintness of phrase and thought." Dr. Falck has conferred a great benefit on the Society by allowing them the use of the Göttingen MS. for a year. Four versions are printed

³¹ "History of Germany." By James Sime, M.A. London: Macmillans.

³² "History of France." By H. Guizot. Translated by R. Black, M.A. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle.

³³ "Lorenzo de' Medici," Von Alfred von Reumont. Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker und Humblot.

³⁴ "Geschichte der Schwarzwälder Industrie." Von J. B. Trenkle. Karlsruhe: Verlag der G. Bräunschen Hofbuchhandlung.

³⁵ "Bischof Hurdalek." Von Dr. J. A. Ginzel. Prag.

³⁶ "Geographie der alten Welt." Von Dr. A. C. Müller. Berlin: Lüdewitz'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

³⁷ "Verhandlungen der Gesellschaften für Erdkunde zu Berlin."

³⁸ "The Holy Grail." By Henry Lonelich, Skynner. Re-edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. Part I.

³⁹ "Cursor Mundi: a Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth. Century." Edited by Rev. R. Morris, LL.D.

side by side, and the book will be invaluable to students of the early English language.

The Alliterative Troy Book," known as the "Gest Historiale," is described as "a gain both to literature and linguistics." One of the editors, the Rev. Mr. Panton, has lately died.

The Blickling Homilies" has the rare merit of being a dated MS. The writer is looking forward to the end of the world, even in this present age, "whereof the greatest portion has already elapsed, even nine hundred and seventy-one years." The Society chiefly value these Homilies as illustrating the difference between the English of that date and the Alfredian English of a date fifty years previous. The Homilies will have an introduction, notes, and index. The translation which accompanies them is clear and dignified.

Messrs. Macmillan have sent us a small volume of parallel extracts" from Latin and English writers, which seem to us to throw more light upon that subtle accomplishment the writing of Latin prose than any book we have seen. It is, of course, intended for advanced scholars, and demands a certain insight and perception of scholarship; but the chief lines of elegant expression are well marked out for those who are capable of following them. Good Latin prose has certainly both a "method" and a "secret." The method can be acquired by patient and laborious observation; the secret can be learnt from syntactic instruction. The peculiar merit of Mr. Nixon's book is, that while the "Notes on Idiom" reveal the secret, its admirable disposition of parallel passages renders the acquisition of the "method" of Latin writing far less laborious to the intelligent student than it would be if he trusted to himself alone. We can well believe, *e.g.*, that the following rules which Mr. Nixon gives in his "Notes," will be light-giving to many students:—

"Arrange clauses in Latin chronologically—*e.g.*, put the aim before the action, the cause before the effect."

"Many verbs disappear altogether in translation, as 'succeeded in,' 'managed to,' 'failed to,' 'continued,' 'ended in,' 'keep,' 'cease,' 'begin,' 'get,' 'find,' &c."

"Conjunctions have no inborn predilection for indicative or subjunctive."

The whole section on this subject (pp. xxx.—xxxii.) is admirable.

"Before translating English prepositions paraphrase their meaning; sometimes the substantive will disappear."

There are many more admirable rules, which doubtless are familiar to all those who have acquired a good Latin style; but for those who are acquiring it, we know no book where students may find the

⁴⁰ "The 'Gest Historiale' of the Destruction of Troy." Edited from the Hunterian MS., Glasgow. By Rev. G. A. Panton and D. Donaldson, Esq. Part II.

⁴¹ "The Blickling Homilies." Edited by the Rev. R. Morris. Part I. Published for the Early English Text Society by N. Trübner.

⁴² "Parallel Extracts; arranged for Translation into English and Latin. With Notes on Idioms." By J. E. Nixon, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Part I. London: Macmillan & Co.

"secret" so well and so briefly told. The book has also considerable literary merit. The aptness of the parallel passages is at times striking. What a light to the translator is given by the juxtaposition of these letters for instance:—"I wish I may be able to come, but I doubt. Will you come to a philosophical breakfast on Saturday—ten o'clock precisely? Nothing taken for granted! Everything (except the Thirty-Nine Articles) called in question—real philosophers! Affectionately yours."—This is from Sydney Smith to Dickens. The next is from Pliny to Catilius Severus:—"Teniam ad cœnam, sed jam nunc paciscor sit expedita, sit parca, Socraticis tantum sermonibus abundet, in his quoque teneat modum. Vale."—The eruption of Vesuvius, as described by Pliny, is set side by side with Davy's account of the Lisbon earthquake. And in each pair throughout the book, where the turns of expression are not to be gathered from one language, the spirit of the composition will be found most useful in deciding the key to which the translation may be set. If we are to find fault with the book, we should complain of the frequent references and interruptions, which are likely to fret and disturb the student, and of the arrangement of the idiomatic notes, which at first sight seem an algebraic chaos of references. But we may add of the book, that he who has fairly and thoroughly worked through it, will have attained a degree of excellence in Latin composition such as he is not likely to acquire by the use of any other book as brief and unpretentious.

Mr. Holmes has briefly summarized⁴³ the rules for that Latin pronunciation which has been recommended by some professors of both universities. If this system be adopted (which we sincerely hope it never may) Mr. Holmes' manual will be most useful, and boys will learn with little trouble to pronounce "*acies*" "*âh-kêê-zhs*," and "*tezo*" "*tehks-aw*," under Mr. Holmes' instruction.

"The Attic Primer,"⁴⁴ by Mr. Wright, is intended to confine the attention of learners to the Attic dialect. It is arranged according to the method of Dr. Curtius. This is what is called the crude-form system, and is a good and scientific system, but the question which must occupy a teacher is this: Is it worth while to dismiss a system of teaching which has a good working traditional power, for a new system, which must start without a tradition? Is the practical gain of a more scientific method sufficient to counterbalance that which is lost? The answer to this question has not yet been made. If it be made in the affirmative, then Mr. Wright's little book is a very good one ready to the teacher's hand.

From the "Attic Primer" to the "Slang Dictionary"⁴⁵ is a sufficiently wide step, but it is very well that the vagaries and eccentricities of language should be chronicled and recorded. Nothing is

⁴³ "Latin Pronunciation for Beginners." By A. Holmes, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

⁴⁴ "The Attic Primer for Beginners." By J. Wright, M.A. London: Macmillan.

⁴⁵ "The Slang Dictionary." New Edition. London: Chatto & Windus.

common or unclean to the philologist. The editor has drawn strange and uncouth words into the sheet which he has let down, but his preface will dispose the reader to take an interest even in the colloquial monstrosities which he has gathered from "gaff," and "alley," and "crib."

Mr. Barrow's Word-book of the Gipsy language⁴⁶ is a really valuable contribution to philology. The glossary is brief. The gipsy people are not likely to have an opulent vocabulary, but such as it is it bears tokens of good descent. Hindu and Sanscrit, Persian and Wallachian seem to have supplied its now meagre stores. Mr. Barrow has given some specimens of the language in verse and prose and some accounts of the English tribes.

We must notice the receipt of Mr. Nichol's commendatory account of M. Paris's method of editing in his "Vie de Saint Alexis."⁴⁷ Mr. Nichol objects to certain points, but, upon the whole, his criticism is laudatory. The paper was read before the Philological Society.

BELLES LETTRES.

TO say that novel writing has become a trade, is merely to repeat a commonplace. But it may be worth while to consider who constitute the bulk of our novelists. Taking away a few well-known names, they appear, as far as we can judge by the substance of their writings, to be composed of two classes—tutors who have drifted into literature, and governesses who have also drifted into literature. Judging too by internal evidence, by the evident want of knowledge of the world, we should say that the vast majority of novels which appear are written by very young persons. It is obvious too that the profession of a tutor, or a governess, or a literary man, does not afford much scope for large observation. The consequence is, that the majority of these novels run precisely in one groove. It is the same old story over and over again, with the exception that it is each time weaker. The author can only draw upon his own limited resources. He has no fund of observation upon which to fall back. Scott was forty-three years old before he wrote a single novel. As his latest and best critic well observes, Scott had for years been accumulating stores of knowledge, which then flowed forth at his bidding. He was scholar, poet, antiquarian, and, in a certain sense, a naturalist. He drew from many sources. When one was exhausted he could without difficulty draw from another. He appealed to the tastes of many widely different classes of readers. But the literary men and the literary women of the present day come to us without any stock of knowledge. They can only give us sketches of their own lives and the small world in

⁴⁶ Romano Lavo-lil. Wordbook of the Romany, or English Gipsy Language." By George Barrow. London: John Murray.

⁴⁷ "Account of M. Gaston Paris's Method of Editing in his 'Vie de Saint Alexis.'" By Henry Nichol, Esq. Philological Society.

which they live. Now it must be apparent that a quiet, studious, literary life does not present many salient points for the novelist. If he endeavours to become picturesque, and to introduce us to the stir and bustle of active life, then the most interesting part of his study, the mental struggles, and the artistic triumphs of his principal characters, are thrown into the background. If he tries to be witty, his attempt probably ends in a very weak imitation of Thackeray's characters, Pendennis and Warrington, and he sinks into Bohemianism. There is only one way by which it is possible to endow a literary or artistic story with lasting interest—to make the hero a character whom we can really respect and admire. He may be Utopian, a dreamer of dreams, a Blake or a Shelley, but as long as we can admire him for his sincerity, for his loyalty to his art, the story can never lack life nor interest. In "Thornicroft's Model" we had hoped that we had found such a novel. Our expectations were certainly raised when, whatever may be our own views on the truth or untruth of the theory, we read such a passage as this: "Painters," so Thornicroft held, "had no business to marry; heart and soul, they ought to live for art, and not disturb the unruffled calm, which is essential to the pursuit of it by the thousand-and-one cares such a state brings." (Vol. i. p. 48.) But if the artist should by any possible means think of marrying, the hero goes on to explain what kind of wife he should choose, and presents us with a picture, to which we can certainly make no objection. The hero, we need not say, does marry. His wife too is the ideal character whom he has painted as only suitable to the artist. Our hopes were again raised by the following dialogue between the hero and his wife:—

" 'I wish we were rich,' sighed Helen.

" 'So we shall be some day. By-the-bye Mr. Duncomb wants a copy of *Perdita*—that would be five hundred pounds into my pocket, for I could soon do it; and if living up here, and being in a manner disowned, makes you miserable, by Jove I *will* do it.' 'Then it is something you did not quite like doing?' 'Well, I have never yet made a replica—copy, I mean. I always think the man who buys the picture has a right to the copyright of the idea, and never quite fancy doing it over again for another person; but that is not the way to get rich. Most fellows sell two or three copies of the same thing, under the disguise of sketches, studies, or small replicas; but upon my word it is hardly fair.' 'Then do not do it on any account. I should be miserable if you did anything for my sake you disapproved of. It is nonsense thinking I am unhappy up here. How could I be so?' 'You are just the wife for an artist,' cried Thornicroft. 'No, I will not make any copies.'— (vol. i. pp. 118, 119.)

Our hopes, we repeat, of meeting a really fine artistic novel were certainly raised by the two passages which we have quoted, but doomed only to disappointment. A man marries unfortunately not only his wife, but his wife's family. The hero soon finds out the truth of the old proverb—that a man's mother-in-law is his natural enemy. We cannot enter into all the complications and entanglements which arise

¹ "Thornicroft's Model." By Averil Peaumont. Author of "Magdalen Wyndyard." London: Chapman and Hall. 1873.

between Thornicroft and his wife, which are mainly caused by a fussy, well-meaning, vulgar, odious mother-in-law. In short, Thornicroft behaves most unjustly to his wife. He falls away completely from his high ideal of what an artist's life should be. Now Thornicroft's fall might have been made quite as interesting as his triumph. We are tempted, therefore, to ask, why "*Thornicroft's Model*" should so nearly approach a first-rate novel, and yet just fail? The reason, we think, is very obvious. The writer did not dare to trust himself to his own resources. He therefore sought extraneous help, and introduced a number of characters utterly out of keeping with the main purpose of the story. Not content with introducing us to a number of wealthy commonplace characters, some of whom, however, are really very cleverly done, the author has sought to give a false interest to his story by vulgar spasmodic sensation scenes of the Braddon and Wilkie Collins type. Had he been content to rely upon quiet drawing, upon his own power of portraying the gradual downfall of Thornicroft, and the nobility of his wife's character, the book would have been an undoubted success. The author has a very keen eye for character. Thornicroft and his wife are most carefully and lovingly painted. The good-meaning, but odiously offensive mother-in-law, is an admirable study. The story too is full of delicate touches. Here is a reflection upon woman's love:—"Thornicroft thought that a woman would bear any treatment, however bad, if she thought it was intended as a trial of her love." (Vol. i. p. 76.) Here again is another:—"No woman can endure to see the man she loves depart from the high line of truth;" and once more, "Most women have a half tender feeling for any one who has loved them." (Vol. i. p. 118.) Equally delicate too are the touches of satire with which the three volumes are filled. Thus, when Thornicroft is angry with Hannah for admitting Lord Alfred Dartmore into the drawing-room, that servant wonderingly replies, "If lords are not to be admitted, what kind of a person is?" Hannah's reply reminds us of the story of the Lincolnshire squire, who, when the late Duke of Devonshire wanted to see over his new hall, answered, "If I allow the Duke of Devonshire to come, I shall have all the Dukes in England coming." Admirable too, in their way, are the remarks which the vulgar old mother-in-law makes about the pictures and the large sums of money which are paid for them:—"Well, it beats everything, Helen! But there's always fools in the world, honey, and always will be, and real glad I am of that, for your sake;" a remark which may pair off with that of the betting man's, in his evidence before the committee in the House of Commons: "There's a fool born every minute, and thank God some of them live." But "*Thornicroft's Model*" is full of good things. Of a certain English baronet it is remarked that in every picture gallery abroad, "He exhibited a distinct gift of finding out the very worst picture in each room, and singling it out for admiration with happy, unerring instinct." (Vol. ii. p. 59.) Of Captain Wymondham's Italian, it is noticed, "He only knew about twenty words, but they were all of an overbearing and condemnatory character." The author, probably, does not take the general optimist view of his countrymen, which is so commonly held by novelists, for he makes Thornicroft say,

with a good deal of truth as far as art is concerned, "For coarseness, vulgarity, and bad taste, I'll back the English against all in the world." (Vol. i. p. 156.) Here we must stop quoting, though we should like to have given an account of the way in which a modern young lady keeps her accounts, her first entry being, "N.B. I will enter the *d.* department next time; it is hard enough to do the £ and *s.* at first;" who buys a second fan at nearly the same price as the first, because the first was much too expensive and she would like a cheaper one; who, when she does not know how the money has been spent, puts down "Bonbons, say, 5*l.*;" who regrets that she can only have one birthday a year, not that she wishes to be older, but to have more presents of money; and who, in utter despair, finally gives up keeping any further accounts, with the remark, "I have 20*l.*, and must have done something with the rest." "*Thornicroft's Model*," we repeat, is sparkling with wit and humour. The workmanship is in places nearly perfect. The style—and we mean this as a high compliment—reminds us of Mr. Wedmore's. The way too in which the author manages the North Country dialect in the speeches of the mother-in-law is excellent. He just gives us the right flavour. "*Thornicroft's Model*" only just fails of rising into the very highest order of novels for the reasons which we have given. Let us, however, most strongly recommend it as presenting a very true picture of certain phases of artistic life. Many of the characters are evidently drawn from well-known personages. There is no mistaking the great art-critic Mr. R—, who discovers the most wonderful beauties in a patch of colour which nobody else has even observed in the picture. We fancy too that many of the members of the "*Clique*," as a certain Art Club is called, may be easily recognised. But there is not a single touch or a single stroke at which any one, however sensitive, can justly take offence. We deeply regret that the author should have been led astray into regions which really have nothing to do with art, for the purpose of gaining a little ephemeral popularity of the publisher's kind. He can so manifestly do so much higher work than "*Thornicroft's Model*," that we shall look forward with real interest to his next work. He has high conceptions of art and the duties of an artist. He has too the power of setting forth his views in language of not merely great beauty, but also of great strength. It rests entirely with himself whether he chooses to become the novelist of art or a mere teller of stories in Bohemia.

A novelist may be judged in two ways—by comparing him with other novelists or comparing him with himself. If we were to compare Mrs. Pender Cudlip's "*No Alternative*" with such a book as "*Thornicroft's Model*," we shall find it utterly wanting in many of the qualities which make even a second-rate novel of the higher class. Of style there is absolutely none. Of literary workmanship, of that subtle touch which reveals the true artist, there is also absolutely none.

* "*No Alternative*." A Novel. By Annie Thomas (Mrs. Pender Cudlip). Author of "*Denis Donne*," "*Played Out*," &c. &c. London: Chapman and Hall. 1874.

The author of "Thornicroft's Model," if not a painter, has evidently studied art; but the author of "No Alternative" appears to have studied nothing but the merest conventionalities or unconventionalities, as they often happen to be, of modern society. Judged, however, by Mrs. Cudlip's own standard, "No Alternative" is a very great improvement upon some of its predecessors. There is not so much padding as is usual in Mrs. Cudlip's novels. The slang is not so loud, and the characters are not so fast. Upon all these improvements we heartily congratulate Mrs. Cudlip.

The reviewers have so emphatically pronounced that Dr. Dasent² has mistaken his calling in turning novelist, that it would require a very bold critic to enter the lists in his defence. Dr. Dasent is probably at home in compiling or editing Icelandic Dictionaries, but he is quite out of his element in writing novels. Of course a clever man, like Dr. Dasent, is sure to say a number of clever things. And there are plenty of clever things in "Half a Life," but in spite of them all the story is unmistakably very heavy reading.

We are glad to see that Miss Parr³ has returned to the South Country. She knows and loves the South. She understands the people and the ways of the peasantry. Woldshire is no imaginary county. Beechhurst, we suspect, has a real existence, and is marked in the maps. The Great Ash Ford, at Beechhurst, we are half inclined to think is the celebrated Mark Ash Wood in the New Forest. Here, writes Miss Parr, were "such beeches and vast oaks as are nowhere else in England. The Great Ash was a storm-riven fragment, but its form continued, and its beauty in sufficient picturesqueness for artistic purposes." Miss Parr then proceeds to describe a farm-house "thatched with reeds, very old, and weather-stained, of all golden-brown and orange tints," where many a painter had come down for the summer to paint the fine old beeches in the Great Ash Wood. The whole of the descriptions of the Forest of Beechwood are particularly well done—the rows of silver firs, the long sweeps of grass, and the cattle at evening coming home to be milked, and crossing the ford under the branches of the beeches. We quite agree with what one of the characters, Mr. Fairfax, says of Beechwood Forest: "This is very lovely—it is a series of delightful pictures. To live here must be a sort of education." When Miss Parr leaves the forest, her hand somewhat forgets its cunning, and we certainly do not care for the French scenes so much as those in Beechwood. Still, "The Vicissitudes of Bessie Fairfax" is a thoroughly enjoyable book, which may be recommended to any one who does not know how to pass an idle afternoon.

"Ingram Place"⁴ is a very difficult book to review justly.

² "Half a Life." By George Webbe Dasent, D.C.L. Author of "Annals of an Eventful Life," "Three to One," &c. London: Chapman and Hall. 1874.

³ "The Vicissitudes of Bessie Fairfax." By Holme Lee. Author of "Basil Godfrey's Caprice," "The Beautiful Miss Barrington," &c. &c. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1874.

⁴ "Ingram Place." A Novel. By A Cape Colonist. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1874.

Publishers, we believe, hold that either a very good or a very bad novel takes best with the public. "Ingram Place," if it is not very good, is certainly a very great way off from being very bad. It is precisely one of those novels whose merits are likely to be overlooked by both the critics and the reading public. The closely-printed type, after the large print to which we have been so long accustomed in novels, rather repels one at first. But when this preliminary difficulty is got over, we find the novel considerably above the average. The author excels most in descriptions of scenery, and in his female characters.

Mrs. Brotherton's "Old Acquaintance"⁶ will be welcomed by everybody. One of the most charming papers is that upon Landon. Landon used to say, "I suppose some half-dozen persons in England possess my books, and perhaps three are capable of understanding them." Mrs. Brotherton is certainly one of the three. Her short analysis of "Pericles and Aspasia," which she justly considers Landon's finest work, is admirable. As she justly remarks, we find none of that heavy learning which so encumbers the pages of most classical romances. Instead of "local colouring," as it is falsely called, Landon gives us the Greek Spirit. "He compresses," says Mrs. Brotherton, "whole idylls of Theocritus into half a page." Mrs. Brotherton too very rightly adds that the real reason why Landon places his scenes in another age and in a foreign land was because that although he was evidently a freethinker, yet his mind was of a deeply solemn and religious cast. Another excellent paper is that on Sensation Novels. Here is a little bit of criticism for critics, "Coleridge, I think, called turnips the First Cause of boiled mutton. Critics appear to me to be the First Cause of sensation novels." No one who remembers how persistently the *Times* some years ago praised the sensation novels of the day, will consider Mrs. Brotherton's criticism unjust. Critics and publishers have really written the sensation novels. But sensation novels, in spite of the *Times*, can only last their short hour. Only true art lives.

We also give a hearty welcome to Mr. Cooper's "Old Fashioned Stories."⁷ Mr. Cooper's is a name which deserves to be honoured. He was imprisoned in Stafford Jail for holding opinions many of which the Tory Government has by a well-known process of "education" passed into law. If we are not mistaken, Mr. Cooper suffered at the time when the notorious Colonel Sibthorp was M.P. for Lincoln. His book now, however, is dedicated to the present member, Mr. Seely. This one fact will show what a great change has taken place in politics. To all Liberals, and especially to Lincolnshire men, Mr. Cooper's work will have a peculiar interest.

Amongst reprints of novels we must especially notice Mrs. George Hooper's powerfully written story "The House of Raby."⁸ Mr.

⁶ "Old Acquaintance." By Mrs. Brotherton. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1874.

⁷ "Old Fashioned Stories." By Thomas Cooper. Author of "The Purgatory of Suicides." London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

⁸ "The House of Raby; or Our Lady of Darkness." By Mrs. George Hooper. Author of "Arbell," "A Young Man's Love." London: Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

Moy Thomas's well-known novel of "*A Fight for Life*,"⁹ also reappears in a handsome volume. Mr. Miller, who ought to be classed with Mr. Cooper, partly for his political sympathies and partly because he has in some of his tales dealt with the same Lincolnshire scenery, gives us a new edition of "*Royston Gower, or the Days of Robin Hood*."¹⁰ We have always considered this to be Mr. Miller's finest work. We have been praising Miss Parr's descriptions of the beeches in "*Beechwood*," which were evidently taken from the beeches in the New Forest, but we must give the palm to Mr. Miller's description of the oaks of Sherwood. Mr. Miller has many competitors in the same field. Every one will remember Scott's description of the old weird, gnarled oaks of Sherwood in "*Ivanhoe*," a description which has always struck us as one of Scott's best bits of nature painting. But Mr. Miller holds his own. His descriptions, too, of Newstead Abbey are equally vigorous. "*Royston Gower*" is utterly unknown to the present generation of novel-readers. We can, however, recommend it as a thoroughly good, healthy, out-of-door romance, the last of a forgotten school, describing many scenes of forest and woodland, which have actually passed out of existence since the book was written, and describing them, too, with the taste and feeling of a poet.

We are always glad to meet Canon Kingsley,¹¹ if he will but keep off the east wind, the Athanasian Creed, and "God's own green grass." He never has anything particularly original to tell us, but he always sets forth old truths in a forcible way. He is not quite so bloodthirsty as his master Carlyle, nor so hysterical as his fellow-disciple Ruskin. People will read Canon Kingsley when they will not read anybody else. For our own part we consider Canon Kingsley's style far too "loud," and far too gushing to be really beautiful. His style, however, appears to make an impression on the minds of some people, especially the great mass of semi-educated men and women, utterly deficient in literary instinct, taste and refinement, who abound in our large manufacturing towns. In Canon Kingsley's newest work they may find plenty of their favourite rhetoric, not unalloyed with a great deal of good common sense. If they will but leave the rhetoric alone, and stick to the common sense, the book may do a great deal of good. The best papers are decidedly those respectively entitled, "*The Science of Health*," "*The Two Breaths*," "*Nausicaa in London*," "*On Bio-Geology*," and "*Heroism*." And of these papers the best is "*On Bio-Geology*." There is less rhetoric and more knowledge. Canon Kingsley deals with a special subject which he has studied, and stands upon ground which, if limited, he knows. The paper is very charming. We shall make one quotation from it, and leave to Canon Kingsley's

⁹ "*A Fight for Life*." By Moy Thomas. London: Henry S. King and Co. 1874.

¹⁰ "*Royston Gower; or, the Days of Robin Hood*." By Thomas Miller. Author of "*Gideon Giles, the Roper*;" "*Fair Rosamond*," &c. &c. London: Ward, Lock and Tyler. 1874.

¹¹ "*Health and Education*." By the Rev. Charles Kingsley, F.L.S., F.G.S. Canon of Westminster. London: W. Isbister and Co. 1874.

admirers the task of reconciling the statement with the idea of a beneficent Almighty.

"'Woe to the weak' seems to be Nature's watchword. The Psalmist says, 'The righteous shall inherit the land.' If you go to a tropical forest, or indeed if you observe carefully a square acre of any English land, cultivated or uncultivated, you will find that Nature's text at first sight looks a very different one. She seems to say—Not the righteous, but the strong shall inherit the land. Plant, insect, bird, what not — Find a weaker plant, insect, bird than yourself, and kill it and take possession of its little vineyard, and no Naboth's curse shall follow you; but you shall inherit, and thrive therein, you, and your children after you, if they will be only as strong and as cruel as you are. That is Nature's Law"—(p. 195).

Of course a man who loves the East wind and admires the Athanasian Creed, will have no difficulty in reconciling these views with the idea of a Beneficent Creator. Credit, however, must be given to Canon Kingsley for his thorough honesty. He is always willing to admit facts. He does not, like most of his fellow-clergy, blink them. His writings in spite often of his conclusions, are therefore most valuable. Educated Germans often say, we don't care what views on Revelation are held at our schools as long as Science is properly taught; for we are quite sure that our children, when they come to manhood, will think for themselves. So we say of Canon Kingsley's writings. We care not one straw about his views on the Atonement or the Athanasian Creed. As long as he teaches sound science we are quite content. We are fully satisfied that in due time the world will draw its own conclusions. We hope, therefore, that Canon Kingsley may give us many more such admirable lectures as "The Science of Health" and "The Two Breaths." They will help to counteract some of the ill effects of some of the sermons of his fellow-clergymen. Here is a passage from "The Two Breaths," which cannot be too widely circulated:—

"Every organ of the body is formed out of the blood, and if the blood be vitiated, every organ suffers in proportion to its delicacy; and the brain, being the most delicate and highly specialised of all organs, suffers most of all and soonest of all, as every one knows who has tried to work his brain when his digestion was the least out of order. Nay, the very morals will suffer. From ill-filled lungs, which signify ill-repaired blood, arises year by year an amount not merely of disease, but of folly, temper, laziness, intemperance, madness, and, let me tell you fairly, crime"—(p. 41).

We have not given the whole of this passage, because we by no means agree with Canon Kingsley's conclusion, which we have, therefore, omitted. But a man holding the position in the Church which Canon Kingsley does, who dares to speak the truth so plainly and so boldly, wins our admiration and sympathy. Not many years ago it was the fashion for the clergy to denounce Combe as a materialist and atheist; but the whirligig of time has brought round its revenges, and we find that most sensible of physiologists quoted and recommended in Canon Kingsley's pages. Here, again, is another passage from "The Science of Health:"—

"We can no more mend men by theories than we can by coercion—to which, by the by, almost all those theorists look longingly as their final hope and mainstay. We must teach men to mend their own matters, of their own reason, and their own free-will. We must teach them that they are the arbiters of their own destinies; and, to a fearfully great degree, of their children's destinies after them. We must teach them, not merely that they ought to be free, but that they are free, whether they know it or not, for good and for evil. And we must do that in this case by teaching them sound practical science; the science of physiology as applied to health"—(pp. 9, 10).

We should like, however, to know accurately how far it is true what Canon Kingsley states twice over, though in very general and hazy terms, that the present generation is so much inferior to former generations in physical strength and stature; for this is what we suppose he means by his rather big terms "degrading process" (p. 8) and "degradation" (p. 10). We are quite aware of the popular proverb, which says "each generation grows wiser and weaker," and that the recruiting sergeant has increasing difficulties each year in the manufacturing districts in finding recruits with the proper chest-measurement. But, on the other hand, large limitations and qualifications will have to be made. We have seen it stated that at the Eglinton Tournament it was found to be an impossibility to wear the armour of our ancestors, so much larger-limbed had their descendants become. This is a subject which is worthy the attention of Mr. Galton. Some of Canon Kingsley's papers, however, in this volume are very poor. The greater portion of "The Tree of Knowledge" is mere theological twaddle, and of "The Air-Mother" mere literary rant; whilst "The Study of Natural History" is quite unworthy of its author. We go back with pleasure to "The Science of Health;" and shall conclude our notice of an interesting volume with a practical suggestion, which we trust we may see before long carried into effect in many of our large towns:—

"Why, then—to come to practical suggestions—should there not be opened in every great town in these realms a public school of health? It might connect itself with—I hold that it should form an integral part of—some existing educational institute. But it should at least give practical lectures for fees small enough to put them within the reach of any respectable man or woman, however poor. . . . Why should not the experiment be tried, far and wide, of giving lectures on health, as supplementary to those lectures on animal physiology which are, I am happy to say, becoming more and more common? Why should not people be taught—they are already being taught at Birmingham—something about the tissues of the body, their structure and uses, the circulation of the blood, respiration, chemical changes in the air respired, amount breathed, digestion, nature of food, absorption, secretion, structure of the nervous system—in fact, he taught something of how their own bodies are made and how they work?"—(pp. 12, 13).

Mr. Leslie Stephen's¹² style is exactly the opposite to Canon Kingsley's. We have no figzigs of fine writing for fine writing's sake, or for the sake of anything else. God is not adjured nor complimented in every other page. Christianity and muscles find their proper places. It is a per-

¹² "Hours in a Library." By Leslie Stephen. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1874.

fect relief after the flabby, effeminate rhetoric with which we are now deluged, to read Mr. Leslie Stephen's terse and masculine style. His is English, such as Swift, if he had lived now, might have written. He is, too, what is so rare, not only a humourist, but also a consummate master of satire. He is, further, what is also equally rare amongst the popular essayists of the day, thoroughly consistent and logical. He gives us no declamation. He never shrieks. He presents us with good, plain, solid reasoning. There is more substance in "Hours in a Library" than in twenty volumes of modern essays which lumber Mudie's shelves. Of the eight essays which make up the work, all are excellent. We shall select one—"Some Words about Sir Walter Scott"—as it treats upon a point which is especially interesting, when novel writing is fast becoming a regular trade. The essay makes no attempt to rehabilitate Scott, but rather endeavours to take off the edge of Carlyle's well-known criticism upon the author of "Waverley." Mr. Stephen fully admits that public opinion has of late years undergone a remarkable change with regard to the merits of Scott. As Mr. Stephen asks, how many of the ladies who appeared in character at the Waverley Ball on the celebration of the Scott Centenary, could have passed an examination without being crammed, in the events of the lives of the persons whom they were supposed to represent? Arthur Orton, in his favourite character of Roger Tichborne, would have probably succeeded quite as well. Again, Mr. Stephen admits that in private conversations—for, of course, people do not utter such things publicly—he has heard it said that Scott is dull. Now there is a very great difference between worshipping Scott as "the Ariosto of the North" and denouncing him, as Landor did, as a "great Pothouse writer." Mr. Leslie Stephen tries to hold a fair balance between the two extreme views, and so far we think he succeeds admirably. As he truly says, if Scott is called dull, whose reputation is safe? Will our descendants yawn over "Pickwick," and find Mrs. Gamp a bore? It is, however, when Mr. Leslie Stephen directly meets Carlyle that we feel most interested. Amongst various charges Carlyle urges, what is most undoubtedly very true, that Scott regarded literature rather as a trade than an art. "He coined his brains into money to buy farms." He, in short, wrote only what paid. This, as Carlyle says, is, without doubt, hurtful and degrading. Mr. Leslie Stephen's reply is so well put, that we prefer to give it in his own words, rather than weaken it by any amplification—"No good work is done when the one impelling motive is the desire of making a little money; but some of the best work that has ever been done has been indirectly due to the impecuniosity of the labourers." Now this is certainly the truth; but it is not the whole truth. On the one hand, the old proverb, "*Vexatio dat intellectum*"—that is to say, "the want of pence which vexes public men," holds good; but on the other hand, the finest and sublimest works which the world knows—the Greek Drama and the Hebrew Scriptures—were wrought without fee or reward. The other defence which may be made for Scott, is one Mr. Leslie Stephen does not overlook—namely, that if he had taken ever so much pains, he would not have written so very much better. He would

probably have corrected many blunders, for Scott is a most careless writer in matters of detail; but by no possible labour would he have ever reached the highest realms of art. We do not think so much of the defence which Mr. Leslie Stephen urges from the case of Shakspeare. Even supposing that Shakspeare did, as Pope alleges, write merely for gain, his weakness does not extenuate Scott's conduct. Shakspeare's anxiety about a coat of arms and crest has always appeared to us as very small and contemptible. Milton certainly would not have cared for such baubles. We cannot, however, pursue the controversy any further between Carlyle and Mr. Leslie Stephen, but we most strongly advise every one to read for themselves what the able critic has to say in answer to the charges, and strictures of the moralist. Mr. Leslie Stephen, very fairly, we think, sums up Scott's merits. Lockhart, he tells us, remarks that Scott hated whitewash, and all quaker-like uniformity. His eye loved the picturesque; so the roof and the walls at Abbotsford were adorned with carved oak and coats-of-arms; but the carved oak was imitation, and the coats-of-arms were stucco. And Mr. Leslie Stephen adds—

"This anecdote, recounted by 'he admiring Lockhart, gives the true secret of all Scott's failures. This plaster looks as well as the carved oak—for a time; but the day speedily comes when the sham crumbles into ashes, and Scott's knights and nobles, like his carved cornices, become dust in the next generation. It is hard to say it, and yet we fear it must be admitted, that the whole of those historical novels, which once charmed all men, and for which we have still a lingering affection, are rapidly converting themselves into mere débris of plaster of Paris."

And yet Mr. Leslie Stephen is by no means unjust to Scott, nor insensible to his great charms. He can admire his poetry; above all, too, he can sympathize with that love for the country which breathes through all Scott's writings—that hearty, joyous feeling for open-air life, which made him exclaim, he "should die if he did not see the heather once a year." Novelists should by all means study Mr. Leslie Stephen's pages. In the matter of novels he is thoroughly an art-critic. Novelists will learn more from him as to the art of constructing a novel than from any work which we know. He has given us papers upon such utterly different novelists as De Foe, Hawthorne, Balzac, Scott, and Richardson. In these papers he incidentally treats of many other novelists. In one place he gives a catalogue of all the various sorts of novels which have been composed. His criticisms are full of good sense. Here is a criticism which cannot be too strongly impressed upon young novelists:—"The common saying, that truth is stranger than fiction should properly be expressed as an axiom, that fiction ought not to be so strange as truth." Now most young writers, when they are criticised for detailing some incident which is utterly incongruous and out of keeping, reply to the critic, "but it really did happen precisely as I stated." Most true, but this is not art, but photography, which has been well called "the antithesis to art." As Mr. Leslie Stephen goes on to observe: "A marvellous event is interesting in real life simply because we know that it happened. In a fiction we know that it did

not happen; and therefore it is interesting only so far as it is explained;" and, as we also would add, made natural and suited, by the writer's artistic tact, to the immediate circumstances in the novel, either to the development, or to what the Germans call the "retarding nature," which so few novelists can comprehend, of the story. We hope that our realistic novelists may study Mr. Stephen's pages. Excellent is the remark which he quotes from Balzac: "It is the mission of genius to search through the accidents of the time for that which must appear probable to all the world." As French critics are so constantly insisting, it is the duty of the novelist to give us not so much the *vrai* as the *vraisemblable*. Here, again, is another piece of criticism, upon which it might be worth while for our new realistic school to ponder:—"The highest triumph of style is, to say what everybody has been thinking in such a way as to make it new; the greatest triumph of art is to make us see the poetical side of the commonplace life around us" (p. 347). We cannot too strongly insist upon what seems to be entirely forgotten, except by one great living novelist, that novels should be not only *σκιὰ τῶν ὄντων*, but also *φαντάσματα θεῶν*, that they should blend reality with "the light that never was on sea or shore." This has been said over and over again in different ways by critics in every language, but it has never been necessary to repeat it so often as just at the present moment; and we sincerely thank Mr. Stephen for so emphatically calling attention to the subject. One more brief remark, and we have done. Speaking on this very point, Mr. Leslie Stephen remarks: "There are scoffers, though I am not of them, who think that the tittle-tattle which Miss Austen gathered at the country-houses of our grandfathers is worth more than the showy but rather flimsy eloquence of the 'Ariosto of the North'" (p. 260). Now we think that here Mr. Leslie Stephen labours under some mistake. The admirers of Miss Austen, who are not necessarily the "scoffers" of Scott, do not reverence the tittle-tattle of Miss Austen, but her marvellous power of dramatic representation—of dramatic ventriloquism, as it might be termed. In this power she is, her admirers say, and we think, in a certain sense, rightly, only second to Shakspeare. Scott acknowledged her wonderful dramatic power, and in a well-known passage speaks about his own "big bow-wow style," compared to her delicate and exquisite touches. The admirers of Miss Austen regret that such wonderful dramatic power was wasted on such unworthy themes. We were very careful when noticing Miss Thackeray's estimate of Jane Austen in the last number of this *Review*, to point out how very many and how very great were the limitations of the author of "Emma" and "Pride and Prejudice." Let us repeat, it is not the tittle-tattle of Mr. Collins or Miss Bates, amusing as it is, but the wonderful life-like way in which Mr. Collins and Miss Bates and a dozen more characters are brought before us and made to act and talk like real living people, which takes Miss Austen's admirers captive. Hers is the very triumph of dramatic art, but unfortunately shorn of all the glories which accompany "the consecration and the poet's dream." Lastly, let us say that "Hours in a Library" should find its proper home, not on Mudie's

shelves, but really and truly in each reader's library, so that it may grace the place from whence it takes its name.

We do not say that Lord Neaves has produced the best amongst the many excellently edited volumes of the series of "Ancient Classics for English Readers,"¹² but we think he has produced the one which ought to be the most popular. Lord Neaves has enriched his collection by an excellent Introduction. The general idea of an epigram in the public mind is that it is one of those impudent vulgar personal rhymes which we see week after week in our comic journals. Lord Neaves is careful to explain that the Greek epigram does not aim at flippancy, but studiously avoids it. The best Greek epigram knows no meretricious tricks. It does not seek to startle by surprise, much less by absurd personalities. Beauty only is its aim. And this is the characteristic of all good poetry in all ages, whether it is an epigram or in four lines, or an Idyl of Theocritus, or a *Paradise Lost*. Here, for instance, is a good example of the best class of Greek epigram—lines from a lover to his mistress:—

"My star, thou viewest the stars on high;
Would that I were that spangled sky,
That I, thence looking down on thee,
With all its eyes thy charms might see."

Here is another to one who is no longer amongst the living—

"Aster, in life our Morning star, a lovely light you shed,
And now you shine as Hesperus, a star among the dead."

Both these exquisite epigrams are said to be by Plato. We have only one fault to find with Lord Neaves' Introduction. It is not full enough. He should have said far more about the many excellent anthologies which are totally unknown to the public. He has done a great deal, but not enough. He should have given, for those who cared to follow up the subject, a list not only of standard works, like Jacobs and Brunk, but referred us to those still less known to the British public. It would indeed be a most useful undertaking to catalogue all the works which have appeared bearing on the subject of Greek epigrams, with short notices of their respective merits. Further we should have been glad if Lord Neaves would have shown for us, and he would evidently have done the work with great taste and judgment, how thoroughly imbued some of our own Elizabethan poets were with Greek simplicity and taste, and how thoroughly they united condensation of thought with perfect beauty of expression. The English Philistine has got an idea into his head that Moore is the ideal of a Greek Anacreon. No poetry is so utterly alien to the Greek mind as Moore's soulless fancies. If we would find the echo of the Greek epigram in our own literature, we must look for it in Ben Jonson's "Drink to me only with thine eyes," and "Queen and Huntress, chaste and fair;" in Shakspeare's "Take, oh! take those

¹² "The Greek Anthology. Ancient Classics for English Readers." By Lord Neaves, one of the Senators of the College of Justice in Scotland. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1874.

lips away;" in Lily's "Cupid and my Campaspe played at cards for kisses;" in Herrick's "Gather ye roses, while ye may," and in Carew, and Suckling and Lovelace. We have also another little quarrel with Lord Neaves. We wish he would give us far more examples. Here the half is not so good as the whole. His next edition will, we hope, be considerably enlarged and enriched. We wish, too, that he would at times, if merely as a treat to the classical reader, give us the originals of some of our favourite pieces. No man knows better than he does the truth of the old saying that translation is the reverse side of the tapestry. And as we read the English versions—admirable as some of them are—we long to refresh ourselves with the original. As a rule Lord Neaves' translations are excellently chosen. Once or twice we think that we have seen better versions. For instance, "Drinking Cupid," by Julian the Prefect, given by Lord Neaves at page 84, was lately rendered, if not so literally, with far more spirit, by a contributor to *Notes and Queries*. We should have much liked to have given some specimens from Lord Neaves' collection, more especially Meleager's very beautiful lament upon Heliodora's death, and Meleager's exquisite "Hue and Cry after Cupid," to adopt, as Lord Neaves has done, Ben Jonson's title, but they are both unfortunately too long. We must content ourselves with a shorter one by Rufinus on a garland which he sent to Rhodoclea.

"This crown of fairest flowers, my Rhodoclé,
Which my own hands have wreathed, I send to thee:
The lily—the anemone, moist with dew,
The rose, narcissus, and the violet blue.
Thus crowned, let no vain thoughts thy mind invade,
Thou and the wreath both bloom—and both must fade."

This little poem appears to us to unite perfect simplicity, perfect beauty, and perfect pathos. We hope the English reader will say to himself, If the translation is so lovely, what must the original be? The best argument for learning Greek is to be found in the existence of such beauty as this. We strongly recommend all English readers to at once add Lord Neaves' collection to their libraries, and to judge from it for themselves of the grace and dignity of the Greek Anthology—such grace and such dignity as the world has never before or since seen.

The only objection which we have seen urged against Mr. Swinburne's "Bothwell"¹⁴ is its length. As we have also often heard precisely the same objection brought against the "Iliad" and "Paradise Lost," we are not disposed to regard it as of much importance. Considering, however, that this is really the only objection which Mr. Swinburne's critics can allege against him, he must have by this great poem not only exceeded the hopes of his friends but disappointed the expectations of his enemies. It may, however, be just worth while to glance at the real meaning of the criticism. If it means anything

¹⁴ "Bothwell." A Tragedy. By Algernon Charles Swinburne. London: Chatto & Windus. 1874.

it comes to this, that Mr. Swinburne has broken a well-known canon, and given us too much matter and not enough art. Now Mr. Swinburne is not only a poet, but he is a first-rate critic. He has proved this abundantly by his essays. Now to impute this fault to him, is to impute to him ignorance of the very first principles of his art. If Mr. Swinburne is lengthy, he is so wilfully and of set purpose. He at all events knows what he is doing a great deal better than most of his critics. The only answer which can be made to the charge, is that which Hazlitt made to a similar charge against "*Paradise Lost*"—take "*Bothwell*" down and read it. We cannot here at the close of this section, give a long quotation, and by analysis show how thoroughly organic the speech is, and how every part is linked together. We must now content ourselves with a very general verdict. "*Bothwell*" appears to us to be in some respects, as far as the poetry of passion goes, the finest poem which has been published since Byron's death. We are not quite sure whether Mr. Swinburne was right in casting his poem in a dramatic instead of an epic form. By adopting the latter form he would have taken the most formidable weapon out of his critics' hands. On the whole, however, we think that Mr. Swinburne is right. What he would have gained in one direction, he would have more than lost in another. Briefly let us say that by "*Bothwell*" Mr. Swinburne has placed himself in the van of modern poets. There will now be no questioning his position. We speak in general terms, because to give a thorough estimate of the poem itself, to point out its defects and shortcomings, is in this place quite beyond our power.

When some two years ago the first series of "*Songs of Two Worlds*,"¹⁵ by a new writer, appeared, we did not join the loud chorus of praise with which the volume was hailed. We purposely stayed our hand. We could of course see in it much that was beautiful, but also much which was vague and crude. We thought time might do much to ripen the writer's powers, but should have been glad if he had allowed a longer period than he has done to elapse before he had given us a second venture. Still we are bound to say that the second series is a very great improvement upon the first. The writer has gained a greater mastery over the mere mechanism of verse. He has acquired, too, a vigour of style without losing any of the tenderness and mystic feeling which distinguished his earlier poems.

We must briefly say of "*Borland Hall*"¹⁶ that it is worthy of the reputation of the author of "*Olrig Grange*." It opens up for us a question which has often been asked, how far would a modern novel in the shape of a poem succeed? This we think the writer of "*Borland Hall*" has partially answered. We believe he might, if he would only set himself to the task, solve the problem. The difficult part would be to say in poetry those commonplaces which have hitherto been con-

¹⁵ "*Songs of Two Worlds*." Second Series. By a New Writer. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

¹⁶ "*Borland Hall*." By the Author of "*Olrig Grange*." Glasgow: James Maclehose. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

fined to prose. The writer possesses, what is essential for such an undertaking, not only the mere poetical faculty, but deep humour and knowledge of the world. "Borland Hall" is as entertaining as the brightest novelle ever written.

As usual, we have an enormous quantity of small volumes of verse. In nearly every case the writers mistake the wish for the power to write poetry. By far the best are "Song Drifts,"¹⁷ published anonymously, and Mr. Malden's "Philip Ashton."¹⁸ This last, however, shows the greatest promise. We do not know that there is the slightest use in going through the remainder. To name them would simply be to condemn them.

Amongst the miscellaneous books which crowd our table the first place must be given to Mr. Marshall's learned "Early History of Woodstock Manor."¹⁹ The work has evidently been a labour of love. The only critic of such a laborious work can be the author himself. No one else can possibly know anything about the small details into which he enters with such minute care. Two children's books²⁰ may here be recommended to parents who happen to be wanting such things.

Last of all we must welcome the new edition of Mr. Rosetti's "Dante and his Circle,"²¹ and two handsome reprints of Elizabethan literature.²² Both of the last are excellently edited, and will be a great boon to all students who live in the country, and who cannot be constantly running up to the British Museum or Bodleian Libraries. It is no exaggeration to say, since American buyers have come into the market, that the original editions of Elizabethan works are quite beyond the reach of any but the very longest purses. Our thanks are therefore especially due to such enterprising and public-spirited publishers as Mr. Pearson and Messrs. Reeves and Turner for undertaking these reprints.

¹⁷ "Song Drifts." Glasgow: Thomas Murray & Son. 1874.

¹⁸ "Philip Ashton, and other Poems." By Henry Elliot Malden. Cambridge: E. Johnson. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1874.

¹⁹ "The Early History of Woodstock Manor and its Environs." By E. Marshall, M.A. London and Oxford: James Parker. 1874.

²⁰ I. "What Can She Do?" Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. 1874. II. "Cansy." By Hesba Stretton, Author of "Lost Gipsy." Six Illustrations. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

²¹ "Dante and his Circle." With the Italian Poets preceding him (1100, 1200, 1300). A Collection of Lyrics. Edited and Translated in the Original Metres, by Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Revised and Re-arranged Edition: London: Ellis & White. 1874.

²² I. "The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood. Now First Collected, with Illustrative Notes and a Memoir of the Author." In Six Volumes. London: John Pearson. 1874. II. "Old English Plays, a Select Collection of." Originally published by Robert Dodsley in the year 1744. Fourth Edition. Now First Chronologically Arranged, Revised, and Enlarged, with the Notes of all the Commentators and New Notes. By W. Carew Hazlitt. London: Reeves & Turner. 1874.

THE
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OCTOBER 1, 1874.

ART. I.—THE REVOLT OF THE RESIDUUM.

IT is just eight months since Mr. Gladstone addressed to some three hundred and fifty astonished gentlemen, his nominal adherents in the House of Commons, a letter destined to occupy a prominent place among historical letters. At no time, possibly, since that *verbosa et grandis epistola* forwarded by Tiberius to the Roman Senate, has any written communication caused a greater flutter among the members of a legislative assembly. It was followed by the Greenwich manifesto, and that this was no collective note settled in committee of the whole Cabinet, was patent on the face of it. Great men are pretty sure to have a style, good or bad, of their own; and Mr. Gladstone in a State paper is as unmistakeable as Mr. Carlyle. Not only did the late Premier communicate to the world, after his own unmistakeable fashion, the resolutions of his Cabinet, but, unless rumour is strangely at fault, he communicated them to the Cabinet itself. Assemblages of thirteen or fourteen persons have, before now, done a variety of great things, from ruling a country to constituting a vestry; but there is one thing that they have never done—they have never kept a secret. It has transpired that the Cabinet was summoned on that memorable occasion, not for the purpose of deliberating, but for the purpose of registering the decree of its impetuous Chief.

The moment this letter was in the hands of men, we believe there was hardly an individual versed in practical politics, down to the respective agents at Little Peddlington, who did not perceive that it was a mistake. In the first place, it was a surprise;

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and English people, as a rule, are not fond of surprises. No English prime minister had ever dissolved Parliament in this way; and no prime minister with a majority of sixty at his back had ever dissolved Parliament at all. In the next place, it was felt by intelligent Liberals quite as much as by Conservatives—indeed very much more acutely by the former—that to submit a budget to the people, instead of submitting it to the assembly chosen by the people, among other purposes, for that of discussing budgets, was not a course in accordance with representative institutions. What made the matter a thousand times worse was that the budget, so submitted to all the gin-palaces, eating-houses, workmen's clubs and barbers' shops in the land, held out a distinct bribe. It would have been bad enough if Mr. Gladstone, finding himself in a situation which compelled him to come upon the people for more money in the shape of taxes, had announced the news to the people directly, instead of adopting what he might choose to consider the roundabout way of breaking it to them through their representatives. But to write what, in effect, was written: "You appear to dislike the Income Tax, and we will therefore at once assume, without discussion, that it is a bad one. I will show you the way to get rid of it: return me to power with a sufficient majority,"—to do this was to part company not only with political economy but with common sense, with all knowledge of human nature. The constituencies would, of course, reply that the condition of the national finances being shown to be such as to admit of the repeal of the Income Tax, the Income Tax might be repealed, and, indeed, supposing the popular demand in that direction was such as was represented, would have to be repealed, by *any* Government which they might choose to put in office. Moreover, the bribe was precisely of a nature not to catch the class which was about to turn the balance against Mr. Gladstone. It was like the offer of the bushel of potatoes to the man who had not got the means of lighting a fire, in "*Oliver Twist*." "What in the world am I to do with these potatoes?" said the man. "What in the world are we to do with this repeal of the Income Tax?" was the hiccuping inquiry of the Illiterates and other "Constitutionalists" who came forward to signify their adhesion to the True-blue colours at the polls. This was a point upon which the emissaries between Mr. Gladstone and public opinion—and he had such persons about him, always deeply skilled in advising him wrongly,—might have been expected, for once in a way, to be rightly informed. They might have told him, in the language of Talleyrand—supposing any of them had ever heard of Talleyrand—that in addition to a high political misdemeanor, he was about to be guilty of a serious mistake.

Not that we think Mr. Gladstone's action in this matter to have been so disastrous for his party as has been alleged by considerable authorities. Under no circumstances could his majority have survived the session of 1874. Even if he had first repealed the Income Tax, and then gone to the country, on the strength of that very questionable achievement, his fate was evidently sealed. The causes of this state of things we shall directly attempt to appreciate. They appear to us in no way to redound to his discredit, and therefore we regret that it cannot be said of him as of the Thane of Cawdor, that "Nothing in his life became him like the leaving it." The Liberal Government being about to fall, it was above all things desirable that it should fall decently.

The Liberal Government, and what is worse, the Liberal party, fell. Yet we think that few persons on either side had anticipated the depth of that fall. There is a point at which it is impossible for the English politician, any more than for the English soldier, "not to know that he is beaten." That point the late elections unquestionably brought us to. Our ark, everything down to our sacred candlestick, passed into the hands of the enemy. Of course, the victors' caps were immediately up in the air; and not only caps, but coronets, as a matter of course, and horsehair wigs, and shakoes, not to speak of Boniface's wide-awake and the parson's shovel hat. In all this we see nothing to complain of. He must be a very surly Cantab or Oxonian, who, at the boat race, would object to the ovation bestowed upon the victors of the opposite party; and even the young Messrs. Lawson, if in training at either of these great seminaries, would hardly object to an extra glass or two being drained in honour of the occasion. It is certain that if the Liberals had won they would have made a great noise, though not, we think, so great a noise; and talked a great deal of nonsense, though not, we think, so much nonsense; and drunk a great deal too much beer, though not, we are sure, half as much beer as their rivals. We are not complaining: we are simply asking a question, "How was it that we were so consummately beaten?"

The answer furnished by the Conservative press and by Conservative speakers generally, as well as by not a few organs of opinion which style themselves "neutral," has been this: That Mr. Gladstone and his associates had been driving too fast in the direction of democracy. The public, alarmed at the pace of the coach, had insisted, at the first opportunity, on its being pulled up, and the reins entrusted to steadier hands. Doubtless there is some truth in this view, as there always necessarily is in half-views. Doubtless there were some persons in the upper and middling classes who were frightened; though we think there were a great many more who were offended and annoyed—which is

quite a different matter. After violent exertion on the part of the body politic, there will be a widespread craving for repose. After the most salutary operations, the patient, however much he may have benefited by them—perhaps all the more readily the more he has benefited by them—will be for turning the surgeon out of doors, if the latter is even imagined to be meditating an unnecessary use of the scalpel. And this to a certain extent is really the history of the late reaction among these classes. But this is by no means the whole truth. It is not true that the strength of the reaction was due to a craving for repose. This is well put by the Hon. George Brodrick, in an excellent pamphlet which he has lately published :*—

“This cry for repose, absurd in itself, was never raised very loudly till it had almost ceased to have any plausible justification. . . . If the nation ever needed rest at all, it needed rest at the end of 1871, and not at the end of 1873, when there had been a comparative relaxation of legislative vigour lasting over two sessions, and captious Liberals were beginning to ask whether Mr. Gladstone had not played himself out.”

It is equally untrue (and this we say, while readily admitting that the Commune and its proceedings produced a considerable effect in certain quarters) that the strength of the reaction is mainly to be attributed to a horror of democracy. And the best proof of this is that all the lowest part of the democracy which possesses votes—the scum of the constituencies—voted against Mr. Gladstone.

This may seem difficult to establish, now that people are compelled to perform a great public duty in a kind of sentry-box, and a Guy-Fawkes atmosphere of mystery is imported into the whole thing. Nevertheless, the supreme wisdom of the Legislature has permitted—simply and solely because it could not prevent it—one feeble ray of light to penetrate into the deepest darkness of these pens. We are alluding to the case of the Illiterates. Everybody knows that since 1867 we have admitted them in large numbers to our counsels, and that no serious effort was made during the passage of the Ballot Bill to exclude them. In the case of these persons it is of course found impossible to enforce absolute secrecy. It is necessary for them to declare their votes. The nature of these votes is kept secret, to be sure : let no one be frightened—supposing there to be still in existence any human being capable of being frightened at the idea of their being divulged. But what was not always kept secret during the last election, was the *proportion* of these people, who, at each

* “Five Years of Liberal Policy and Conservative Opposition.” By the Hon. George C Brodrick. Published by the Liberal Central Association, Parliament Street.

contest, voted on either side. We do not hesitate to say, from personal experience and inquiries, that a very large majority of them in England, especially in the South of England, voted for the Tories. At Horsham in Sussex, we are informed that, out of 38 Illiterates, 37 voted for the Tories. In the case of Portsmouth, we are advised on the best authority that we should be safe in putting the proportion of Tory illiterate voters at ninety per cent. Though the entire numbers on both sides are scarcely ever to be got at, yet we have received similar answers with regard to almost all the great towns and cities in the South of England, Brighton, Plymouth, Winchester, Salisbury, Canterbury, &c. &c. For example, at one polling-booth at Brighton, at which 20 Illiterates voted, a respectable informant of ours counted 18 Conservative votes. At another booth all of them voted on the Conservative side. We were informed by the returning officer of another town (on the condition of not indicating him) that *all* his Illiterates went the same way. At the scrutiny held in the case of the Petersfield Election Petition, it was discovered that out of 30 persons whose votes had been objected to on the ground of their having been in receipt of parochial relief, 20 (or two-thirds) had voted for the Conservative candidate. These are specimens of information which has reached us from all directions—fragmentary, it is true, but yet all pointing to one conclusion. Now if it be true, and we are certain that it is true, that these people (and they are tolerably numerous) voted for the most part one way, this implies something further. It implies that a further immense mass, little removed from them in point of education and subject to similar influences—the mass of which they are, so to speak, the fringe—cast, in all probability, a great majority of their votes in the same direction. And this probable surmise is confirmed by what came out in the light of day; for though votes may be concealed, sympathies, yells, colours, mud, stones, cannot be concealed. *Naturam expellas furcâ*, &c. The English mobs throughout the last election, with some exceptions, as for instance in Durham, were for the most part decidedly Conservative. We repeat, this is a clear proof that the election did not entirely turn on what are called Conservative principles. Nobody will convince us that the pauper brought from the work-house was alarmed for his property; or that the rough per-meating the town in a state of drunken frenzy, was alarmed for his church and his religion; or that the typical voter at Stroud (who appears to have astonished the people connected with the newspapers, just as though he had been something strange) who had heard of Mr. Gladstone, but had never heard of Mr. Disraeli, was alarmed at the spread of democratic theories. Yet these were the men who made the issue what it was, tho

secessions in the upper and middling classes being sufficient indeed to cause a reaction, but nothing like such a reaction as was witnessed.

How came the lowest classes to be animated with such a fury—for it can be called by no other name—against Mr. Gladstone's Government?

In order to explain this, it is necessary to glance briefly, in passing, at the years 1866 1867. Nor would any apology be necessary if we were about to do something more than glance at that period, for to many people the days of Lord Palmerston are as the days of Sesostris. Immediately after the death of Lord Palmerston, it became necessary for the Liberal Government to "do something" in the way of parliamentary reform; and indeed in the eyes of even moderate Liberals, much remained to be done. The most pressing necessity was obviously a redistribution of seats; not a violent change, but one which should remove some of the most glaring anomalies of the existing system, and pave the way for further and gradual changes in the same direction. At the same time, it was upon the whole desirable, though not by any means so desirable, to extend the franchise, and this too by a gradual step. To do both these things was strictly in the rôle of the great Liberal party, whose function it is to avert violent changes by timely concessions. It would certainly have been better to introduce a Bill containing provisions on both these heads; not because they were inseparably connected; not because this was logically necessary; but because it was politically advisable, as the event sufficiently showed. This was not done, and the fate of the Bill is a matter of history. We do not believe that Mr. Disraeli educated his party into granting household suffrage in the following year, from a Machiavelian calculation that the measure would favour the Conservative party. If he did this, never, we think, was a greater mistake made in the long run. The real motive in his mind, as in that of his Chief, was doubtless indicated by the famous "dishing the Whigs" expression of the latter. Still, we think he may have clearly enough foreseen that for a time, at any rate, the change was as likely to work on behalf of the Conservatives as on behalf of their rivals; and the event has proved the wisdom of his forecast, if he made it. At any rate, and this was the grand consideration, a difficult question was got rid of; and it did not seem easy to suggest a new rallying cry for the Liberals. For a brief, a very brief, interval of time the Conservative chiefs fancied themselves seated in Downing Street; and doubtless began to contemplate the mignonette-pots in their windows with a feeling of possession. They were at home: they were no longer in the position of so many tenants at will, put in by the rightful owners

to keep the administrative premises in order and repair, pending the settlement of a family quarrel. Then came the thunder from a clear sky, in the shape of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church resolutions. It was very unfair; it was altogether unexpected; in short, it was to a good many holders of office what Napoleon's moves were to the Austrian generals. We remember the astonishment of old Lillywhite, when one of the best balls which he ever delivered, a ball which, as he said, "ought not to have been hit," nevertheless *was* stepped out at and hit over his head for four runs by one of the new school. And just such was the astonishment of the Conservatives. They were not conscious of having made any mistake in tactics; yet here was Mr. Gladstone in their midst with a majority of 120.

We think that in judging of the election of 1868 a mistake has been made similar to that made in respect to the election of 1874. It has been commonly supposed that the issue upon which the constituencies voted on the former occasion was that of Justice to Ireland. No doubt it was in great measure the issue submitted to them, but that is altogether a different thing. We do not believe that the whole increase in the Liberal majority in 1868, or the larger part of that increase, was due to any such cause as is here supposed. It must be borne in mind that previously to the election, the Liberal majority numbered over sixty: and we think that under almost any circumstances, that majority must have been increased at a fresh election. The householder pure and simple, and the lodger, then for the first time, came upon the register—though not to be sure in such numbers as they have since swarmed upon it, doubling the total number of electors in the kingdom in less than five years—yet in sufficient force to create everywhere new constituencies. It was like appealing to the *Comitia*, no longer of Romans only, but of mixed Romans and Sabines, and the great question was as to how the Sabines would go. We were still under the system of open voting, and this useful and desirable piece of information could be clearly ascertained. Subject to some exceptions—as for instance Lancashire, where they realized the fact that an Irish question was in issue, and accordingly voted against Ireland and justice to Ireland, with the pardonable prejudice of people who knew something by experience of the Irish—the votes of this class were preponderatingly on the side of the Liberals. Now we have just said that we look upon it as the height of absurdity to suppose that the drunken Conservative voters who rendered day as well as night hideous at the last election, were actuated by a dread of democracy (though, by the way, if they could have seen themselves as others saw them they might, with very good reason, have stood in dread of it), and similarly we do not believe that a tithe of the lowest class of voters in 1868 cared one

straw for the Irish Church, or Irish land, or Irish education. Newly gifted with the suffrage, they looked upon the same suffrage as a kind of talisman with which they were about to accomplish great results for themselves. In one of Lord Lytton's novels there is a benevolent nobleman who wishes that everybody could have turtle and venison; and there was a French princess who, on hearing that the people were in want of bread, exclaimed "Why don't they give them *brioches*?" Without exactly looking for turtle or venison, or Bath-buns all round, there is no doubt that the newly enfranchised voter formed extravagant expectations of what would be done for him by the party whom he should place in power. He naturally turned his eyes towards the Liberal party, partly owing to its mere name—names have great weight with the vulgar—partly owing to its being somehow or other associated with the cause of the people. Then, Mr. Gladstone's own name went for a great deal. He was popular. He had a great reputation for taking off taxes and cheapening everything. He had made French wine cheap: might not cheap skittles and cheap ale result from his manipulation? Gentlemen who wrote and still write newspaper and magazine articles about the "sound and healthy political feelings of the masses," "their sense of the injustice of an alien religious establishment," or else "their determination, equally with their betters, to resist innovations on our time-honoured institutions" and such jargon, should be put through a course of six weeks' canvassing in the back alleys of our six principal towns, and they would return probably sadder, certainly wiser men. They would find how great a mistake it is to suppose that uneducated persons, as a general rule, care for great issues which do not affect themselves. And the voters of whom we speak had been admitted to the suffrage without education, without preparation of any kind. They were like rolling ballast. They dragged the ship of the state a great deal further on one side than it would otherwise have gone in 1868, and by their disappointment and revulsion of feeling they similarly dragged it to an extreme angle of inclination on the other side in 1874. We are now in a position to answer the question which we put above. Why were these people so furious last January? And this is the same thing as to ask: Why were they so disappointed? For the disappointment of ignorance always turns to fury.

Upon the whole, nearly everything that Mr. Gladstone's Government—in our opinion the best Government that ever ruled this country—nearly everything that it did was of a nature to disappoint, among other classes, *this* particular class. Hardly any of his great measures—admirable, and indeed necessary as they were, and highly as they will be prized by posterity—were

of a character to captivate the masses by the semblance of any advantage held out to them directly. At the same time they were of a character to alienate, one after another, powerful sections of society, capable of working on the masses. These were the people who applauded Mr. Disraeli's "plundering and blundering" hit—by the way, literally a plundering one, for like many of his other sayings, it was taken, without acknowledgment from some one else. Yet we may set against this what fell from Mr. Disraeli in the House of Commons, on the occasion of the death of Prince Albert—unless indeed, as was the case with his speech on the death of the Duke of Wellington, it was translated verbatim from some French author: at any rate he adopted it. "Those who move, must change," said Mr. Disraeli, "and those who change must necessarily disturb and alarm prejudices; and what he encountered was only a demonstration that he was a man superior to his age, and admirably adapted to carry out the work he had undertaken." This is really a description, by anticipation, of Mr. Gladstone's administration: a recognition of the truth that it is impossible to make great changes of any kind, good or bad, without exciting bitter enmities. If we suppose a Government inventing railways, we shall see that it would very likely fall amid a storm of obloquy. Every landed proprietor who objected to his paternal acres being cut up, every farmer who objected to his ricks being set fire to, every postmaster who objected to traffic being driven off his road, every horse-dealer who dreaded ruin from a fall in the price of horses, every old maid who was "disturbed and alarmed" by this new-fangled and dangerous innovation, would cast his or her influence against it. And although a large portion of the professional and trading classes would be in its favour, yet it is easy to see that the masses, as being persons who had nothing to gain by quick locomotion, who had no desire to leave their work and go gadding about, might not support it; might indeed, by a variety of ingenious persuasions, be set violently against it. And although everything might—in the case supposed certainly would—come right in the end, yet before what some persons so complacently speak of as the "end" had come, there would have been time for a great deal of mischief to be done.

The first of Mr. Gladstone's great measures, the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, was of a character to alienate an extremely powerful and influential class, the priesthood, and at the same to disappoint in its results the lowest class of voter. Nor was any accession of political strength gained by it in the end; since the persons principally pleased were the Nonconformists, who, as a rule, already belonged to

the Liberal party, and the advanced wing of that party generally. For it is notorious that the Whig section (of which we wish to speak with every respect) were never wildly jubilant over this measure. The same remark applies to the Land Bill. The respectable Whigs always appeared to us, during the passage of that Bill, to be in the position of a regiment fighting on a certain side, it might be willingly, but knowing very well that it would be fired into if it did not fight. And the Bill communicated a certain twinge to landlords, of whatever politics, all over the country. Even those who deemed it most salutary were inclined to rank it with the *salubres sed voluptate carentes cibi* of Pliny. And both these measures might very plausibly be represented as failures to the residuum. Of course, they did nothing for them. But what did they do for anybody? Look at coercion bills! And look at Home Rule! No reflecting person, it is almost needless to say, went in for either of these measures on the ground that the Irish, after centuries of misgovernment, would be immediately satisfied by these or any other measures. But the Irish must be ruled, and it is impossible to rule, except by brute force, any man or any people labouring under a real grievance. And that the Irish Church, at any rate, was such a grievance cannot now be denied. After removing real injustice, severity can be exercised, when necessary, with a good grace; but not till then. A schoolboy labouring under unfair treatment in some particular, will probably always be an unruly boy. By removing the cause of his complaint, you do not necessarily make a good boy of him at once; but you put yourself in a position to come down upon him, if need be, with clean hands, and with a cane in those hands. Moreover, it is a fact that the Irish are slowly, but surely, becoming much better boys. The dissatisfaction with England is much less than it was. Home Rule is a very feeble and expurgated edition of Repeal. And it is to be driven into the Saxon by fair argument, and not by the bayonets of Green Erin's sons. "My countrymen," we once heard a distinguished Irish judge say, "when they come to England, find themselves stifled under an oppressive cloud of common sense." There is strong evidence that this cloud is extending to the sister isle, attracted thither by the improved cultivation of Mr. Gladstone. But all these considerations are altogether above the uneducated. They expected to see something startling, immediate, effective: something like what they have been in the habit of witnessing from the gallery of the penny theatre: the reconciled nations clasped in each other's arms, and laying their chins alternately on each other's shoulders, in the midst of blue fire. The appearance—as undramatic as it is possible to conceive—of Mr. Butt and his company puzzles them. The power to appre-

ciate a very gradual, and consequently sure, growth of better feeling on the part of one class for another class, or one people for another people, is a power requiring a considerable amount of education. There is no doubt, then, that the residuum have been persuaded to look with disappointment on Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy. The sure appeal is to history, but then "history" is a long time in coming; and in the meantime the Tories are in, on the strength of this and other popular delusions.

The institution of a national system of education will always remain one of the chief monuments of Mr. Gladstone's administration. The Act for that purpose would have made the reputation of any Conservative Government that had happened to pass it, and would have been bragged about at Tory dinners and on Tory platforms for forty years afterwards. "Who gave the people education?" and so forth. That it was not in all respects what we could have wished, and what we believe it might have been made, has been already set forth in this Review. But the difficulties of the subject should in fairness be considered. What we wish to point out here is, that the Education Act was not one likely to inspire the lower class of voter with enthusiasm. It was specially devised as a safeguard against him and his fellows; and no attempt at concealing this was ever made. "We must educate our new masters!" was the cry; and the "we" here represented the more intelligent classes of Conservatives as well as Liberals, who united for the purpose. But the Bill was the Bill of the Liberals. Now the illiterate voter would doubtless not object to see all sorts of fine learning put into his son's head by a process similar to that adopted at the Feast of Pentecost; but when the household earnings are diminished, and a further prospect of rates is held out, the matter assumes quite a different aspect. We do not believe that the passage of the Education Act elicited much gratitude on the part of the class which we are considering; while we are quite sure that it elicited many curses, loud as well as deep.

Again, the abolition of purchase in the army was not a measure calculated to enlist any extraordinary sympathy on the part of the inhabitants of back alleys. If we may be permitted to diverge for a moment from our immediate object, we will say that the change was a most necessary one, viewed as a prelude to other changes equally necessary; viewed, that is to say, as a step towards the remodelling of our whole army system. The Franco German War, and the state of feeling on the subject of our land defences which it engendered in England, furnished an opportunity such as hardly occurs once in a lifetime, to a minister of genius. It was not advisable to dream for a moment of conscriptions, or other processes alien to our habits and tradi-

tions; but it was advisable to seize the favourable and fleeting occasion for doing, or at any rate attempting to do, several things which were not even attempted. It would have been possible, we believe, at that time, to have infused something like order into that chaotic arrangement of army, reserve, militia, yeomanry, volunteers; to have constructed a strong and homogeneous landwehr out of men passed through the ranks, with a system of volunteering for foreign and colonial service; to have raised the whole character of the army so that respectable men should be satisfied at their sons joining it, instead of scraping together every penny to buy their discharge; to have localized regiments, so that we should no longer hear of a regiment originally raised in Dorsetshire, and bearing the name of that county, having only a dozen Dorsetshire men in it; and to have divided the country into some few real military districts, capable, at a moment of alarm, of furnishing a complete *corps d'armée* at a word from Whitehall. All these, and a number of other points, were pressed upon the attention of the Government by a number of officers of high scientific attainments—Sir Lintott Simmons, for example—who, though varying as to details, were in the main agreed as to what should be done. At any rate, something might have been proposed to be done; since nobody pretends that the present constitution and organization of our land forces is perfect. And that was evidently the time for proposing it. What Mr. Cardwell did was to prepare a Bill for the abolition of purchase—that was really what his proposals amounted to; and in conjunction with this recommendation, which was ultimately carried into effect, though not precisely in the form intended by the Ministry, to proceed to certain small tinkering. The question of army reform, impossible at the present moment, has been handed over possibly to another generation. It was said that Mr. Cardwell was so much in awe of the House of Commons that he shrank from making any bold suggestions. But surely that was the occasion, if ever, for making suggestions that were bold, and for standing by them or falling by them; or for resigning one's place in a Cabinet if the Chief, or a majority of the Cabinet, refused to endorse them. And it has always appeared to us that, if the Liberal Administration had remained in power, and a war had broken out in the course of a few years, such as had produced some signal discomfiture to our land forces, or, at least, exhibited the weakness of our system, the people might, with very great reason, have turned the whole force of their displeasure upon the Liberal Government which had neglected so great an opportunity for remedying our army deficiencies as had been presented to them. But *de non apparentibus et de non existentibus eadem est ratio*. The English Minister whose

blundering is not detected till a war breaks out, is in the happy position of a conveyancer of established reputation, who is usually dead and gone by the time that he is discovered to have given away ten thousand a year to the wrong person. So only a few far-sighted people have blamed Mr. Cardwell, who is generally considered rather a model statesman than otherwise, of the safe (in war-time we fear we should have to say, very unsafe) order. To revert to the abolition of purchase and its effect on the masses. No doubt it furnished a glowing paragraph or two to Liberal members of Parliament at their annual audits with their constituents: and we suspect that Napoleon the First and his famous saying, that every soldier in his army carried the bâton of a marshal in his knapsack, were frequently trotted out in company. But we are of opinion that the chance of seeing his son a field marshal does not weigh much with the man who pays five pounds a year rent for his house. He will be just as anxious as before to warn the young man against the tall fellows in red and blue with multi-coloured streamers, who infest the pothouse round the corner. And after all, his landlord, and his clergyman, and the landlord of the Chequers, where he drops in sometimes for his half-pint, all agree in telling him that this change (from which he himself will derive no conceivable advantage) will cost a mint of money, some part of which it must necessarily in some shape or other fall to his lot to pay. To make the army a popular service (which it most certainly is not) is the necessary prelude to making anything which can be done for the common soldier a popular act with the masses.

The same remarks hold good of the University Tests Act, a miserably truncated measure, in which the Clerical Fellowships are still left untouched. However, we are speaking of the good that was done, not of the good that was omitted to be done. No doubt the Act placed the Nonconformist student in a more advantageous position than before. But the Nonconformists are, as everybody knows, almost to a man Liberals. And without pretending for a moment to affirm that they embrace the cream of the working classes, yet it is certain that a working man who is a Nonconformist is usually an intelligent working man. Such a man may hope to have a son of his own at the University some day, or even if he has no such hope or idea, he is capable of appreciating an act of political and social justice. In any case, he does not belong to the class whom we are considering. We are speaking of the residuum, the illiterates and penilliterates (if we may coin the word), and what benefit can such people see accruing to themselves from the throwing open of the Universities to persons of all creeds? What do they know about the Universities? What do they care about creeds?

"I voted for Mr. A," said one of these gentlemen to a friend of ours just after the last election, in a cathedral city, "because I tasted a quart of his strong beer, and if I had tasted a quart of Mr. B's beer that was still stronger, I should have voted for *him*," and a number of others applauded the remark. Fancy saying to these men : "My good friends, you really do owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Gladstone, who has procured for persons who do not believe in infant baptism, or in bishops, the power of holding fellowships at Trinity College, Cambridge, for a few years!" Most likely all these men had been baptized : very likely they all believed in bishops. Any way, to talk to them about throwing open Universities would be like talking to them of throwing open field-marshalships. It would be much more to the point to throw open tavern doors. This is what the two great political parties have brought us to : the one has furnished us with an immense mass of voters who will vote for a pot of beer ; the other has carefully provided a machinery for withdrawing these votes, so given, from public observation, thereby diminishing in an enormous degree the chances of detection, and increasing in a corresponding ratio the temptation to "treat."

It may be said that, if none of the great measures of the Liberal Government were of such a kind, or indeed could be of such a kind, as to satisfy the hazy expectations formed by the residuum, yet that their general financial policy should have approved itself to this class. Undoubtedly, history will pronounce the administration of the finances by the Government of 1868 to have been upon the whole a brilliant success. We have purposely avoided charging this article with a quantity of statistics which must be assumed to be generally known to persons who take any interest in politics. It must suffice to say here that a Government which in the course of six years could remit taxation to the amount of over sixteen millions in the face of such extraordinary calls as the payment of the Alabama award, and the additional military expenditure rendered necessary by the war, including the abolition of purchase, as also the increased education vote, and the telegraph service, and which could reduce the national debt by twenty-five millions, notwithstanding the creation of terminable annuities to the amount of nine millions for the purchase of telegraphs, &c.—that such a Government as this, to put the case moderately, deserved well of the country generally *pro tanto*. Of course it will be said that the national prosperity during these years facilitated the course of the Government : and we are far from denying this, or from wishing to raise exaggerated claims on behalf of the Liberals. But it is not every Government which knows how to take

advantage of a period of prosperity ; and the tendency in such a case is almost always towards increasing instead of diminishing expenditure. What we contend is that Mr. Gladstone's Administration took the utmost possible advantage, for the benefit of the country, of the circumstances in which it found itself. But when all this is examined a little more closely, it will be found that there is scarcely an item of a character to come straight home to the masses who were about to throw their weight into the Conservative scale. The only exception that we know of is the reduction of the taxes on sugar. What does the illiterate voter care for a diminution of the National Debt? What does it matter to him that the Income Tax has been reduced? What does he know about fire insurance duties? What in the world is it to him that hair-powder and hotel servants are no longer taxed? That he benefits ultimately indirectly by these and numerous remissions of the same character is evident ; but it is not evident to him. How does he feel it? A Government which should cheapen the pint of beer by one-half its present cost would be blessed in every public-house in the land, we are afraid to think how many millions of times in the course of the four-and-twenty hours. But to persons in this stage of political education paying off twenty-five millions of the National Debt is like doing something or other in the moon.

Moreover, in order to carry out all these salutary reductions, it was necessary for the Government to practise the terrible virtue of economy. The Liberal party has never understood that economy is not popular with the masses ; no reason assuredly for abstaining from a course right and commendable in itself : but a good reason for not expecting the gratitude of the masses. To these, niggardliness (which is their name for economy) is as odious in a Government as in a candidate at election-time. They are disposed to think, not without a certain *primâ facie* plausibility, that reductions of taxation are generally made for the benefit of the middle class, and it is precisely at the expense of this class that they would wish to see themselves benefited. Their anger knows no bounds when reductions are made at *their* expense. Probably no departmental act of the late Government was more productive of unpopularity than the discharge of established dock-yard labourers by Mr. Childers. We are not at all disposed to deny that it deserved that unpopularity, and that it was a wasteful as well as cruel act ; the places of the best men, who were sent away in violation of an understanding which had always been respected by successive Governments, having shortly afterwards to be filled by novices who learnt their trade at the expense of the country. But to discuss this point is out of our scope. We are speaking of its effect. It produced an effect, not only on

the lowest classes, but on intelligent working men all over the country. However, it is of the former that we are speaking, and we could relate numerous examples of the way in which it came home to them, as being a tangible and concrete object of vision. We will content ourselves with one. A friend of ours was conversing with a chimney-sweeper, a leading politician of his class, a few days after the Westminster election, and learnt from him that to the best of his belief, every chimney-sweeper in Westminster had voted for the Conservatives. On our friend inquiring the reason of this, the answer he received was, "Because of the discharge of the dockyard labourers." Although Mr. Lowe's unfortunate attempt at match taxes did not originate directly in motives of economy, it produced a similar effect. It was a direct tampering with the interest of the lowest class; a proposal to readjust the finances at their expense. Let no Government suppose that when it is guilty of injustice to a dockyard labourer, or what seems to be injustice to a maker of matches, it has only dockyard labourers and match-makers to deal with. It will send a thrill through the whole class to which these persons belong. And this is only natural, and we will make haste to say, not blameable. Imagine an admiral on a station suddenly relieved of his command, by an arbitrary act of any Government, within *three* days of the time when he would have become entitled to an increased pension if he had remained in command—for the purpose of saving a certain paltry amount to the country! Would not every officer in both services be up in arms? Should not we have questions and motions in the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and a night's debate in one or both of these Houses, and a division, and perhaps a vote of censure? Yet this is precisely what Mr. Childers did in the case of the defenceless dockyard labourers. Other economies were real ones, only it is a mistake, we repeat, to suppose that any kind of economy is palatable to the masses. As for Mr. Childers's recklessness and Mr. Lowe's folly, they might fairly have been condoned, on an impartial survey of the general course of the Government. Only, as a matter of fact, they were not condoned. *Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures*—the reader knows the rest. It was all very well for the Liberal candidate to pour into the ear of the small householder Income Tax, twenty-five millions of debt remitted, hair powder, hotel servants, impressed stamps, and the rest of it: but the exiled dockyard labourer and the match maker, whom it had been attempted to starve, were objects which the man could realize and present to his eye: and it was with these objects before his eyes that in many cases he went to the poll.

But the Ballot? Was not that a measure calculated to satisfy

and to evoke the gratitude of the lowest class of voters? That depends in some degree upon the strength of the demand for it, and, in our opinion, the strength of this demand was ridiculously exaggerated. There was no irresistible cry for the liberty of private voting, such as might be supposed to spring, under certain circumstances, from the hearts of the people—like the cry for Reform in the time of our fathers, for example. The ballot was a device concocted in the studies of radical philosophers and doctrinaires, and it took many years even to familiarize it to the minds of the people at large. At no time was its enactment so wholly unnecessary and gratuitous—if we look at the matter from an imperial, and not a party point of view—as at the precise time which was chosen for the purpose of carrying it. The evils for which it was designed as a violent remedy were slowly and surely dying out, partly by natural processes, partly through the effects of recent legislation. Public feeling on the subject of bribery and intimidation had wonderfully improved, and was daily improving: and the increased number of votes had in the majority of cases completely blunted the edge of these weapons. It would have been difficult to make any sensible impression on Glasgow by means of bribery, or on the Tower Hamlets by means of intimidation. In the few cases in which the ballot might have been supposed to prove a remedy, it has proved wholly inoperative, at Launceston for instance. Launceston is just as much an appanage of Werrington Park, and Ripon is just as much an appanage of Studley Park, under secret as under open voting. Even the people who shouted for this so-called reform—a noisy minority as minorities often are—were dimly conscious of the truth. It was always “for the sake of others,” never for themselves, that they wanted the ballot: and people under these circumstances never shout very heartily on behalf of other people. On the third reading of the Bill in 1871, Mr. Disraeli brought forward some curious statistics, compiled for him, as he stated, with great care, showing the number of members of the then existing Parliament, who in any way, either by votes in previous Parliaments, or in their election addresses, or in speeches to their constituents previous to the election, had pledged themselves to the ballot. He found that there were altogether, under these three tests, 123 Members, or not one-fourth of the House of Commons. This shows very clearly what was the extent of the pressure put upon Parliament. Another symptom of the apathy of the public was exhibited when the Bill was thrown out by the House of Lords. A great demonstration against the action of the Upper Chamber, which was attempted at Birmingham, turned out a ridiculous failure. How-

ever, we are not disposed to deny that the passage of a Ballot Bill by a Liberal Government satisfied a great number of people: that is to say, there were a number of people who would have been temporarily dissatisfied, if such a Bill had not been passed. But that it was looked upon by the lowest class of voters as a boon conferred upon them, we altogether deny. If that were so, we should have not only to speak of their ignorance (which is not a fault), but of their base ingratitude; for the first use made of the boon, if it were one, was to vote in a body against their benefactors.

In speaking of the ballot, we are not for a moment influenced by a consideration of the effects, real or supposed, that it had on the last election. That it had a very real effect, and one strongly adverse to the Liberal party, we make no doubt. It very greatly increased the Conservative majority; but, ballot or no ballot, the Conservatives must have come in, and we would on many accounts prefer to see a strong rather than a weak Conservative ministry. Nor do we believe that the ballot will, on the whole, even during the next generation, prove an institution which will work unfavourably for the Liberal party. We believe that until such time as the English people shall be much better educated than they are at present—a time when it will be treated as a mere farce—the contrivance will stimulate political action of the zigzag kind recorded by Theodore Hook. When the immortal Gilbert Gurney visited the Old Bailey, he was informed by the Sheriff that the juries gave verdicts of guilty and not guilty alternately, as being the best means of saving time and coming to a right decision on an average of cases. So the illiterate voter being by this time tired of seeing Mr. Gladstone's innings would like to give Mr. Disraeli a turn. The ballot is an excellent piece of machinery for satisfying this charitable feeling on behalf of those that are "out." As all charities should be, so this one must be (and under heavy pains and penalties too) exercised in secret. By-and-by people will have seen enough of Mr. Disraeli and his team, and the inevitable result will follow. This kind of feeling was, of course, always in existence, but it was greatly held in check by the tie of party once openly proclaimed. To vote Whig or Tory because one has always voted Whig or Tory and does not like to be branded as a deserter—for a man to act thus is not to act from the highest motives, yet from motives which are at any rate better ones than mere caprice. *Mais nous avons changé tout cela.* We have carefully put out the ship's lights, and thrown overboard our compasses and chronometers, and set the ballast loose, in view of approaching storms; and all this on the initiative of certain very philosophical persons, hardly one of whom had ever been at sea.

The ballot then—its resistance to which will always be among the glories of the Conservative party—was not a boon, and did not deserve to be considered a boon by the masses. A Liberal administration had been in power for nearly three sessions, and had done absolutely nothing to satisfy the extravagant expectations formed by those who had placed it there. It remained for it to do something in the way of actively molesting the lowest class of voters: or, failing any available opening in this direction, to do something of a character to molest, and if possible to madden some powerful class having the greatest influence over the lowest class of voters. This result was triumphantly accomplished by means of Mr. Bruce's first Licensing Bill, probably the greatest mistake ever made by any Home Minister. And the way in which he made his mistake we take to have been this:—

It was agreed, on all hands, that "something required to be done" in connexion with public-houses. We do not say that anything, or at least anything very important, really required to be done: but simply that an idea to this effect had all of a sudden germinated throughout the country. The Conservatives were accordingly prepared to make capital out of a Liberal Licensing Bill, and the restrictions—for it was quite certain that it could not contain relaxations—which it must needs impose upon a powerful trade; just as they would have made capital (and invested it in a different quarter) of a refusal on the part of the Liberal Government to deal with the question. The point for a statesman to ascertain was the real force and direction of the public demand, and this unfortunately was entirely misconceived by Mr. Bruce. When a number of people are waiting in silent expectation of something or other, they have not the least idea what, being done for them, a few determined persons who know very clearly what it is that they want, and are united as one man in shouting it out at the top of their voices will, of course, make themselves heard. Unfortunately for the Liberal party, the voices of these persons penetrated, on the occasion we are referring to, to the Home Office, and though Mr. Bruce did not go so far as to grant their demands (which were indeed out of the question), yet it is certain that he drew some part of his inspiration from their cry.

We are alluding to the United Kingdom Alliance people, Good Templars, and others whom we shall not stop to distinguish from each other, the enterprise upon which they are bent being, up to a certain point, a common one—that of endeavouring to improve off the face of the earth all places where intoxicating drinks are sold. Nor shall we say much (does much require to be said?) of the wisdom of their enterprise, or of the means proposed for carrying it out. Their sincerity we take for

granted. The question is as to their influence and following and this we are sure, indeed the event has proved it so, have been greatly overrated. As they profess to place themselves above all party ties, and in many evenly divided constituencies have it in their power to turn an election, it is not surprising that they should command a certain number of votes in the House of Commons; spiritualists, with a like organization, and bent on some common project, would do the same. Then the noise which they make all over the country is exceedingly great; there is not a small town in the kingdom which is not, on some-day or days of the year, enlivened by their processions and banners and badges, and teetotal hymns and fea-drinkings, and orations.

In short, they put in such an appearance everywhere that, like Mr. Snivellici on his entrance upon the stage, they induced the audience to believe that they were really "somebody." Amongst those most cruelly imposed upon was the late Home Secretary, who was induced to bring in a Bill to some extent modelled upon their lines; that is to say, having for its ultimate object a great diminution in the number of public-houses, and an enormous confiscation of property. The effect produced by this unfortunate proposal must be too fresh in the minds of our readers for there being any need to dwell upon it. One of the most powerful classes in the Empire was, at one stroke, converted into a population of rabid and unswerving Tories. Many a publican who had been a good Liberal, not to say Radical, since '32, when he first voted, who had perhaps even supported a member pledged to the Permissive Bill, on the ground that the poor man had been compelled to give the pledge in order to keep the borough in the hands of the Liberals, and with a feeling that, after all, the Bill was a mere farce which could come to nothing; many such a man, *all* such men, suddenly turned round upon their party when they found the sacred ark of their property endangered. Nor do we blame them. Whenever a Liberal administration shall propose to treat as criminals the particular class (whatever that may be) to which we belong, and to play at duck and drake with our family settlements, our goodwill, and our property generally, we shall, without hesitation, become Tories of the most unqualified description. Unfortunately, together with Boniface, the Liberals parted company with all the persons whom Boniface was able to influence. The Conservatives, without an outlay of a sixpence on their part, came into possession of over a hundred thousand rooms, in which an active canvass was destined to be carried on for them and their cause. The Bill of 1872, though, on the whole, a moderate Bill, did not mend the matter; it made it worse. For

there were many provisions in that Bill which, when carried into effect, might be represented, and indeed were represented, to the frequenters of tap-rooms, as so many encroachments upon their liberties. Now the frequenters of these tap-rooms are no other than the lowest classes in this country. Nearly every borough voter of this class dropped into his favourite public-house more than once, we may be sure, for a glass of ale on the day of the election; and we wont say in every case, but in a vast number of cases which came under our observation, these glasses of ale were not paid for, nor were many other glasses of ale drunk subsequently to the election; the formula being, "If Mr. So and So gets in you shall have another pot next Friday. I'd spend fifty pounds sooner than see a Radical in." And these men did spend their money. Now against this kind of thing there is no standing up whatever, in the present state of political education among the masses. The loftiest achievements on the part of any ministry, the highest claims to gratitude, the exploits of a Wellington, the wisdom of a Palmerston, would be like so much chaff before the wind. And all this was brought about, not because the Liberal party, as being the party of progress, that is of wise change, attracts to itself the advocates of violent and ridiculous changes—for this must needs be so—but because these violent people were supposed, by other people who ought to have known better, to be gifted, like Gulliver among the Houyhnhnms, "with some glimmerings of reason."

In the autumn of 1871, the elections first began to tell against Mr. Gladstone; East-Surrey and Plymouth setting the example. The effects exactly tally, in point of time, with what we take to have been the causes. The tide of the publican's wrath had just had time to sweep over all the bars and tap-rooms of the land. It had had time to penetrate to the most remote holes and crannies in which ragged people congregate together over their cups. And there, too, the wrongs of the match-makers and the dock-yard labourers, and, as far as these ragged people could understand them, the blunders of the budget were discussed. How the prospects of the Liberal party went on growing darker and darker all through the year 1873, *noverunt Mauri atque Indi*, all the world knows by this time. It was just at the period when everything looked about as black as it could then look, that Mr. Gladstone approached his self-appointed task of felling the third branch of his Irish Upas tree; or, as we should prefer to put it, of endeavouring to justify the third branch of an exceedingly dangerous metaphor. The part which the rejection of the Irish Education Bill played in the final catastrophe is sufficiently clear. It was a symptom as well as a cause of weakness. A man in a weak state of health attempts some feat

beyond his strength, and falls down and breaks his leg ; and, of course, the breaking of his leg makes him worse. But it does not follow that he would have broken his leg if he had been strong instead of sickly.

In that ingenious novel, "Ten Thousand a Year," Mr. Treasayle, the eminent conveyancer, is represented as writing three different hands—one which only he and his clerk could read, one which only he himself could read, and a third, which neither he nor his clerk nor any human being in the world could make out : and it was in the last that his opinions in extremely difficult cases were always written. It has often appeared to us that Mr. Gladstone's three great Irish measures presented a certain resemblance to Mr. Treasayle's handwritings. The Church question was thoroughly understood by himself and his lieutenant, Mr. Sullivan ; the Land question he alone was master of, and he may be said to have carried that Bill singled-handed through the House of Commons ; the Education question was a mystery to everybody. Accordingly, the measure on that subject was greeted with general approval on its introduction, and then suddenly discovered to be everything that it should not be. We make no pretence to be wiser than our neighbours, and shall, therefore, confine ourselves to saying that though disapproving of considerable portions of the Bill, as far as we understood it, we were yet of opinion that, by judicious alterations, it might have been made a workable and a harmless measure. After the concessions that were made it would have been safe, and even on the whole wise to read it a second time. But the period for adopting any such course was past for the Liberal party. The gloom which prevailed outside had naturally cast a shadow over the ministerial benches. The bands of discipline had been relaxed. Members who, if the Bill had been brought forward in 1868, would have hurried from the South of France, and perhaps chartered a special steamer from Calais to Dover, in order to vote for its second reading, were kept away by a cold caught at Brighton, or an engagement in the neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells. Many of them were not quite sure about the feeling of their Nonconformist constituents. The Government was no longer in such a position that desertion of it would be looked upon as a crime. The consequence of the failure of the abortive Education scheme was not only to exhibit the weak hold of the Government upon its supporters, but still further to weaken the Government by furnishing a cry to the Conservative wire-pullers all over the country. It was represented that the Bill had failed because it had been drawn in the interests of the Roman Catholics, and in combination with Archbishop Manning. The healthy bigotry—if any kind of bigotry can be healthy—

of the lower classes in this country, with regard to Roman Catholicism, is too well known to require comment. *Ceteris paribus*, we would a thousand times sooner run a man for a popular constituency who had a strong flavour of Atheism than one with a smack of Popery. We would not say that the antecedents of Mr. Gladstone justify a suspicion of Romish tendencies in that great man: but we speak of what is within our knowledge when we affirm that every Liberal candidate at an election is confronted by a number of persons who refuse to be convinced that Mr. Gladstone is *not* a Roman Catholic. Not that we think the Irish Education Bill did any very great amount of harm to the Liberal party in this direction. It detached a few friends from their ranks; but it had no appreciable effect upon the residuum. The residuum was already gone.

The truth of the view which we have taken as to the main causes which led to the greatness of the change recently witnessed, seems to us to be borne out by an examination of the case of Scotland. Ireland, it is plain, can furnish us with little or no assistance: the issue raised at so many of the elections there having been of a totally different kind from that between Liberal and Conservative. But Scotland is a part of this island, and a contented member of our empire; divided into the same political parties, and using the same political war-cries as ourselves. If Mr. Gladstone's Government rendered itself deservedly obnoxious to all interests, we should expect to find that it became specially obnoxious to Scotland, where the inhabitants are rather noted for looking after their interests. And we should expect to find that it did this with a force proportioned to the superiority of the Scotch in point of education. If, on the other hand, we find that precisely in that part of the kingdom where education is most widely spread, and where there hardly exists anything in the shape of a political residuum, the reaction is incomparably milder in form, the inference is unavoidable that the strength of that reaction is due not to intelligence but to ignorance. Now, what are the facts? Scotland in 1868 returned 52 Liberals and 8 Conservatives. In 1874 it returned 41 Liberals and 19 Conservatives. That is to say a change has taken place to the extent of rather more than a sixth of the whole number. England in 1868 returned 377 Liberals and 117 Conservatives. In 1874 it returned 176 Liberals and 313 Conservatives. That is to say, speaking roughly, 200 Liberals have been displaced by Tories, a change equivalent to about two-fifths of the whole number. Of course it may be said that, at any rate, the Scotch Conservative members are more than doubled. But we need hardly remark that this is not the correct way of looking at the figures. It might be—and we believe that there was a time when this was

actually the case—that the Scotch boroughs had returned only one Conservative member. The election of another Conservative member, on a vacancy occurring elsewhere, would be obviously a doubling of their number in the same way ; but it would represent nothing like the actual advance from eight-sixtieths to nineteen-sixtieths, just as this advance is trifling compared with one from one hundred and seventeen to three hundred and thirteen, on a total of four hundred and ninety. The statistics of the votes given tell much the same story, but we have promised not to weary the reader with statistics. It is quite plain that the circumstances (all but one) being as nearly as possible identical in both cases—for all the so-termed plundered and molested and threatened classes have their representatives in the northern part of the island—Scotland, though still overwhelmingly Liberal, is less Liberal than she was. This seems to us only what might have been naturally expected. England, on the other hand, to judge from the representatives whom she has sent to Westminster, from being overwhelmingly Liberal has become overwhelmingly Conservative. In 1868, for every supporter of Mr. Disraeli who was returned to Parliament by England proper, there were more than two supporters of Mr. Gladstone. In 1874 the proportion was nearly reversed. The fact that the Conservative triumph has really been won in the less educated, and less intelligent, half of the Island, appears to us to be fatal to a great deal of the nonsense which has been written about it.

The respectable illiterate voter and his fellows, and the public-house roughs, having parted company with us, what is the chance of seeing them back ? We were almost asking, is it desirable to see them back in their present condition ?

As to the first point, it does not fall within the scope of this article to indulge in prophecy, always a dangerous thing to do, as has been pretty frequently observed ; doubly dangerous, when the subject to be dealt with is the shiftings of the political sand. But to say that the sun will appear in the east to-morrow morning, unless some considerable disturbance should take place either in the laws of nature or our planetary system, or both ; this is hardly to prophecy. And it may be affirmed with equal confidence, that no Conservative Government, indeed that no Government, can long content the particular class to which we have entrusted the power of turning the political balance. It is a class which, in its present state of education, is incapable of being satisfied by any Government, because it really does not understand what Government means. We have often been told, and with little exaggeration, that the French peasant is inclined to find fault with the powers that be, if the crops on his hopscotch admeasurement of land do not come up to his anticipa-

tion, if his litres of vine-juice from the rocky hillside are a trifle sourer than usual. And although the lowest class of Englishmen must be credited with more political sagacity than this, or (which amounts to the same thing) with more inherited common-sense, yet it is certain that he will become disturbed and uneasy, and consequently dissatisfied, if things do not go as he wishes them to go, under a set of people whom he has put into power with a species of hazy notion that they will succeed in contenting him. Grass has a kind of knack of growing in the streets of certain places, and would probably continue to grow there, even if Lord Eldon could return to power. Skittles and ale, and even bread, can only be procured by the sweat of one's brow. A really Conservative Government, a Government of reaction or complete repose, is evidently impossible for any length of time; and would indeed contain the seeds of its own dissolution. A Government which under Conservative colours passes Liberal measures must share the Liberal risks, must undergo the fate of reformers, must tread upon corns, must molest interests, must accumulate hatreds against a day of reckoning. It will of course be guilty of mistakes, as all Governments are; but it will be through its merits, rather than its mistakes, that it will fall. In any case, these people will have grown tired of it before a great number of years have passed. We expect, therefore, or at any rate deem it not improbable that the lowest class of town-voter will in the course of a few years be an unintelligent Radical instead of an unreflecting Tory. Then, of course, there is a probability of the pendulum vibrating the other way again.

It may be said that this is taking an illiberal as well as a gloomy view of affairs. But we altogether deny that the Liberal creed, properly understood, sanctions a right of appeal to the ignorant masses. This is much more likely to be a device of Toryism and Despotism, as we have seen by the Conservative Reform Bill of 1867, and the Plebiscites of the third Napoleon. As for the view being a gloomy one, the real question is, is it likely to prove a true one? Is it or is it not true that the uninstructed are more subject to caprice than those who are better informed? However, we do hope a great deal from the diffusion of that education which should have preceded the extension of the suffrage. We are not among those enthusiasts who look upon the man who can read, write, and do a sum of arithmetic, as a new-born creature, free from the trammels of political error. But we certainly think that when the bulk of the English people shall have attained to the same degree of instruction as that now possessed by the Scotch, the suffrage will be a safe instrument in their hands; indeed, with such a proviso, we should like to see it committed to the hands of all of them, agricultural

labourers included. That we are on the road to this consummation there can be no doubt. And in the meanwhile, there is every reason to hope that the vibrations of the pendulum, of which we just now spoke, will be less and less violent on the occasion of each future change.

The great hope of the Liberal party—as indeed the hope of every creed and of every institution which is misunderstood for a time, and reviled—lies in the spread of education. A Tory mob is intelligible. There are those who assert that the natural instincts of mobs, at any rate in England, are generally in the direction of Toryism. We shall not dispute this, though we are forced to admit that there are such things to be met with as Liberal mobs, every whit as bad as the Tory mobs have been in the same places, indeed in many cases composed of the same individuals. A Tory peer, a Tory country-gentleman, a Tory rector, a well-to-do Tory merchant or manufacturer or tradesman, are figures in the great magic-lantern which explain themselves. Indeed, it is a wonder that any persons belonging to these classes have the strength of mind to be anything but Tories. But an educated Tory artisan or labourer inspires us with something of the feeling with which we should contemplate a communistic millionaire. As the interests of these persons have been specially promoted by the Liberal policy of the past, so it is certain that they have everything to look for from the adoption of a Liberal policy in the future. The Scotch workman has long seen this. The best class of English workmen see it. A generation of school-boards will drive the truth into the heads of the sons of those who have heard of Mr. Gladstone, and never heard of Mr. Disraeli, or *vice versa*. “Register, register, register!” was the advice of Sir Robert Peel, under the old system. “Educate, educate, educate!” should be the motto of the Liberals everywhere, under the new one.

But what if the Conservatives, having had the cards put into their hands, should play the Liberal game? What if—to adopt the metaphor of a correspondent of one of the daily papers—after “taking their opponents’ water” they should keep it? If such a course were possible to the Conservatives for any length of time, we should wish well to them, and we should be pleased to see the residuum continue to run along the banks, albeit somewhat unsteadily, shouting and cheering in their honour. But such a course is not possible. It is possible for a Conservative Government, every now and then, under peculiar circumstances, to pass a liberal measure—or what may, at first sight, wear the appearance of one: but it is not possible that it should pursue a consistently Liberal policy for any length of time without coming to an end far more violent than would have awaited it if it had adhered to its legitimate

role. We are, of course, perfectly ready to admit that the Tory of 1873 is not the Tory of 1830, and that in a certain sense every Tory Government of the present day is liberal. That is to say, all the most glaring abuses under which this country laboured having been redressed, in spite of his opposition and that of his fathers, and it being a rule in English politics not to attempt to come back upon the past, the Tory in power has not generally the opportunity, has not perhaps the wish, to do anything very *illiberal*. But it will continually happen in free States that institutions which have an excellent *raison d'être* so long as everybody, or even a large majority, acquiesce in them, are all of a sudden, or perhaps by a gradual process, seen to be radically illogical and absurd; and when this is once seen, these things which may have been practically very good things before, become very bad things in practice as well as in theory, and constitute, in fact, serious abuses. Thus, it is no abuse that a knot of persons at Portarlington, who could be conveniently received in a sick candidate's bedroom, should have the same voice in the country as one-third of Glasgow, or one-half of Westminster, so long as nobody seems to be displeased with the arrangement; but it will become a very serious abuse if at any time the people who do not live in Portarlington, or such places, shall begin to take serious notice of it. And the same holds good of a State Church, an hereditary chamber, and many other institutions. A Tory Government with a kind of *dolce far niente* policy must, at some time or other, be confronted by a popular awakening as to the logical character of some one or other of the institutions which are the objects of Tory worship. To yield to and to resist this popular feeling must be equally fatal to it in the long run.

We must confess, however, that as we see at the present moment no very urgent demand for reforms of an extensive character, in other words, as any such reforms are impossible, and, we will add, would be mischievous under such circumstances even if they were possible, as corresponding to no real demand—we should not be displeased at seeing a Conservative Government in power for a time, were it not for one circumstance. Conservative Governments are, and always have been, not only here but everywhere, the allies of the Priests. The triumph of Conservatism always means the triumph of the Priesthood: and we can call to mind no instance to the contrary. The recent nefarious attempt upon the Endowed Schools is a signal illustration of this proposition, if any be needed: and it is certain that the Government, if it had felt itself strong enough, would have endeavoured to repeal the Universities Test Act, and to make over those great public seminaries to the dominant Church. The Public Worship Bill which, though not a measure of the Govern-

ment, was yet on the whole aided by it, is no exception to this. It may be a very good Bill, and we do not say that it is not; however, its chief object was to strengthen the State Church at the expense of a minority whose goings on were greatly weakening it. This is, of course to strengthen the priesthood by giving them a prospect of a longer connexion with the State than they would otherwise be likely to enjoy. The Scotch Patronage Bill was avowedly brought in with the same view. We repeat it, we are not here raising any objection to these measures, but merely reminding the reader in passing that they form no exception to the rule. That rule, one of universal application, is that the Conservative party in a State will always lean for support upon the professors of the dominant religion in the State. To be sure, we may seem to have reached a time when not much harm can be done in this direction: but this is a very superficial view of the matter. We may be sure not only that no fresh concession to religious freedom will be made under a Conservative régime, that the Clerical fellowships for instance, will be left untouched, that the "will of the pious founder" so often absurdly appealed to—as if any man with the will ought to have the power to bind unborn generations for centuries—will be respected in the interests of the Church; but also that any fresh extension that may be called for in our educational machinery will be devised in the same interests. And this we think a very serious evil.

Barring this drawback, we must repeat that we see no great harm likely to accrue from an interregnum of the Conservative party. On the contrary, we think that considerable good is likely to accrue from it. The permanent blessings which Mr. Gladstone's Government has conferred upon the country will emerge more and more into the clear light of history: the susceptibilities which it has wounded (and every virtuous Government must wound many such) will pass more and more into what the French call "the second plan." In the meanwhile, though the Liberal party is for a time nowhere, yet Liberal principles are everywhere. The gains of the last forty years are secure. Indeed, the Conservative party are in power only on condition of respecting them. The chiefs of the party are in Downing Street, and at the War Office, and elsewhere, only on condition of doing as far as possible what the persons whom they have displaced would have done, if they had remained in those places. An arrangement of this kind, by whatever forces it may have been brought about, is in its nature temporary. The masses in England, after all is said, are rising in education, in culture, in intelligence; but it may be necessary for awhile that they should have the prospect of triumphant Conservatism before

their eyes, in order that they may see how impossible Conservatism is, except under the guise of a kind of tepid Liberalism. When they see this, we may be sure that, in the long run, they will be for taking the genuine article from the old-established shop.

ART. II.—THE CHARACTER OF ACHILLES.

IT is the sign of a return to healthy criticism that scholars are beginning to acknowledge that the *Iliad* is one poem—that is to say, no mere patchwork of ballads and minor epics put together by some *Diaskeuast* in the age of *Pisistratus*, but the work of a single supreme poet, who surveyed his creation as an artist, and was satisfied with its unity. We are not bound to pronounce an opinion as to whether this poet was named *Homer*, whether *Homer* ever existed, and, if so, at what period of the world's history he lived. Nor, again, need we deny that the *Iliad* itself presents unmistakeable signs of having been constructed in a great measure out of material already existing in songs and romances, dear to the Greek nation in their youth, and familiar to the poet. But about this, of one thing at any rate we may be sure, after due experience of the tests applied by *Wolf* and his followers, that a great artist gave its present form to the *Iliad*, that he chose a central subject for development, and that all the episodes and collateral matter with which he enriched his epic were arranged by him with a view to the æsthetic effect that he had calculated.

What then was this central subject, which gives the unity of a true work of art to the *Iliad*? We answer, the person and the character of *Achilles*. It is not fanciful to say with the old grammarians of *Alexandria*, that the first line of the poem sets forth the whole of its action.

“Sing, goddess, the wrath of *Achilles*, son of *Peleus*.”

The wrath of *Achilles* and the consequences of that wrath in the misery of the Greeks left alone to fight without their fated *Hero*, the Death of *Patroclus*, caused by his sullen anger, the energy of *Achilles*, reawakened by his remorse for his friend's death, and the consequent slaughter of *Hector*, form the whole of the simple structure of the *Iliad*. This seems clear enough, when we analyse the conduct of the poem.

The first book describes the quarrel of *Achilles* with *Agamemnon*

and his secession from the war. The next seven books and a half, from the second to the middle of the ninth, are occupied with the fortunes of the Greeks and Trojans in the field, the exploits of Diomede and Ajax, and Hector's attack upon the camp. In the middle of the ninth book Achilles reappears upon the scene. Agamemnon sends Ulysses and Phoenix to entreat him to relax his wrath and save the Greeks; but the hero remains obdurate. He has resolved that his countrymen shall pay the uttermost penalty for the offence of their King. The tenth book relates the night attack upon the camp of the Trojan allies and the theft of the horses of Rhesus. The next five books contain a further account of the warfare carried on among the ships between the Achaians and their foes. It is in the course of these events that Patroclus comes into prominence. We find him attending on the wounded Eurypylus and warning Achilles of the imminent peril of the fleet. At last, in the sixteenth book, when Hector has carried fire to the ship of Protesilaus, Achilles commands Patroclus to assume the armour of Peleus and lead his Myrmidons to war. The same book describes the repulse of Hector and the death of Patroclus, while the seventeenth is taken up with the fight for the body of Achilles' friend. But from the eighteenth onward the true hero assumes his rank as protagonist, making us feel that what has gone before has only been a preface to his action. All the threads of interest are gathered together and converge on him. Whatever we have learned concerning the situation of the war, the characters of the chiefs, and the jealousies of the gods, now serves to dignify his single person and to augment the terror he inspires. With his mere shout he dislodges the Trojans from the camp. The divine arms of Hephaistos are fashioned for him, and forth he goes to drive the foe like mice before him. Then he contends with Simoies and Scamander, the river gods. Lastly, he slays Hector. What follows in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth books seems to be intended as a repose from the vehement action and high-wrought passion of the preceding fire.

Patroclus is buried and his funeral games are celebrated. Then, at the very end, Achilles appears before us in the interview with Priam, no longer as a petulant spoilt child or fiery barbarian chief, but as a hero, capable of sacrificing his still fierce passion for revenge to the nobler emotion of reverence for the age and sorrow of the sonless king.

The simplicity of the *Iliad*, the centralization of its interest in the character of Achilles, constitutes its nobility. It is also by this that the *Iliad* is distinguished from all the narrative epics of the world. In the case of all the rest there is one main event, one deed which has to be accomplished, one series of actions

with a definite beginning and ending. In none else are the passions of the hero made the main points of the movement. This may be observed at once by comparing the *Iliad* with the chief epical poems of European literature. To begin with the *Odyssey*. The restoration, after many wanderings, of Ulysses to his wife and kingdom form the subject of this romance. When that has been accomplished, the *Odyssey* is completed. In the same way the subject of the *Æneid* is the foundation of the Trojan kingdom in Italy. *Æneas* is conducted from Troy to Carthage, from Carthage to Latium. He flies from Dido, because fate has decreed that his empire should not take root in Africa. He conquers Turnus, because it is destined that he, and not the Latin prince, should be the ancestor of Roman kings. As soon as Turnus has been killed and Lavinia has been wedded to *Æneas*, the action of the poem is accomplished and the *Æneid* is completed. When we pass to modern Epics the first that meets us is the *Nibelungen Lied*. Here the action turns upon the murder of Sigfrid by Hogen, and the vengeance of his bride Chriemhilt. As soon as Chriemhilt has assembled her husband's murderers in the halls of King Etzol, and there has compassed their destruction, the subject is complete, the *Nibelungen* is at an end. The British epic of the Round Table, if we may regard Sir Thomas Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur* as a poem, centres in the life and predestined death of King Arthur. Upon the fate of Arthur hangs the whole complex series of events which compose the romance. His death is its natural climax, for with him expires the Round Table he had framed to keep the Pagans in awe. After that event nothing remains for the epic poet to relate.

Next in date and importance is the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto. The action of this poem is bound up with the destinies of Ruggiero and Bradamante. Their separations and wanderings supply the main fabric of the plot. When these are finally ended, and their marriage has been consummated, nothing remains to be related. The theme of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, again, is the conquest of the Holy City from the Saracens. When this has been described, there is nothing left for Tasso to tell. The *Paradise Lost*, in spite of its more stationary character, does not differ from this type. It sets forth the single event of the Fall. After Adam and Eve have disobeyed the commands of their Maker and been expelled from Eden, the subject is exhausted, the epic is at an end. Thus each of these great epic poems has one principal event, on which the whole action hinges and which leaves nothing more to be narrated. But with the *Iliad* it is different. At the end of the *Iliad* we leave Achilles with his fate still unaccomplished, the Trojan war still undecided.

The *Iliad* has no one great external event or series of events to set forth. It is an episode in the war of Troy, a chapter in the life of Peleus' son. But it does narrate with the vivid and absorbing interest that attaches to true æsthetic unity, the passions of its hero, selecting for that purpose the group of incidents which best display them.

The *Iliad* therefore has for its whole subject the Passion of Achilles—that ardent energy or ΜΗΝΙΣ of the hero, which displayed itself first as anger against Agamemnon, and afterwards as love for the lost Patroclus. The truth of this was perceived by one of the greatest poets and profoundest critics of the modern world, Dante. When Dante, in the *Inferno*, wished to describe Achilles, he wrote, with characteristic brevity :—

“ Achille
Che per amore al fine combatteo.”

“ Achilles
Who at the last was brought to fight by love.”

In this pregnant sentence Dante sounded the whole depth of the *Iliad*. The wrath of Achilles against Agamemnon, which prevented him at first from fighting; the love of Achilles, passing the love of women, for Patroclus, which induced him to forego his anger and to fight at last: these are the two poles on which the *Iliad* turns. Two passions—heroic anger and measureless love—in the breast of the chief actor, are the motive forces of the poem. It is this simplicity in the structure of the *Iliad* which constitutes its nobleness. There is no double plot, no attempt to keep our interest alive by misunderstandings, or treacheries, or thwartings of the hero in his aims. These subtleties and resources of art the poet, whom we will call Homer for the sake of brevity, discards. He trusts to the magnitude of his chief actor, to the sublime central figure of Achilles, for the whole effect of his epic. It is hardly necessary to insist upon the highly tragic value of this subject. The destinies of two great nations hang trembling in the balance. Kings on the earth below, gods in the heavens above, are moved to turn this way or that the scale of war. Meanwhile the whole must wait upon the passions of one man. Nowhere else in any work of art, has the relation of a single heroic character to the history of the world been set forth with more of tragic pomp and splendid incident. Across the scene on which gods and men are contending in fierce rivalry, moves the lustrous figure of Achilles, ever potent, ever young, but with the ash-white aureole of coming death around his forehead. He too is in the clutch of destiny. As the price of his decisive action he must lay his life down and retire with sorrow to the shades. It is thus that in the very

dawn of civilization the Greek poet divined the pathos and expounded the philosophy of human life, showing how the fate of nations may depend upon the passions of a man, who in his turn is but the creature of a day, a ripple on the stream of time. Nothing need be said by the æsthetic critic about the Solar theory, which pretends to explain the tale of Troy. The Mythus of Achilles may in very distant ages have expressed some simple astronomical idea. But Homer was not thinking of the Sun when he composed the *Iliad*. He wove, as in a web, all elements of tragic pity and fear, pathos and passion, and fateful energy, which constitute the dramas of nations and of men.

In the two passions, Anger and Love, which form the prominent features of the character of Achilles, there is nothing small or mean. Anger has scarcely less right than Ambition to be styled the last infirmity of noble minds. And Love, when it gives the motive force to great action, is sublime. The love of Achilles had no softness or effeminacy. The wrath of Achilles never degenerated into savagery. Both of these passions, instead of weakening the hero, add force to his activity. Homer has traced the outlines of the portrait of Achilles so largely that criticism can scarcely avoid dwarfing them. In looking closely at the picture, there is a danger lest, while we examine the parts, we should fail to seize the greatness of the whole. It is better to bring together in rapid succession those passages of the *Iliad* which display the character of Achilles under the double aspect of anger and love. The first scene (i. 148—246) showing us Agamemnon surrounded by the captains of the Greek host, holding the same position among them as Charlemagne among his peers, or King John among the English Barons. They recognise his heaven-descended right of monarchy; but their allegiance holds by a slight thread. They are not afraid of bearding him, browbeating him with threats, and roundly accusing him of his faults. This turbulent feudal society has been admirably sketched by Marlowe in *Edward II.*, and by Shakespeare in *Richard II.* Calchas has just told Agamemnon that, in order to avert the plague, Chryseis must be restored to her father: and the king has answered, that if he is forced to relinquish her the Greeks must indemnify him richly. Then the anger of Achilles boils over:—

“Ah, clothed upon with impudence and greedy-souled! How, thinkest thou, can man of the Achæians with glad heart follow at thy word to take the field or fight the foe? Not for the quarrel of the warlike Trojans did I come unto these shores, for they had wronged me not. They never drove my cattle nor my steeds, nor ever, in rich, populous Phthia, did they waste the corn, since far between us lie both shadowy mountains and a sounding sea: but following thee, thou

shameless king, we came to gladden thee, for Menelaus and for thee, thou hound, to win you fame from Troy. Of this thou reckest not and hast no care. Yea, and behold thou threatenest even from me to wrest my guerdon with thy hands, for which I sorely strove, and which the sons of the Achaians gave to me. Never, in sooth, do I take equally with thee when Achaians sack a well-walled Trojan town. My hands do all the work of greedy war; but when division comes, thy guerdon is far greater, and I go back with small but well-loved treasure to the ships, tired out with fighting. Now, lo! I am for Phthia; for better far, I ween, it is homeward to sail with beaked ships: nor do I think that if I stay unhonoured wilt thou get much wealth and gain.

"Him, then, in answer Agamemnon, king of men, bespake:—

"Away! fly, if thy soul is set on flying. I beg thee not to stay for me. With me are many who will honour me, and most of all, the Counsellor Zeus. Most hateful to me of the Zeus-born kings art thou. For ever dost thou love strife, warfare, wrangling. If very stout of limb thou art, that did God give thee. Go home, then, with thy ships and friends. Go, rule the Myrmidones. I care not for thee, nor regard thy wrath; but this I threaten,—since Phœbus robs me of Chryseis, her with my ship and with my followers will I send; but I will take fair-checked Briseis, thy own prize, and fetch her from thy tent, that thou mayest know how far thy better I am, and that others too may dread to call themselves my equal, and to paragon themselves with me.

"So spake he. And Peleides was filled with grief; and his heart within his shaggy bosom was cut in twain with thought, whether to draw his sharp sword from his thigh, and, breaking through the heroes, kill the king, or to stay his anger and refrain his soul. While thus he raged within his heart and mind, and from its scabbard was in act to draw the mighty sword, came Athene from heaven; for Here white-armed goddess sent her forth, loving both heroes in her soul, and earing for them. She stood behind, and took Peleides by the yellow hair, seen by him only, but of the rest none saw her. Achilles marvelled, and turned back; and suddenly he knew Pallas Athene, and awful seemed her eyes to him; and speaking winged words, he thus addressed her:—

"Why, daughter of Ægis-bearing Zeus, art thou come hither? Say, is it to behold the violence of Agamemnon, Atreus' son? But I will tell to thee, what verily I think shall be accomplished, that by his own pride he soon shall slay his soul.

"Him then the grey-eyed goddess Athene bespake:—

"I came to stay thy might, if thou wilt hear me, from heaven; for Here, white-armed goddess, sent me forth, loving you both alike, and earing for you. But come, give up strife, nor draw thy sword! But, lo! I bid thee taunt him with sharp words, as veily shall be. For this I say to thee, and it shall be accomplished: the time shall come when thou shalt have thrice-fold as many splendid gifts, because of his violence. Only restrain thyself; obey me!

"To her, in turn, spake swift-footed Achilles:—

"Needs must I, goddess, keep thy word, though sorely grieved in soul; for thus is it best. He who obeys the gods, him have they listened to in time of need.

"He spake, and on the silver handle pressed a heavy hand, and back into the scabbard thrust the mighty sword, nor swerved from Athene's counsel. But she back to Olympus fared, to the house of Ægis-bearing Zeus unto the other gods.

"Then Peleides again with bitter words bespake Atreides, and not yet awhile surceased from wrath:—

"Wine-weighted, with a dog's eyes and a heart of deer! Never badst thou spirit to harness thee for the battle with the folk, nor yet to join the ambush with the best of the Achaïans! *This* to thee seems certain death. Far better is it, verily, throughout the broad camp of Achaïans to filch gifts when a man stands up to speak against thee—thou folk-consuming king, that swayest men of nought. Lo! of a sooth, Atreides, now for the last time wilt thou have dealt knavishly. But I declare unto thee, and will swear thereon a mighty oath; yea, by this sceptre, which shall never put forth leaf nor twig since that day that it left the stock upon the mountains, nor again shall bud or bloom, for of its leafage and its bark the iron stripped it bare; and sons of the Achaïans hold it in their palms for judgment, they who guard the laws by ordinance of Zeus; and this shall be to thee a mighty oath. Verily, and of a truth, the day shall be when sore desire for Achilles shall come upon Achaïans one and all. Then shalt thou, though grieved in soul, have no power to help, while in multitudes they full and die at Hector's murderous hands; but thou shalt tear thy heart within thy breast for rage, seeing thou honouredst not the best of the Achaïans aught.

"So spake Peleides; and on the earth cast down the sceptre studded with nails of gold; and he sat down upon his seat."

What is chiefly noticeable in this passage is the grand scale upon which the anger of Achilles is displayed. He is not content with taunting Agamemnon, but he includes all the princes in his scorn:

ἡμωβόρος βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ οὐτιδανόσιν ἀνάσσεις.

We may also notice the interference of Athene. The Athene of the Iliad is a different goddess from the Athene of the Parthenon. In strength she is more than a match for Ares: her cunning she subordinates to great and masculine ends, not to the arts of beauty or to study. She is the saint of the valiant and wary soldier. While checking Achilles she does not advise him to avoid strife in any meek and gentle spirit. She simply reminds him that, if he gets to blows with Agamemnon, he will put himself in the wrong; whereas, by contenting himself with sharp words and with secession from the war, he will reduce the haughty king to sue him with gifts and submission.

The next passage in which Achilles appears in the forefront of

the scene is in the Ninth Book (307—429). Worn out with the losses of the war, Agamemnon has at last humbled his pride, and sent the wisest of the chiefs, silver-tongued Odysseus and Phoenix, the old guardian of the son of Peleus, to beg Achilles to receive back Briseis and to take great gifts if only he will relax his wrath. But Achilles remains inflexible. In order to maintain the firmness of his character, to justify the righteousness of his indignation, Homer cannot suffer him to abandon his resentment at the first entreaty. Some more potent influence must break his resolution than the mere offer to restore Briseis. Homer has the death of Patroclus in the background. He means to show the vain heart of Pelides at last softened by his sorrow and his love. Therefore, for the time, he must protract the situation in which Achilles is still haughty, still implacable towards his repentant injurer. In this interview with the ambassadors we have to observe how confident Achilles is in the justice of his cause, and in his own prowess. It is he with his valiant bands who has sacked the Trojan cities; it is he who kept Hector from the ships; and now in his absence they have had to build a wall in self-defence. And for whom has he done this? For the sons of Atreus and for Helen. And what has he received as guerdon? Nothing but dishonour. These arguments might seem to savour too much of egotism and want of feeling for the dangers of the host. But at the end come those great lines upon the vanity of gifts and possessions in comparison with life, and upon the doom which hangs above the hero:—

"You may make oxen and sheep your prey; you may gather together tripods and the tawny mane of horses; but none can make the soul of man return by theft or craft when once it has escaped. As for me," he resumes, "my goddess mother, silver-footed Thetis, warns me that fate lays two paths to bear me deathward. If I abide and fight before the walls of Troy, my return to Hellas is undone, but fame imperishable remains for me. If I return to my dear country then my good glory dies, but long life awaits me, nor will the term of death be hastened."

This foreknowledge of Achilles that he has to choose between a long, inglorious life, and a swift-coming but splendid death, illuminates his ultimate action with a fateful radiance. In the passage before us it lends dignity to his obstinate and obdurate endurance. He says:—"I am sick at heart for the insults thrust on me. I am wounded in my pride. Toiling for others, I get no reward. And behold, if I begin to act again, swift death is before me. Shall I, to please Agamemnon, hasten on my own end?"

When the moment arrives for Achilles to be aroused from inactivity by his own noblest passion, then, and not till then,

does he fling aside the thought of death, and trample on a long reposeful life. He is conscious that his glory can only be achieved by the sacrifice of ease and happiness, and life itself; but he holds honour dearer than these good things. Yet at the same time he is not eager to throw away his life for a worthless object, or to buy mere fame by an untimely end. It requires another motive, the strong pressure of sorrow and remorse, to quicken his resolution; but when once quickened nothing can retard it. Achilles may be compared to an avalanche, a mass of ice and snow hanging at the jagged edge of a glacier, suspended on a mountain brow. We have seen such avalanches brooding upon Monte Rosa, or the Jungfrau, beaten by storms, loosened perchance by summer sun, but motionless. In a moment a lightning flash strikes the mass, and it roars crumbling to the deep.

Such a lightning-flash in the case of Achilles was the death of Patroclus (xviii. 15). Patroclus has gone forth to aid the Achæians and has fallen beneath Hector's sword. Antilochus sent to bear the news to Achilles, finds him standing before the ships already anxious about the long delay of his comrade. Antilochus does not break the news gently. His tears betray the import of his message, and he begins: "Woe is me, son of brave Peleus! Verily thou shalt hear right sorrowful tidings: Patroclus lies slain; round his stripped corpse they are fighting, but plumed Hector hath his armour."

So he spake. But a black cloud of woe covered the hero. With both hands he took the dust of ashes and flung them down upon his head, and disfigured his fair face, and on his fragrant tunic lay the black cinders. But he, huge in his hugeness, stretched upon the dust lay, and with his hands he tore and ravaged his hair.

Thus Achilles receives the first shock of grief. When his mother rises from the sea to comfort him, he refuses consolation, and cries: "My mother, the Olympian hath done all these things; but of what pleasure is this to me, now that my dear friend is dead, Patroclus, whom above all my comrades I honoured, even as myself? Him have I slain!"

This is the pith and marrow of his anguish. I slew Patroclus: it was I who sent him forth to fight. "Now," he resumes a few lines lower down, "Now my soul bids me no longer live or be with men, save only I strike Hector first and slay him with my spear, and make him pay the fine of Patroclus."

This reminds him that, if he slay Hector, his own life will be short. This only serves to turn his anguish into desperate resolve:—

"Straight let me die, seeing I came not to the aid of my comrade when he was dying. Far from his fatherland he perished. He looked

for me that I should have been his helper. But now, since never to my home shall I return, nor was I a light in trouble to Patroclus, nor to my other comrades who are slain by hundreds by the god-like Hector—while I here sit beside the ships, a useless load upon the earth;—I, who am such as there is none else like me among brazen-coated Achaians in the war. Others may be better perchance in council. Now let strife perish from among gods and men, with anger which stirs up the prudent even to fury.”

Thus he foregoes his wrath, and flings resentment from him like a mantle. Then he rises ready for the fight. “If death come, let death be welcome. Death came to Herakles. In his due time he comes to me. Meanwhile I thirst to make Dardan ladies widows in the land.”

When he next appears, his very form and outward semblance are transfigured. He stands alone and unarmed in the trench. A fire surrounds his head and flames upon his curls. His voice thrills the armies like the blaze of a victorious trumpet. This is how Homer has described him shouting in the trench (xviii. 203):—

“But Achilles, dear to Zeus, arose, and around his mighty shoulders Athene cast her tasselled ægis; and about his head the queenly goddess set a crown of golden mist, and from it she made blaze a dazzling flame. As when smoke rises to the clear sky from a town, afar from an island which foemen beleaguer, who all day long contend in grisly war, issuing from their own town; but at sundown beacons blaze in rows, and on high the glare goes up, and soars for neighbouring men to see, if haply warders off of woe may come to them with ships—so from the head of Achilles the flame went up to heaven. He stood at the trench, away from the wall, nor joined the Achaians, for he honoured his mother’s wise command. There he stood and shouted; and beside him Pallas Athene cried; but among the Trojans he raised infinite tumult. As when a mighty voice, when the trumpet shrills for the murderous foemen that surround a town, so was the mighty voice of the son of Æacus. They then, when they heard the brazen cry of Æacides, in the breasts of all them the heart was troubled; but the fair-maned horses turned the cars backward; for in their heart they knew the sorrows that were to be. And the charioteers were stricken when they saw the tireless flame terrible above the head of big-hearted Peleus’ son blazing. The grey-eyed goddess Athene kindled it. Thrice above the trench shouted the godlike Achilles in his might: thrice were the Trojans and their noble allies troubled.”

From this moment the action of the *Iliad* advances rapidly. Achilles takes his proper place, and occupies the forefront of the scene. The body of Patroclus is brought home to him; he mourns over it, and promises to bury it when he shall have slain Hector, and slaughtered twelve sons of the Trojans on the pyre. Then he reconciles himself with Agamemnon, and formally

renounces anger. Lastly, when he has put on the divine armour made for him by Hephæstus, he ascends his car, and hastens into the fight. But again at this point, when Achilles is at the very pitch and summit of his glory, the voice of fate is heard. It is with the promise of the tomb that he enters the battle. Turn to Book xix. 399. Achilles has just mounted his chariot:—

“Fiercely did he cheer the horses of his sire:—‘Xanthus and Balius, far-famed children of Podargé, take other heed, I warn ye, how to save your master, and to bring him to the Danaan host, returning of war satisfied; nor leave him, like Patroclus, dead there on the field.’

“To him then from beneath the yoke spake the fleet-footed horse Xanthus, and straightway drooped his head; and all his mane, escaping from the collar by the yoke, fell earthward. Goddess Here, of the white arms, gave him speech:—

“‘Verily shall we save thee yet this time, fierce Achilles; but close at hand is thy doom’s day. Nor of this are we the cause, but great God in heaven and resistless fate. For neither was it by our slowness or sluggishness that Trojans stripped the arms from Patroclus his shoulders; but of Gods the best, whom fair-haired Leto bare, slew him among the foremost, and gave to Hector glory of the deed. We, though we run apace with Zephyr’s breath, the fleetest, as ’tis said, yet for thee it is decreed to perish by the might of God and man.’

“When he had thus spoken the Erinnyes stayed his voice; and, high in wrath, fleet-foot Achilles answered him:—

“‘Xanthus! why prophecy my death? Thou hast no call. Right well know I too that it is my fate to perish here, far from dear sire and mother; yet for all this will I not surcease before I satiate the Trojans with war.’

“He spoke, and vanward held his steeds, with mighty yell.”

This dialogue between Achilles and Xanthus is not without great importance. Homer is about to show the hero raging in carnage, exulting over suppliants and slain foes, terrible in his ferocity. It is consistent with the whole character of Achilles, who is fiery, of indomitable fury, that he should act thus. Stung as he is by remorse and by the sorrow for Patroclus, which does not unnerve him, but rather kindles his whole spirit to a flame, we are prepared to see him terrible in his ferocity. But when we know that in the midst of the carnage he is himself moving a dying man, when we remember that he is sending his slain foes like messengers before his face to Hades, when we keep the warning words of Thetis and of Xanthus in our minds, then the fierce frenzy of Achilles becomes dignified. The world is in a manner over for him, and he appears the incarnation of disdainful anger and revengeful love, the conscious scourge of God and instrument of destiny. We need not go through the details of the battle in which Achilles drives the Trojans before him, and is only

withheld by the direct interposition of the gods from carrying Ilium by assault. To borrow a simile from Dante, his foes are like frogs scurrying away from the approach of their great foe, the water snake. Then follow the episode of Lycaon's slaughter, the fight with the river-gods, and the death of Hector. To the assembled Greeks Achilles cries (xxii. 386):—

“By the ships, a corpse, unburied, unbewailed, lies Patroclus: but of him I will not be unmindful so long as I abide among the living and my knees have life. Nay, should there be oblivion of the dead in Hades, yet I even there will remember my loved comrade. But rise, ye youths of Achaia, and singing Pæan, let us hasten to the ships, and take this slain man with us. Great glory have we got. Divine Hector have we slain, to whom the Trojans in their city prayed as to a god.”

So the Pæan rings. But Achilles by the ships, after the hateful banquet, as he calls it, in his sorrowful loathing of all comfort has been finished, lays himself to sleep (xxiii. 59):—

“The son of Peleus by the shore of the roaring sea lay, heavily groaning, surrounded by his myrmidons; on a fair space of sand he lay, where the waves lapped the beach. Then slumber took him, loosing the cares of his heart, and mantling softly around him, for sorely wearied were his radiant limbs with driving Hector on by windy Troy. There to him came the soul of poor Patroclus, in all things like himself, in stature, and in the beauty of his eyes and voice, and on his form was raiment like his own. He stood above the hero's head, and spake to him:—

“‘Sleepest thou, and me hast thou forgotten, Achilles? Not in my life wert thou neglectful of me, but in death. Bury me soon, that I may pass the gates of Hades. Far off the souls, the shadows of the dead, repel me, nor suffer me to join them on the river bank; but, as it is, thus I roam around the wide-doored house of Hades. But stretch to me thy hand, I entreat; for never again shall I return from Hades when once ye shall have given me the meed of funeral pile. Nay, never shall we sit in life apart from our dear comrades, and take counsel together. But me hath hateful fate enveloped—fate that was mine at the moment of my birth. And for thyself, divine Achilles, it is doomed to die beneath the noble Trojans' wall. Another thing I will say to thee, and bid thee do it if thou wilt obey me:—Lay not my bones apart from thine, Achilles, but lay them together; for we were brought up together in your house, when Menoetius brought me, a child, from Opus to your house, because of woful bloodshed on the day in which I slew the son of Amphidamas, myself a child, not willing it, but in anger at our games. Then did the horseman, Peleus, take me, and rear me in his house, and cause me to be called thy squire. So then let one grave also hide the bones of both of us, the golden urn thy goddess mother gave to thee.’”

“Him answered swift-footed Achilles:—

“‘Why, dearest and most honoured, hast thou hither come, to lay on me this thy behest? All things most certainly will I perform, and

bow to what thou biddest. But stand thou near : even for one moment let us throw our arms upon each other's neck, and take our fill of sorrowful wailing.'

"So spake he, and with his outstretched hands he clasped, but could not seize. The spirit, earthward, like smoke, vanished with a shriek. Then all astonished arose Achilles, and beat his palms together, and spoke a piteous word:—

"Heavens ! is there then among the dead soul and the shade of life, but thought is theirs no more at all ? For through the night the soul of poor Patroclus stood above my head, wailing and sorrowing loud, and bade me do his will : it was the very semblance of himself.'

"So spake he, and in the hearts of all of them he raised desire of lamentation ; and while they were yet mourning, to them appeared rose fingered dawn about the piteous corpse."

There is surely nothing more thrilling in its pathos throughout the whole range of poetry than this scene, in which the iron-hearted Conqueror of Hector holds ineffectual communing in dreams with his dear lost, never-to-be-forgotten friend. But now the pyre is ready to be heaped, and the obsequies of Patroclus are on the point of being celebrated. Thereupon Achilles cuts his tawny curls, which he wore clustering for Sperchius, and places them in the hand of dead Patroclus. At the sight of this token that Achilles will return no more to Hellas, but that he must die and lie beside his friend, all the people fall to lamentation ; Agamemnon has to rouse them to prepare the pyre. A hundred feet each way is it built up ; oxen and sheep are slaughtered and placed upon the wood, with jars of honey and olive oil. Horses, too, and dogs are slain to serve the dead man on his journey ; and twelve sons of the great-souled Trojaus are sacrificed to the disconsolate ghost. Then Achilles cast fire upon the wood, and wailed, and called on his loved friend by name :—
"Hail, Patroclus ! I greet thee even in the tomb : for now I am performing all that erst I promised. Twelve valiant sons of the great-souled Trojans with thee the fire devours ; but Hector, son of Priam, I will give to no fire to feed on but to dogs."

Meanwhile the pyre of Patroclus refused to burn, and Achilles called upon the two winds, Boreas and Zephyrus, to help him. They at this time were feasting in the house of Zephyrus, and Iris had to fetch them from their cups. They rose and drove the clouds before them, and furrowed up the sea, and passed to fertile Troy, and fell upon the pyre, and the great flame crackled, hugely blazing :

"All night they around the pyre together cast a flame, blowing with shrill breath, and all night swift Achilles, from a golden bowl, holding a double goblet, drew wine, and poured it on the ground, and soaked the earth, calling upon the soul of poor Patroclus. As when a father wails who burns the bones of his son unwept, so wailed Achilles, burning

his friend's bones, pacing slowly round the fire, and uttering groan on groan.

"But when the star of dawn came to herald light upon the earth, when paling morn, with saffron robe, spread across the sea, then the pyre languished and the flame was stayed.

"The winds again went homeward, back across the Thracian deep. It groaned beneath them, raging with the billows' swell. But the son of Peleus turned from the pyre, and lay down weary, and sweet sleep came upon him."

After this manner was the burying of Patroclus. And here the action of the *Iliad* may be said to end. What follows in the two last books is, however, of the greatest importance in adding dignity to the character of Achilles, and in producing that sense of repose, that pacification of the more violent emotions which we require in the highest works of tragic art. First came the games around the barrow of Patroclus. Presiding over them is Achilles, who opens his treasure-houses to the combatauts with royal generosity, for ever mindful that in honouring them, he is paying honour to the great sad ghost of his dead friend. The bitterness of his sorrow is past; his thirst for vengeance is assuaged. Radiant and tranquil he appears among the chiefs of the Achæians; and to Agamemnon he displays marked courtesy.

But it is not enough to show us Achilles serene in the accomplishment of his last service to Patroclus. As the crowning scene in the whole *Iliad*, Homer has contrived to make us feel that, after all, Achilles is a man: the wrathful and revengeful hero who bearded Agamemnon on his throne, and who slew the unarmed suppliant. Lycan relents in pity at a father's prayer. Priam, in the tent of Achilles, presents one of the most touching pictures to be found in poetry. We know the canine fierceness of Achilles; we know how he has cherished the thought of insult to dead Hector as a final tribute to his friend; even now he is brooding in his lair over the Trojan corpse. Into this lion's den the old king ventures. Instead of springing on him as we might have feared, Achilles is found sublime in generosity of soul. Begging Patroclus to forgive him for robbing his ghost of this last satisfaction, he relinquishes to Priam the body of his son. Yet herein there is nothing sentimental. Achilles is still the same—swift to anger and haughty—but human withal, and tender-hearted to the tears of an enemy at his mercy.

This is the last mention made of Achilles in the *Iliad*. The hero, whom we have seen so noble in his interview with Priam, was destined within a few days to die before the walls of Troy, slain by the arrow of Paris. His ashes were mingled with those of Patroclus. In their death they were not divided.

Once again in the Homeric poems does Achilles appear. But this time he is a ghost among the pale shadows of Elysium. (Od. xi. 466):—

“Thereupon came the soul of Achilles, son of Peleus, and of Patroclus, and of brave Antilochus, and of Ajax, who was first in form and stature among the Achaians after great Pelides. The soul of fleet Æacides knew me, and, wailing, he thus spake:—

“Zeus-born son of Laertes, wily Ulysses, why in thy heart, unhappy man, dost thou design a deed too great for mortals? How darest thou descend to Hades, where dwell the thoughtless dead, the phantoms of men whose life is done?”

“So he spake; but I in turn addressed him:—

“Achilles, son of Peleus, greatest by far of Achaians, I am come to learn of Teiresias concerning my return to Ithaca. But none of men in elder days, or of those to be, is more blessed than thou art, Achilles; for in life the Argives honoured thee like a god, and now again in thy greatness thou rulest the dead here where thou art. Therefore be not grieved at death, Achilles.”

“So spake I, and he straightway made answer:—

“Console not me in death, noble Odysseus! Would rather that I were a bondsman of the glebe, the servant of a master, of some poor man, whose living were but scanty, than thus to be the king of all the nations of the dead.”

Some apology may be needed for these numerous quotations from a poem which is hardly less widely known and read than Shakspeare or the Bible. By no other method, however, would it have been possible to bring out into prominence the chief features of the hero whom Homer thought sufficient for the subject of the greatest epic of the world. For us Achilles has yet another interest. He more than any character of fiction, represents the qualities of the Greek race in its heroic age. His vices of passion and ungovernable pride, his virtue of splendid human heroism, his free individuality asserted in the scorn of fate, are representative of that Hellas which afterwards, at Marathon and Salamis, was destined to inaugurate a new era of spiritual freedom for mankind. It is impossible for us to sympathize with him wholly, or to admire him otherwise than as we all admire a supreme work of art; so far is he removed from our proprieties of moral taste and feeling. But we can study in him the type of a bygone, infinitely valuable period of the world's life, of that age in which the human spirit was emerging from the confused passions and sordid needs of barbarism into the higher emotions and more refined aspirations of civilization. Of this dawn, this boyhood of humanity, Achilles is the fierce and fiery hero. He is the ideal of a race not essentially moral or political, of a nation which subordinated morals to art, and politics to personality; and even of that race he

idealizes the youth rather than the manhood. In some respects Odysseus is a truer impersonation of the delicate and subtle spirit which survived all changes in the Greeks. But Achilles, far more than Odysseus, is an allegory of the Hellenic genius. Superb in its youthfulness, doomed to immature decay, yet brilliant at every stage of its brief career. To exaggerate the importance of Achilles in the education of the Greeks, who used the *Iliad* as their Bible, and were keenly sensitive to all artistic influences, would be difficult. He was the incarnation of their chivalry, the fountain of their sense of honour.

The full development of this subject would require more space than we have at our disposal. It will be enough to touch upon the friendship of Achilles for Patroclus as the central point of Hellenic chivalry; and to advert to the reappearance of his type of character in Alexander at the very moment when the force of Hellas seemed to be exhausted. Nearly all the historians of Greece have failed to insist upon the fact that fraternity in arms played for the Greek race the same part as the idealization of women for the knighthood of feudal Europe. Greek mythology and history are full of tales of friendship, which can only be paralleled by the story of David and Jonathan in our Bible. The legends of Herakles and Hylas, of Theseus and Peirithous, of Apollo and Hyacinth, of Orestes and Pylades, occur immediately to the mind. Among the noblest patriots, tyrannicides, lawgivers, and self-devoted heroes in the early times of Greece, we always find the names of friends and comrades recorded with peculiar honour. Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who slew the despot Hipparchus at Athens; Diocles and Philolaus, who gave laws to Thebes; Chariton and Melanippus, who resisted the sway of Phalaris in Sicily; Craterus and Aristodemus, who devoted their lives to propitiate offended deities when a plague had fallen upon Athens; these comrades, staunch to each other in their love, and devoted by friendship to the pitch of noblest enthusiasm, were among the favourite saints of Greek legendary history. In a word, the chivalry of Hellas found its motive force in friendship rather than in the love of women; and the motive force of all chivalry is a generous, soul-exalting, unselfish passion. The fruit which friendship bore among the Greeks was courage in the face of danger, indifference to life when honour was at stake, patriotic ardour, the love of liberty, and lion-hearted rivalry in battle. "Tyrants," said Plato, "stand in awe of friends."

This chivalry of the Greeks was hallowed in Sparta and in Crete by special ordinances; in Thebes, during the last struggle of Hellenic freedom it blazed forth in the splendid heroism of the Three Hundred, who fell together, face forward, to the Mace-

donia spearmen at Chæroneæ. Thus much should be said about the chivalrous aspect of comradeship in arms among the Greeks, because the friendship of Achilles and Patroclus was recognised as the ideal of this kind of brotherhood. Even down to the later period of Greek poetry the most appropriate title for a pair of noble, united friends, was Achilleian, showing that the brilliant image of the hero self-devoted to death in his sorrow for his friend, still haunted the imagination of the Greek race. Æschylus wrote a tragedy, entitled *Myrmidones*, in commemoration of the love of Achilles; and perhaps few things among the lost treasures of Greek literature are so much to be regretted as this play, which would have cast clear light upon the most romantic of Greek legends. It may also be mentioned, that we possess fragments of a play of Sophocles, which bears the name, Ἀχιλλέως ἑρασταί: but what its subject was, and whether the drama was Satyric or not, we do not know. The beautiful passage in which love is compared to a piece of glittering ice held in the hand of children, has been preserved by Stobæus from this play.

Enough, fortunately, has survived the ruin of time to enable us to conjecture how the sublime moralist of Greek tragedy handled the materials afforded him by Homer. The play, as was frequent, took its name from the Chorus, who represented the contingent of Thessalian warriors led by Peleus' son against Troy. It opened, if we may trust the scholiast to the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, with a reproach uttered by the Chorus against Achilles for his inactivity:—

τάδε μὲν λείσσεις, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
δοριγυμάντονος Δαναῶν μόχθους
οὐς • • εἰσω κλισίας.

“Seest thou these things, glorious Achilles—the sufferings of the Danaans beneath victorious spears? Whom thou within thy tent——” Here the fragment breaks off; but enough has been said to strike the keynote of the tragedy. The next fragment, according to Dindorf's arrangement, formed probably part of Achilles' defence. It is written in Iambics and contains the famous simile of the eagle stricken to death by an arrow felled with his own feather. Like that eagle, argues the hero, have we Greeks been smitten by our own ill-counsel. After the drama has thus been opened, the first great incident seems to have been the arrival of the embassy of Phœnix at Achilles' tent. One corrupt, but precious fragment, put by Aristophanes as a quotation into the mouth of Euripides in the *Frogs*, indicates the line of argument taken by the ambassadors:—

Φθιώτ' Ἀχιλεῦ, τί ποτ' ἀνδροδάκτον ἀκούων
 ἴηκοτον οὐ πελάζεις ἐπ' ἡρωγάν;

Though the Greek as it stands is untranslatable, the meaning is pretty clearly this; Achilles of Phthia, how can you bear to hear of these woes nor lend a helping hand? The next fragment must be received with caution. It occurs in the *Frogs* as a quotation:—

Βέβληκε' Ἀχιλλεὺς δύο κύβω καὶ τέπαρ.

“Achilles has cast two dice, and fair:”

On which the scholiast makes the following remark: “This is from the *Myrmidones*; for the poet feigned them playing dice; and it is the custom of gamblers to cry thus: two, four, three, five. Dionysus says this to show that Æschylus has won.” Another scholiast puts it in doubt whether the verse be taken from the *Telephus* of Euripides or some other farce. The foundation is therefore too slender to build upon; else we might have imagined that, after the departure of the ambassadors, and perhaps after the equipment of Patroclus for the war, Achilles was represented by Æschylus as whiling away the time with his companions at a game of hazard. Then enters Antilochus, the messenger of bad news. He recites the death of Patroclus, and lifts up his voice in lamentation. Our next fragment brings the whole scene vividly before us:—

Ἀντίλοχ', ἀποιμῶξόν με τοῦ τεθνηκότος
 Τὸν ζῶντα μᾶλλον.

The words are spoken undoubtedly by Achilles: “Antilochus, wail thou for me rather than for the dead—for me who live.” It is again from a comedy of Aristophanes, the *Ecclesiazuse*, that this exclamation comes; and in passing we may remark, that such frequent citations from this single play of Æschylus by a comic poet prove its popularity at Athens. Between the narration of Antilochus and the bringing in of the dead body of Patroclus there must have been a solemn pause in the dramatic action, which Æschylus, no doubt, filled up with one of his tremendous choric passages. Then followed the great scene in the tragedy. Achilles, front to front with the corpse of his friend, uttered a lamentation, which the ancients seem to have regarded as the very extasy of grief and love and passionate remembrance. Lucian, quoting one of the lines of this lament, introduces it with words that prove the strong impression it produced:—“Achilles, when he bemoaned Patroclus’ death, in his unhusbanded passion burst forth into the very truth.” To quote a comment upon the three lines which have been preserved from this unique *Threnos* would be here

impossible. When we call to mind the lamentation uttered by Teucer over the corpse of Ajax in the tragedy of Sophocles, we may imagine how the Titanic genius of Æschylus rose to this occasion in his *Myrmidones*. How the drama ended is not known. We may, however, hazard a conjecture that the poet did not leave the hero without some outlook into the future, and that the solemn note of reconciliation upon which the tragedy closed responded to the first querulous interrogation of the Chorus at its commencement. The situation was a grand one for working out that purification of the passions which Greek tragedy required. The sullen and selfish wrath of Achilles had brought its bitter consequence of sorrow for the hero as well as of disaster for the host. Out of that deadly suffering of Achilles—out of the paroxysm of grief beside the body of his friend—has grown a nobler form of anger, which will bring salvation to his country at the certain loss of his own life. Can we doubt that Æschylus availed himself of this so solemn and sublime a cadence? The dead march and the funeral lamentations for Patroclus mingle with the neighing of war-horses and the braying of the trumpets that shall lead the *Myrmidones* to war. And over and above all sounds of the grief that is passed and of the triumph that is to follow, is heard the solemn voice of Fate pronouncing his death-doom above the hero, on whose *ἀναπρία* the tragic movement has depended.

Thus in the prime of Athens, the poet-warrior of Marathon, the prophet of the highest Hellenic inspirations, handled a legend which was dear to his people, and which to them spoke more perhaps than it can do to us. It is not, however, till we reach Alexander the Great that we find how truly Achilles was the type of the Greek people, and to what extent he had controlled their growth. Alexander expressed in real life that ideal which in Homer's poetry had been displayed by Achilles. Alexander set himself unconsciously to imitate Achilles. His tutor, Lysimachus, found favour in the eyes of the royal family of Macedon, by comparing Philip to Peleus, his son to Achilles, and himself to Phoenix. On all his expeditions Alexander carried with him a copy of the *Iliad*, calling it "a perfect portable treasure of military virtue." It was in the spirit of the Homeric age that he went forth to conquer Asia. And when he reached the plain of Troy, it was to the tomb of Achilles that he paid special homage. There he poured libations to the mighty ghost, anointed his grave, and, as Plutarch says, "ran naked about his tomb, and crowned it with garlands, declaring how happy he esteemed him in having, while he lived, so faithful a friend, and, when he was dead, so famous a poet to proclaim his actions." We have seen that the two chief passions of Achilles were his

anger and his love. In both of these Alexander followed him. The passage just quoted from Plutarch hints at the envy with which Alexander regarded the friendship of Achilles and Patroclus. In his own life he entertained for Hephæstion a like passion. When Hephæstion died of fever at Ecbatana, Alexander exaggerated the fury and the anguish of the son of Peleus. He went forth and slew a whole tribe—the Ossæans—as a sacrifice to the soul of his comrade. He threw down the battlements of neighbouring cities, and forbade all signs of merry-making in his camp. Meanwhile he refused food and comfort till an oracle from Ammon ordained that divine honours should be paid Hephæstion. Then Alexander raised a pyre, like that of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, except that the pyre of Hephæstion cost 10,000 talents, and was adorned with all the splendour of Greek art in its prime. Here the Homeric ceremonies were performed. Games and races took place; then, like Achilles, having paid this homage to his friend of bloodshed, costly gifts, and obsequies, Alexander at last rested from his grief. In this extravagance of love for a friend we see the direct working of the *Iliad* on the mind of the Macedonian king. But alas! the realities of life fall far short of the poet's dream. Neither the love nor the sorrow of Alexander for Hephæstion is so touching as the love and sorrow of Achilles for Patroclus.

In his wrath, again, Alexander imitated and went beyond his model. When he slew Clitus in a drunken brawl, there was no Athene at his side to stay his arm and put the sword back in the scabbard. Yet his remorse was some atonement for his violence. "All that night," says Plutarch, "and the next day he wept bitterly, till being quite spent with lamenting and exclaiming he lay, as it were, speechless, only fetching deep sighs." It is noticeable that Alexander, here also like Achilles, conqueror and hero though he was, scorned not to show his tears, and to grovel on the ground in anguish. His fiery temper added indomitable energy to all he did or felt. In a few years he swept Asia, destroying kingdoms, and founding cities that still bear his name; and though his rage betrayed him now and then into insane acts, he, like Achilles, was not wholly without the guidance of Athene. In both we have the spectacle of a gigantic nature moved by passions; yet both are controlled by reason, not so much by the reflective understanding, as by an innate sense of what is great and noble. Alexander was Aristotle's pupil. In his best moments, in his fairest and most solid actions, the spirit of Aristotle's teaching ruled him and attended him as Achilles was ruled and attended by Pallas. Again, in generosity, Alexander recalls Achilles. His treatment of the wife and daughters of Darius reminds us of the reception

of Priam by the son of Peleus. Grote, indeed, points out that good policy prompted him to spare the life of the Persian queen. That may be true; but it would have been quite consistent with the great standard of honour to treat her with indignity while he preserved her life. This Alexander refrained from doing. His entertainment of Stateira was not unworthy of a queen; and if he did not exhibit the refined courtesy of the Black Prince, he came as near this ideal of modern chivalry as a Greek could do. In the last place Alexander, like Achilles, was always young. Like Achilles, he died young, and exists for us as an immortal youth. This youthfulness is one of the peculiar attributes of a Greek hero, one of the distinguishing features of Greek sculpture—in a word, the special mark of the Greek race. "O Solon! Solon!" said the priest of Egypt, "you Greeks are always boys!" Achilles and Alexander are for ever adolescent. Yet, after all is said, Alexander fell far below his prototype in beauty and sublimity. He was nothing more than a heroic man. Achilles was the creature of a poet's brain, of a nation's mythology. The one was the ideal in its freshness and its freedom. The other was the real, dragged in the mire of the world, and enthralled by the necessities of human life.

It is very difficult, by any process of criticism, to define the impression of grandeur and of glory which the character of Achilles leaves upon the mind. There is in him a kind of magnetic fascination, something uncommensurable and indescribable, a quality like that which Goethe described as *dæmonic*. They are not always the most noble or the most admirable natures which exert this influence over their fellow-creatures. The Emperor Napoleon and our own Byron had each, perhaps, a portion of this Achilleian personality. Men of their stamp sway the soul by their prestige, by their personal beauty and grandeur, by the concentrated intensity of their character, and by the fatality which seems to follow them. To Achilles, to Alexander, to Napoleon, we cannot apply the rules of our morality. It is therefore impossible for us, who must aim first at being good citizens, careful in our generation, and subordinate to the laws of society around us, to admire them without a reservation. Yet, after all is said, a great and terrible glory does rest upon their heads; and though our sentiments of propriety may be offended by some of their actions, our sense of what is awful and sublime is satisfied by the contemplation of them. No one should delude us into thinking that true culture does not come to us from the impassioned study of everything, however eccentric and at variance with our own mode of life, that is truly great. Greatness, of whatever species it may be, is always elevating and spirit-stirring; when we listen to the *Eroica Symphony*, and

remember that that master-work of music was produced by the genius of Beethoven, brooding over the thoughts of Achilles in the Illiad, and of Napoleon upon the battle-fields of Lombardy, we may feel how abyss cries to abyss, and how all forms of human greatness meet and sustain each other.

ART. III.—PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY:
PROFESSOR CAIRNES.

Some Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded. By J. E. CAIRNES, M.A., Emeritus Professor of Political Economy in University College, London. London: Macmillan and Co. 1874.

WHAT is the use of Political Economy? is a question which is often asked, and to which it is not easy to give an answer which will satisfy the questioner. If a person does not himself take any interest in a particular subject, it is difficult to convince him that the labours of those who study that subject are of any use. If, indeed, some direct connexion can be pointed out between the labours of the student and some practical means of alleviating human suffering, the questioner may be silenced, if not convinced, and be forced to admit that abstract speculations, though uninteresting to him, may yet be in some degree useful. Thus the chief use of Political Economy is commonly said to be that it teaches Governments to adopt the policy of free trade, and thus brings about a great extension of trade, and a great increase in material prosperity. However conclusive such an answer may once have been, the gradual adoption of free trade must weaken its force, for if this be the sole object of the science, it would follow that in a country like England, which has already abandoned protection, there is no further occasion to study Political Economy. In truth, however, the adoption of free trade is merely one of the many indirect consequences which follow from a more extended knowledge of Political Economy, and there are many other practical questions which a large number of persons are anxious to solve, and which cannot be solved without the aid of this science.

One of these which is now attracting a considerable share of public attention is whether combinations of workmen have any power which is not equally enjoyed by uncombined workmen, to compel their employers to give them higher wages. That there are many people who desire to solve this question, is evinced by

the frequent references which are made to it in the newspapers, and the fact that so much interest is taken in the question affords sufficient apology for studying it. The only question then is, whether it can be better solved by confining our attention to a few facts furnished by the experience of a single country during a few years, or by such a comprehensive study of the operations of the human mind, as will enable us to predict the course which human beings will take under given circumstances, and to discover what are the causes which give rise to a certain rate of wages. It would seem scarcely possible that an educated person should hesitate for a moment in choosing between these two courses, and yet there is an able writer who considers that the question can be disposed of by citing a dozen instances of successful strikes, and who maintains that there is no such thing as a science of Political Economy.

It must be admitted that the solution which economists have generally offered is not altogether satisfactory. Mr. Ruskin objects to them that they cannot settle disputes between workmen and employers, but as this is a task which they have never undertaken, they cannot be blamed for not performing it, any more than for not providing a remedy for the evil caused by a sudden cessation of employment, as Comte desired them to do. What they undertake to do is to explain the causes which determine the rate of wages, and to decide whether one of these is the state of organization prevailing among the workmen; and the controversy which was started five years ago by Mr. Thornto has revealed the fact that it is by no means so easy to answer these questions as was formerly supposed. Under these circumstances it is a matter for congratulation that an economist whose opinions are entitled to so much respect as those of Mr. Cairnes should have determined to enter the arena, and to give us the benefit of his long and close study of the subject. The many works which have already proceeded from his pen have shown his thorough competence to grapple with any economic question. His "*Logical Method of Political Economy*," which was published twenty years ago, is an admirable exposition of the method which ought to be pursued in studying the science.

The essays which he has from time to time contributed to various periodicals, and many of which were republished in 1873, show that he is equally capable of applying his principles to the elucidation of remarkable phenomena furnished by the experience of the present time. His "*Slave Power*" exhibits in a remarkable degree the advantage which an economist enjoys in studying the effects which the social state of a people produces on their character. But his published works form by no means the whole of his contributions to the science. During his long career as a

professor at Galway, Dublin, and University College, he has had the opportunity of instructing hundreds of students, and if the rising generation of economists have any clearer ideas than the generation which preceded them, the result must be in no small degree owing to his lucid expositions.

It was, therefore, a most welcome announcement which was made some months ago in the columns of the *Academy*, that Mr. Cairnes was about to publish a work on Political Economy, in which he would devote considerable space to the examination of the whole question raised by Mr. Thornton, and would give his views both respecting the general theory of wages, and the special question of the power of Trades Unions, and would also discuss some other portions of the science. The work is now before us, and we shall proceed to examine it freely, but, at the same time, with the utmost respect for Mr. Cairnes' opinion, whenever it differs from our own.

The common theory of wages is that they are determined by the proportion between the amount of the wages-fund of the country and the number of the labourers. The term "wages-fund" was first coined by Mill in order to express that portion of the capital of a country which is devoted to the maintenance of labourers, and the wide circulation of Mill's treatise has brought the term into general use. Mill himself has in one passage directly asserted that the rate of wages is determined in the manner just described, while, in other passages, he has given a somewhat longer and somewhat different description of it. Mr. Cairnes, while admitting that it is a good description of the problem to be solved, denies that it can be considered as an explanation. After citing the passage, he observes:—

"It must be freely confessed that it contains no solution of the wages problem: it is not a solution, but a statement of that problem—a statement, as it seems to me, at once clear, comprehensive, and succinct, presenting in clear light the two factors which constitute the phenomenon—the wages-fund resulting from the direct demand for labour, and the labouring population forming the supply. The solution will consist in connecting these factors with those principles of human nature and facts of the external world which form the premisses of economic science" (p. 187).

It does indeed appear singular that such a theory should ever have passed for an explanation, and that more than twenty years should have passed by before Mill was induced to abandon it. The wages-fund is defined as the amount of the commodities actually received by the labouring population; and we are told that the average rate depends on the proportion which this amount bears to the number of persons among whom it is

divided. We are told, in short, that the average is the average, and are expected to be content with the explanation. The theory is sometimes expressed in a somewhat different form, and we are told that the rate depends on the amount of the wages-fund and the supply of labour. But if the supply of labour means the number of labourers who offer themselves for employment, the theory is manifestly false, for there are always many seeking employment, but unable to obtain it; and the average rate certainly cannot be the quotient obtained by dividing the total amount by any number larger than that of the persons who actually share in it. If, by the supply of labour, is meant the number of persons actually employed, this mode of stating the theory amounts to no more than an identical proposition. But there is another mode of stating the theory to which Mr. Cairnes is more favourable, and which to him appears to be free from the objections which may be made to the one just referred to. This, which was also expounded by Mill, begins by defining "capital" as that portion of the wealth of a country which is actually employed in carrying on industry, and then dividing it into three portions, viz.—machinery, raw material, and commodities consumed by labourers. We are then told that the proportion which these three elements bear to one another is different in different countries according to the degree of civilization which they have attained. As a country advances, it is obvious that a larger portion of its wealth is embodied in the permanent form of buildings, railways, machinery, and other things which conduce to the carrying on of industry, to which the general name of "fixed capital" is given. In a country which has been but newly settled, or which has made but little progress in civilization, the labourers derive less assistance from such instruments, and are more dependent on their own strength for performing their tasks. In such countries the chief expense which a capitalist has to undergo consists in providing the maintenance of the labourers, and his capital not being fixed in a durable form, but being constantly consumed and renewed, is called "circulating capital." It is therefore possible that although the total capital of a given country may be larger in proportion to the number of labourers than that of another country, the first may not contain so large an amount of circulating capital, and the rate of wages may be lower than in the second, in which the circulating bears a greater proportion to the fixed capital. After developing this theory, Mill proceeded to abbreviate it by giving the name of wages-fund to that portion of capital which is actually divided amongst the labourers, and discarding all further reference to the other elements of capital. Mr. Cairnes, while, as we have seen, he rejects this abbreviated statement of

the theory, yet considers that the theory itself is a sound one and it is here that we must confess ourselves unable to follow his reasoning. It seems to us that the theory is nothing more than a more roundabout way of saying that the average rate of wages is the same as the quotient yielded by dividing the total amount by the number of persons who receive it, which is nothing more than an identical proposition. It may be convenient to bring together all the instruments of production under the common name of capital, although, for our own part, we think it would be better to follow Mr. Jevons in restricting the term to the food, clothing, and other articles which are necessary to support human life. But what is the advantage of first putting together three things, two of which have no influence upon wages, then eliminating the two superfluous ones, and saying that wages are determined by the amount of the whole and the proportion which the third bears to the whole, we are unable to see. If there is a large amount to divide among a small number of people, the quotient will be large, and this will be equally the case whether the large amount constitutes a large proportion of a small whole, or a small proportion of a large whole. If the amount increases, whilst the number of recipients remains unaltered, the quotient will increase, and *vice versa*. If the amount of something else, which has nothing to do with wages, be increased, no effect will be produced on wages; but these statements bring us no nearer to an explanation of the cause of wages. To say that the average has increased is to say, by implication, that the proportion between the whole amount and the number of recipients has altered; but to account for the change we must show why the proportion has altered. If we wish to know why it is that each guest at a dinner party eats a given quantity, say, half a pound of meat, it would not bring us any nearer to a solution if we were told that it was because there were twelve guests, and six pounds of meat were eaten. Whatever were the quantity consumed, arithmetic would give us the same answer,—that the average is the total divided by the number of consumers; but if we want to know why a particular quantity is consumed, we must refer to the cravings of the human appetite, or to some physiological cause. If indeed we were inquiring why the number of labourers is what it is, we might, no doubt, account for it by reference to the quantity of food, clothing, &c., which the country contains; for the number of people is limited by the means of subsistence. Mr. Cairnes points to Ireland as an instance of a country in which the labourers have been injured by a diminution of the wages-fund, which was not accompanied by a diminution of the total capital of the country; but this is not an instance of the rate of wages

being reduced, for it has, on the contrary, increased since the famine. The population of Ireland was greatly reduced by the famine, and the fact that it still continues to diminish seems to be due to the wasteful system of cultivation, which is still pursued by the Irish farmers. It appears, from a paper contributed by Dr. Playfair to "*Recess Studies*," that scarcely any artificial manure is imported into Ireland, and that, as the potatoes are for the most part exported from the places where they are produced, the soil is gradually impoverished, as is shown by the continued diminution of the average crop of potatoes per acre. What do these facts show? They show that the population of a country diminishes when the quantity of food which it contains is diminished; but they do not show that the labourers are injured by the diminution of the wages-fund. Their wages have not diminished, and, though their numbers have done so, this is no necessary disadvantage to those who remain in the country; and, if it were a disadvantage, it is one which would not be confined to the labourers, but would be shared by other classes. If we were seeking the reason why a certain proportion of the wealth of a country is devoted to production, we might be content when we were told that it is determined by the effective desire of accumulation, or, in other words, by the motives which induce certain individuals to invest their capital in industry, for the sake of obtaining a profit rather than expending it on luxuries for themselves. If again we were seeking the reason why a capitalist divides his expenditure in a certain proportion between machinery, raw material, and wages, we might be content with the answer, that he did so because that was the most profitable method of division. But what we want to know is not why some amount is expended upon wages, nor what proportion it bears to the whole wealth of the country, but what enables the labourers to secure that a certain quantity shall be given to each. The explanation that it is profitable is a sufficient answer to Mr. Thornton, who contends that there is no necessity which compels employers, against their will, to expend a certain amount, and no more, upon wages; and the manner in which Mr. Cairnes disposes of this objection exhibits in a high degree his controversial powers. Mr. Thornton contends that there can be no definite fund which is set aside for the maintenance of labourers, because no individual employer either decides or knows beforehand how much he will spend on wages, and how much on buildings, machinery, or raw materials. He says:—

"May not his outlay on repairs be unexpectedly increased by fire or other accident? Will not his outlay on materials vary with their dearthness or cheapness, or with the varying demand for the finished

article? and must not the amount available for wages vary accordingly? And even though the latter amount were exactly ascertained beforehand, even though he did know to a farthing how much he would be able to spend on labour, would he be bound so to spend the utmost he could afford to spend? If he could get as much labour as he wanted at a cheap rate, would he voluntarily pay as much for it as he would be compelled to pay if it were dearer?"

Mr. Cairnes replies that, although of course there must always be uncertainty in individual cases, and although every capitalist is free to employ his capital as he chooses, there is a certain proportion which the whole body of capitalists must preserve between their different heads of expenditure, if they wish to obtain a profit, and that the desire of obtaining profit will induce them to preserve this proportion, and he adds:—

"If economic doctrines in general are to be understood in the sense here assigned to the wages-fund doctrine—namely, as expressing principles which compel human beings to the adoption of certain courses of conduct in despite of their own inclination and will, there is not a single one within the range of economic science that could endure ten minutes' criticism. The doctrine, for example, that the supply of a commodity tends to conform to the quantity demanded at the normal price, is as well established as any principle of Political Economy. How is it proved? By showing that, if the supply of the commodity falls short of this quantity, the market price will rise above the normal price, profits on the production will be exceptionally high, and, as a consequence, a larger amount of capital and labour will be 'determined' towards the production; while in the contrary case the 'determination' of capital and labour would be in the opposite direction. But if by 'determination' of capital is to be understood some force which compels the capitalist, irrespective of his own wishes and views of his own interest, the reasoning is manifestly groundless. Mr. Thornton might say here, quite as truly as in his argument against the wages-fund, there is no law, physical or legal, there is no moral principle, which compels any capitalist to employ his capital in a branch of production simply because profits in that branch are rising. Again, take the law of rent: how is that law established? By some such reasoning as this, namely, by showing that the competition of farmers for land will 'determine' to the possession of landlords all that profit upon land which is in excess of the ordinary profits upon industry; while the competition of other occupations with agriculture will prevent the amount so determined from rising beyond the limits of the exceptional profit. But what is to prevent Mr. Thornton from interposing here the same series of objections he has urged against the wages-fund? 'Rent,' he might exclaim, 'determined by the law of exceptional profit! Is there any specific portion of a farmer's capital which the owner *must* necessarily expend upon rent? And who can tell beforehand what the amount of

his exceptional profit will be? May not his outlay on repairs be unexpectedly increased by flood or other accident? Will not his outlay on materials vary with their dearness or cheapness, or with the varying demand for the produce? and must not the amount available for rent vary accordingly? And even though the amount of exceptional profit were exactly ascertained beforehand, even though the farmer did know to a farthing how much he would be able to pay to the landlord, while reserving average profit to himself, would he be bound so to spend the utmost he could so afford to spend? And so the theory of rent would collapse, and Mr. Thornton might enjoy an easy triumph over Ricardo and all who have since followed in his wake" (pp. 214—216).

We are afraid that this rejoinder will not satisfy Mr. Thornton, for he gravely contends that the phenomena of the human mind are not subject to law; but to any one who holds that they form no exception to the rule which prevails throughout all other departments of nature, the reply must appear conclusive. Indeed, whenever Mr. Cairnes comes into collision with any other writer, whether it be a scientific economist like Mr. Jevons, or practical men like Mr. Longe and Mr. Thornton, he is never satisfied until he has completely demolished the arguments of his opponent, and left him without a leg to stand on. He knows exactly how to cite a passage, which exhibits, in a small space, the drift of an argument, how to dissect it, and to show the exact point where the difference of view originates; and in most cases succeeds in showing, not merely that his opponent has mistaken the nature of the question, but that his views are inconsistent with one another.

As the theory regards wages rather as the labourer's share of the total wealth of the country than as an absolute amount of gold or of commodities, it is seen to most advantage when the question under discussion is whether the labourers can increase their share, not by increasing the whole wealth of the country, but by wresting something from other classes. Mr. Thornton contends that Trades Unions not only can, but actually do raise the rate of wages by simply threatening to strike if the employers do not comply with their demands. As it is obvious that by acting in this manner they in no way increase the total amount of the national wealth, there is only one source from which an increase can be derived, namely, from the pockets of the employers; or, in other words, from the diminution in the rate of profit. Like economists in general, Mr. Cairnes refuses to admit that capitalists can be forced to submit to a reduction of profit; and maintains that if it could be forced upon them it would be followed by such a diminution in the accumulation of capital as would materially diminish the amount divided

amongst the labouring classes, and thus defeat the very object which the Trades Unions were seeking to obtain. He does, however, allow that Trades Unions may sometimes obtain a rise somewhat earlier than the competition of employers would bring it about; and that as long as they confine their action to cases in which the circumstances of the particular trade are such that a rise of wages must take place sooner or later, they may and do confer a certain benefit on the workmen, which is not accompanied by the infliction of any corresponding evil on the employers. He hopes, and finds ground in the recent conduct of the Union leaders to encourage the belief that they will learn wisdom from experience, and confine themselves to demanding a rise in such cases, and will refrain from foolishly attempting to prevent a reduction when the circumstances of the trade are such as to render it the only alternative to a complete stoppage of work. This slight concession is all that this distinguished economist is willing to make to the claims of the Unionists, after all that has been so ably urged by Mr. Thornton, Mr. Harrison, and others in their favour. Mr. Thornton thinks it sufficient to point to numerous instances of successful strikes, in order to prove that combinations of workmen have the power to force their employers to raise their wages, and even seems to consider that the mere fact that wages have risen in several trades in which Unions had been formed, is enough to prove that the Unions have caused the rise. To those who would suggest that some other cause has been in operation, he thinks it enough to reply by asking how many employers have voluntarily offered a rise of wages, which has not been demanded by their workmen. Mr. Cairnes has no difficulty in answering such an objection, or in meeting Mr. Thornton's facts with other facts equally well established. He refers, as all who are interested in the subject must do, to Mr. Brassey's "*Work and Wages.*" Here he finds that in England, where the engineers possess a large and powerful Trades Union, they obtained no increase of wages worth speaking of during a period of fifteen years; while, during the same period, the wages of the same class of labourers employed at M. Schneider's factory at Creuzot rose considerably, although they possessed no Union at all. He asks how Mr. Thornton can account for the rise in the latter case, if the employer has no other alternative than those of yielding to compulsion, or voluntarily proposing an augmentation of the wages of his men. A comparison, which we have ourselves made between the rates of wages paid to agricultural labourers in twenty-six English counties in the years 1850 and 1869, shows that during that period the average rise was about 30 per cent., although it was not till after the latter year that

the first Union was formed among this class. We therefore hold with Mr. Cairnes, that no case has been made out for ascribing to Trades Unions any greater power of determining the rate of wages than is implied in their being able somewhat to anticipate a rise which would take place without them. The experience of the year 1873 might alone suffice to show that the remarkable rise of wages which took place in 1872 was not owing to the agency of the Unions in the different trades affected; for, if it were, we should be driven to the conclusion that the Unions had no objection to the general fall which took place in the following year. In connexion with this subject we may refer to some remarks which Mr. Cairnes makes on the question, which has been much discussed of late, as to whether the rise of prices was the cause or the effect of the rise of wages. In the *Times* and other papers it was generally assumed that the high price of coal was, in a great measure, owing to the strikes of the colliers for higher wages; while the Committee of the House of Commons reported that the evidence given before them had satisfied them that the rise of price always preceded the rise of wages. He points out (pp. 239-244) that, though the two phenomena generally accompany each other, it does not therefore follow that either of them is the cause of the other. The cause may be either an increase of the national capital, or an extension of foreign trade; and in either case, the increased activity which will be produced will not be common to all trades, but will, in the first instance, be confined to a few, the products of which are particularly required at the time, and that in both cases the effect will be produced through an increase in the demand for these products. These products will sell for more than the normal price, because there has not been time for competition to restore the balance, and the rise of wages will be brought about either by the competition of employers to obtain more workmen, or by a strike, which will succeed, because the employers are obtaining exceptional profits, and the rise will produce the same effect as the introduction of fresh capital into the trade. Thus the rise of prices precedes the rise of wages; but the increase of capital causes it, and would do so even if some improvement in the processes of production should enable prices to be reduced.

We have said, that the theory of wages which Mr. Cairnes still upholds, treats it as a question of the relative share which the labourers receive of the whole wealth of the country, and that it scarcely attempts to account for its absolute amount. It is the more surprising that he should confine himself to this mode of viewing the question; because, in one or two passages, he lets fall observations which show that he does occasionally

view it in a different light. Thus, when discussing the arguments of American protectionists, he says :—

“ I would ask such to consider what are the true causes of the high remuneration of American industry. It will surely be admitted that, in the last resort, these resolve themselves into the one great fact of its high productive power. Capitalists and labourers receive large remuneration in America because their industry produces largely. That is the simple and patent fact which all must acknowledge” (p. 462).

Yet in his own theory of wages, nothing is said about productive power as being their cause. If we wished to account for the high rate prevailing in America, without other light to guide us than is furnished by his theory, we should simply learn that the state of American industry and the amount of American capital was such that the portion devoted to the maintenance of labourers was larger in proportion to their number, and this would leave us pretty much where we started. When we are referred to productive power we are referred to something else than the phenomenon which we wish to explain ; and we are told not merely that the amount of capital at the disposal of the labourers is large, but why it is large. The average rate is thus shown to be large, because each labourer produces largely, and the large aggregate is the result of the efficiency of a large number of labourers, not the cause of their receiving a large remuneration, but the expression of the fact that they do so. But although he thus virtually accepts the theory that wages are high or low in proportion to the efficiency of the national industry, he seems unwilling to give it a prominent place even when it is actually brought before him as a solution of the problem. The remarkable facts which are adduced by Mr. Brassey to show that whatever be the rate of wages paid to navvies in different countries, the price paid for the same kind of railway work is much the same, mile for mile, all the world over, are minutely canvassed by him, and finally thrown aside as of little worth. This is partly because of a few discrepancies which show that the rule is not strictly universal, though these discrepancies are such as might be expected in a collection of data which extend over a series of years. But even admitting the principle to be correct, he considers that it merely shows that competition tends to bring prices to a level and consequently to bring the wages of workmen in the same trade, if not to an absolute equality, at least to one which is in proportion to their respective capacities. We confess that the theory which is thus virtually admitted by Mr. Cairnes himself, and of which Mr. Brassey's facts afford so striking a confirmation, appears to us to

be much more satisfactory than the one before considered. Unfortunately Mr. Brassey has much impaired the value of his testimony by expressing an opinion which is directly at variance with it. Although his facts go to show that high wages are the effect and the sign of high efficiency, he nevertheless endorses the opinion which is so common amongst employers, that dear labour is an obstacle to industrial success. Because a capitalist necessarily regards the wages of his workmen as a part, and a formidable part of his expenditure, Mr. Brassey considers that anything which increases his expenditure under this head militates against the success of the whole body of capitalists, and he regards their success as identical with the prosperity of the people. Thus in one place he says that dear labour is the greatest obstacle to the extension of British trade and manufactures; and, in a certain sense, it is no doubt true, for some kinds of British products might obtain a larger sale abroad if the wages of the labourers were reduced, without any corresponding diminution in the efficiency of their labour. But, as Mr. Cairnes says, the same result might be equally well obtained by a reduction in the rate of profit, and both employers and workmen have the opportunity of making the patriotic sacrifice, but, "like the French soldiers at the battle of Fontenoy, each prefers that their opponent should fire first." How Mr. Brassey would reconcile his opinion that wages are in proportion to efficiency with his opinion that high wages are an obstacle to industrial competition, we do not know, but in his address to the Social Science Congress, he says that other things being equal, a high rate of wages is a disadvantage in the struggle. This is true enough, but Mr. Brassey seems to forget that the exportation of British commodities is not the end for which British industry is carried on. He cites, with apparent approval, the opinion of Mr. Lothian Bell, that the high wages of British artisans neutralize the advantages derived from the possession of fertile coal and iron mines. "It might as well be said," says Mr. Cairnes, "that the high fees received by an eminent barrister neutralize the advantages of his superior skill and learning." The case is an exact parallel, for if we look at the matter from the client's point of view, the high fee which he has to pay does neutralize the advantages of securing the services of an able advocate; but when it is said that high wages neutralize the advantages of abundant mines, all that is really meant is that they prevent capitalists from obtaining more than the usual rate of profit: the high wages are the advantages which result from the fertility of the mines, just as the high fees are the advantages which result from a barrister's skill. A considerable part of the book before us is taken up with the examination of all the ramifications of the

theory that a high rate of wages indicates high cost. Mill has, in one passage, committed himself to the opinion that wages constitute the cost of production, although he generally proceeds on the basis that cost consists in the sacrifice undergone. Mill was led to this conclusion by following the too common practice of regarding the matter from the employers' point of view, and on the inconsistency into which he was thus led Mr. Cairnes comments as follows:—

"The point of view is shifted from the ground of human interests to the partial and limited standpoint of the capitalist employers; and the cost of producing an article, which really consists in the sacrifices required of human beings for its production, is only considered so far forth as it is cost to him; that much more important portion of the cost which is cost to the labourers being put entirely out of sight. This point of view being once taken, the rest follows simply and naturally. What is cost to the capitalist—that is to say, his advances, consisting of the profits of previous producers as well as of the wages of labourers, profits as well as wages—must evidently be included in cost; and not only the profits of previous producers, but, in order to meet the case of different periods of advancing capital, the profits of the producer of the particular commodity whose cost is considered—an extension of the theory which involves this curious consequence, that amongst the elements of the cost of producing a commodity is counted the profit obtained on that commodity by the producer, a profit which I need scarcely say is not realized until after the commodity is produced" (p. 53).

Thus by a singular process of reasoning we are brought to the conclusion that the reward of industry is identical with the sacrifice undergone for the sake of that reward, and that whether the reward be large or small, its cost is the same. Two statisticians are referred to by Mr. Cairnes who have actually contended that the gold discoveries of Australia have not reduced the cost of producing gold, because the money wages have risen so much that the employers lost as much by paying higher wages to the miners as they gained by the fertility of the mines.

Yet, if this argument were correct, it would be a necessary consequence that the cost of producing gold could never be lowered. If gold could be picked up on the seashore with as little labour as is now required to pick up pebbles, the wages of the labourers measured in gold would be as high as they would now be if measured in pebbles; so that as the employer would pay away with one hand what he received with the other, these statisticians might as plausibly argue that the cost had not been lowered. They might perhaps admit that a rise in the rate of profit showed a diminution of the cost of production; but, if so, they would be simply applying to the employers a measure

different from that which they applied to the workmen. If the reward is the same thing as the cost, a high rate of profit ought to be considered to be quite as much an index of high cost as a high rate of wages. The consumers cannot obtain the article without first remunerating the capitalist, who has provided the means of producing it, and from their point of view, his high profit is quite as much an increase of the cost as the high wages of his men. In reality, as the object of industry is to satisfy human wants, a high rate of wages is the very thing to be desired, and the fact that it can be secured, shows that the labour is efficient, or, in other words, that the same quantity of toil produces a larger quantity of commodities. Those commodities are really costly, which can only be obtained by the expenditure of much labour; and though we generally measure the cost of an article by the amount of money which we must give in order to obtain it, we ought always to bear in mind, that this is only a correct measure on the assumption that money itself is always procurable by the same proportionate amount of labour.

The practice of regarding labour as a commodity, and speaking of it as cheap or dear, is one which still holds its ground among economists, in spite of the protest which was made against it by Adam Smith himself. He expressly says that to the capitalist the value of labour seems to vary like that of all other things, but that in reality it is the value of other things which varies, not that of the labour which measures them. Ricardo was quite unable to understand why Adam Smith should have made such a distinction, for he saw plainly enough that the rate of wages was constantly varying, and he ascribed the fluctuations to the changes in the demand for, and the supply of labour. As he ascribed the fluctuations in the values of other things to changes in their respective demands and supplies, he could not see why a different explanation should be assigned in the case of labour, and it never struck him that labour was not a commodity, and therefore was not of like nature with material substances. One mischievous effect of the practice has been to create the notion that the prosperity of the labourer depends on the amount of work which there is for him to do, since when this is large, there is said to be a great demand for labour, and this is taken to be a circumstance which must infallibly raise its price. This theory is espoused by Mr. Thornton in the following passages:—

“This happens [*i.e.*, the demand for labour is urgent] in new colonies, in which the extent of land to be tilled, and the number of sheep and oxen to be tended, and of meals to be cooked, and of floors to be scrubbed, is generally out of all proportion to the number of available hands and herds, cooks and housemaids” (p. 103).

"I am myself unable to understand how mere labour-saving machinery can possibly, if no counteracting cause intervene, fail to diminish the demand for labour. If, indeed, the machinery increased the productiveness of labour in a greater ratio than that in which it saved labour, its influence on employment would be different. If, by using improved implements, one man were enabled not merely to do the work of two, but to turn out more produce than the two had formerly done, the demand for labour might remain unabated, or might increase. If with only half the previous expenditure of labour two cars of wheat were made to grow where but one grew before, or twice as much ironstone were brought to the pit's mouth, or twice as many herrings were caught, those men for whom there was no longer place on the corn-field, or in the mine, or on the fishing-ground, might yet find full employment in making the additional wheat into bread, or in smelting the additional ore, or in curing and packing the additional fish. But if there be no more corn, and no more ore, and no more fish than usual, if the new machinery has created no new work, and has only enabled the old work to be done with fewer hands, thereby causing some old hands to be discharged, how can it be asserted that the field of employment is enlarged? how denied that it is diminished?" (p. 339).

These passages afford Mr. Cairnes another opportunity of refuting Mr. Thornton, who has thus committed himself to one of the most noxious fallacies which have ever imposed upon mankind. Mr. Thornton assumes that the quantity of work to be done is a fixed quantity, and, consequently, that whatever increases or diminishes the efficiency of the labourers employed, must in the same proportion diminish or increase the number so employed. Mr. Cairnes points out (p. 298) that if this were so, the labourer would be injured, not only by every new machine which facilitated the finishing processes of manufacture, but also by the division of labour by free trade, and, in short, by every change which forms a part of the material progress of civilization. It is the amount of capital which enables the labourers to be maintained, and the object which they desire is not work, but wages. Provide human beings with the means of maintaining themselves, and they will provide some occupation for themselves; and it is not necessary to retain cumbrous modes of work in order to provide them with something to do. The desires of human beings for gratifications are unlimited, but their desire for work is of a very limited degree. And if the processes of industry could be so much improved that one-fourth of the labour now employed would suffice to satisfy all those wants which it was thought worth while to labour in order to satisfy, the result would be that the hours of toil would be considerably reduced, while a larger number of persons would be exempt from the necessity of labouring. Wages are high in new colonies, not because there are many

acres to till, sheep to tend, or floors to scrub, but because the acres which are tilled are of such fertility as to yield a high return to the labour of those who cultivate them. The wages of cooks and housemaids are not after all very much higher in Australia than in England, and the complaint so commonly made in Australia, that the supply of domestic servants is much below the demand, is one which is common enough in England. Every week the *Labour News* informs its readers that the demand for domestic servants is in excess of the supply, and every week it announces that advices from Australia tell of an unprecedented demand for the same class. There are always plenty of floors to be scrubbed, but the fact is not sufficient to enable housemaids to obtain high wages. Although Mr. Thornton himself condemns the anti-industrial rules enforced by certain Trades Unions, yet the theory which he here espouses would go a long way to justify them. The stonemasons who insist that stone shall not be cut at the quarry, while it is soft, but shall be allowed to harden by exposure to the atmosphere before it is cut, make this rule in order that more masons may be employed. The rule which is enforced in another department of the building trade, that no hodman shall carry more than a certain number of bricks at a time, has the same object in view—viz., to secure a larger field of employment for building labourers. But what is the effect of these rules when successfully enforced? They certainly cause a larger number of masons and hodmen to be employed in doing the same amount of work, but how do they enable the country to support a larger number of masons or hodmen, or how do they enable these labourers to obtain a better remuneration than they would otherwise do? These rules do not increase the total product of industry, but on the contrary, diminish it; and though they inflict a loss upon other classes of the community, they do not compel the community to expend more capital upon buildings, still less to give any higher remuneration to the classes which make these vexatious rules. If it were not for these rules, the same number of labourers might construct more buildings, and thus the whole community would be benefited, while the particular labourers would suffer no other disadvantage than what is implied in working industriously instead of as lazily as possible.

Even where Mr. Cairnes tacitly admits that real wages are increased by an increase in the efficiency of labour, he is not disposed to attach much importance to the consideration, and contends that the great increase of efficiency which marks the progress of civilization does not confer any great benefit upon the labouring classes. The reason which he gives for this opinion is that there are many improvements in pro-

duction which do not affect the labourers' condition. He says :—

"It is certain, at all events, that neither the rate of wages nor the rate of profits, nor both rates combined, have experienced any increase at all commensurate with that which has occurred in the general productiveness of industry. Some one, no doubt, has benefited by the enlarged power of man over material nature: the world is beyond question the richer for it, but what I wish to call attention to is that the gain, however realized, does not show itself, at least on the scale of its actual magnitude, either in the real remuneration of the labourer, or yet in the ratio of return upon the capitalist's outlay.

"What then is the relation of the productiveness of industry to these phenomena? and how far can we count upon the progress of industrial invention and improvement for enlarging that margin of return out of which all additions to the minimum rates of wages and of profits must be made? The correct answer to this question may, I think, be thus stated :—*The productiveness of industry only affects the rates of wages and profits in so far as it results in a cheapening of the commodities which enter into the consumption of the labourer*" (p. 328).

The qualification contained in the last sentence is a necessary one, but the reason which induces him to believe that only a small proportion of industrial improvements affect the cost of those articles which enter into the consumption of the labouring classes is by no means clear; and we wish that we had some statistical details which might set the question at rest. As a matter of opinion, we should be inclined to suppose that the larger number of improvements fell within this category, and that real wages may be thus raised to an indefinite extent. The cost of raw produce does no doubt tend to increase as population increases, but even admitting that this must always form the largest part of the labourer's consumption, we see no reason why the smallest part, which consists of manufactured articles, should not be so much increased by mechanical improvements as to render the labourer's condition in the future very much superior to what it is now, nor why we should take the condition of the labourers of the United States as one which is never likely to be much surpassed by persons entirely dependent on manual labour, as Mr. Cairnes thinks that we must do. Even those improvements which only diminish the cost of articles consumed by the rich are not therefore necessarily without influence on the condition of the labourers, for if the wealthy classes are able to satisfy their wants with a smaller portion of their wealth, the opportunities for benevolence are so much increased. The opening of free parks, free museums, and free libraries confers a benefit upon all classes, labourers included; and it is a practice

which may be expected to become more common as the wealth of a country increases, even though the greater portion of this increase should be monopolized by a small class. The increase of wealth is also one of the causes which enable taxation to be reduced; and even though the taxes which yield an increased return be such as fall principally on the richer classes, it is quite as likely as not that some of those taxes which press most hardly on the labourers will be reduced or abolished when a large surplus is obtained. That the labourer's condition is steadily improving is shown by the general movement in favour of the reduction of the hours of labour, which could never have taken place unless the labourers had been so far supplied with the comforts of life as to prefer a diminution of toil to an increase of wages. The many movements which have originated among the working classes, such as Trades Unionism and Co-operation, show that they have not only acquired sufficient intelligence to conceive and carry out new schemes for their own improvement, but also that they are able to afford the money necessary for the purpose, and thus show that their condition is improving. It is, however, unnecessary to discuss at length the question whether the condition of labourers as such is capable of indefinite improvement, for whether it be so or not there can be no question that they will be better off if they become capitalists as well as labourers, and this is the direction in which Mr. Cairnes looks for the general improvement in their condition. Co-operative Societies afford, he thinks, the best field for the investment of the savings of the working classes, and he looks forward to the time when almost all labourers will be able to supplement their wages from the returns on such investments. He makes light of the objection that the labourers have nothing to spare for such a purpose, and points to the excise returns as showing that the money which is spent upon drink by these classes is amply sufficient to produce a considerable addition to their earnings if invested in this manner. The success of co-operation has hitherto, on the whole, been limited, although there have been some examples of signal success. Very few of the shares in Messrs. Briggs' colliery have been taken up by their own workmen, and when some shares in the Gloucester Waggon Company were specially reserved for the employes, not one was applied for. This latter case has been cited by Mr. Herbert Spencer in his "*Study of Sociology*," as a proof of the improvidence of the working classes, but there is one consideration which he seems to have overlooked, which in some degree accounts for their unwillingness to accept the offer. There is a proverb which warns people not to carry all their eggs in one basket, and a labourer who invests his savings in the same business from which he receives his wages

incurs a double risk in case of the failure of the concern, which would sweep away both his wages and his savings, while if he invested his savings elsewhere he would have two strings to his bow. Perhaps the indisposition to apply for shares in both these cases may have been partly due to such prudential motives. Mr. Cairnes agrees with Mill in holding that the amount of capital which is at present employed in the business of distribution is excessive, and that co-operation will benefit the public by reducing it to its proper amount (p. 131). He points to the fact that Co-operative Societies can manage to do a larger business with the same capital than ordinary retail traders, and he hence infers that the general spread of Co-operation will have the effect of expelling many dealers from the trade, and so reducing the total amount of capital employed in distribution. We doubt, however, whether any considerable effect of this kind will be produced. It seems to us that the chief reason why Co-operative Societies are able to turn over their capital more rapidly is that they refuse to give credit, and that so long as they continue to do so they can never engross any large proportion of the business of distribution. There will always be so many people who will find it more convenient to make one payment at the end of the year, or of the quarter, than to make a large number of small daily payments, that private retail traders have little to fear from the competition of Co-operative Societies, as long as the latter confine themselves to ready-money transactions. If, on the other hand, the latter attempt to compete with their rivals by giving credit, they would be obliged to content themselves with turning over their capital more slowly, and matters would be brought back to the same state as at present. Already the Civil Service Supply Association have found themselves seriously embarrassed by the smallness of their capital, which prevents them from accumulating stock, and compels them to buy at times when the wholesale price is at its highest, and already a new Civil Service Association is announced with a capital of 100,000*l*. The statement that there are too many persons employed in the business of distribution implies that there are many shopmen who are not fully employed, and it is not easy to see why it should be taken for granted that this would not be the case if all shopmen were employed in Co-operative stores. In what respect are the managers of these stores better competent to suit the number of their men to the amount of work which has to be done? There is one advantage which the stores possess in this respect—viz., that there are fewer of them, and that the sale of numerous kinds of articles is carried on in a single building instead of being distributed over many shops in different parts of the town. But though this arrangement is more convenient for

the managers by congregating the employ  s into a smaller space, and facilitating supervision, and by rendering it more easy to transfer clerks from a room where they are not wanted to one in which they are, this advantage is obtained at the expense of the customers, who are obliged to come from a longer distance in order to purchase what they want, and though there may be fewer persons who live by distribution, this is because a greater portion of the work is thrown upon the customers. Any one who is familiar with the proceedings of a Co-operative store knows how much more inconvenient its forms and regulations are than those of an ordinary shop, and will, we should think, find it difficult to believe that there is any good ground for the childish dread of their competition which has been recently manifested by retail dealers. But whatever may be the success of the Co-operative movement, it may at least have some good effect in causing a greater harmony between labourers and capitalists. If labourers as a rule become shareholders in industrial concerns they must in time come to regard the rate of wages as something which is fixed by industrial necessity and not by the caprice of employers, and we must expect that strikes will become less frequent. Mr. Brassey, indeed, in his address to the Co-operative Congress, mentions one instance in which a strike has actually occurred in a Co-operative establishment, and the occasion was a significant one. The strike was on the part of one of the most highly skilled branches of the trade, and took place because the less skilled workmen could not see any reason why the others should receive wages so much higher than their own. As however this is a fault which experience is sure to cure, we hope that we need not regard this strike as the commencement of a series which are to be as disastrous under the new system of industry as those which have taken place under the old. As far, however, as the condition of the working classes is concerned, it is as easy for them to become capitalists whether the prevalent type of industrial organization be a Co-operative Society or a mere Joint Stock Company. All that is necessary is that the shares should be of small amount, and that the labourers should be rich enough and prudent enough to invest in them.

The subject of value also engrosses a considerable portion of the volume. For the term "natural value," which is commonly used by economists, Mr. Cairnes proposes to substitute "normal value," which he borrows from the Swiss economist, Cherbuliez, as expressing the rate to which the value of a commodity is always tending to conform. The normal value of an article, he of course describes as depending on its cost of production, but, as stated above, he utterly scorns the idea that wages constitute the cost of production. The cost he defines as the sacrifice

undergone, and this sacrifice as consisting in the labour and risk submitted to by the labourer, and the abstinence and risk submitted to by the capitalist. So far, the only change introduced into the usual mode of explaining the subject is, the enumeration of risk among the elements of the sacrifice undergone by the labourer, as well as among those which constitute the sacrifice of the capitalist, while the usual practice has been to ignore the labourer's risk. It is obvious that if we regard sacrifice as consisting in the length of the labour, and the amount of the risk undergone, it is not strictly true that all commodities exchange for one another in proportion to the amount of the sacrifices undergone in producing them. If this were the case, the wages of all classes of labourers would be equal, in proportion to the time they spent in labouring, which clearly is not the case. Adam Smith's classification of the circumstances which cause different rates to prevail in different trades, is for the most part adopted by Mr. Cairnes, but with this important exception, that he does not consider skill as one of the causes of the high rates prevailing in certain trades. This deviation from the ordinary practice he thus justifies:—

“It will be observed that in the brief analysis just given I have not taken any account of skill as an incident of labour entering into the cost of production. In making this omission, I have no doubt I shall be considered by many to have omitted a principal element of the case. Nevertheless I must maintain that skill, as skill, is no part of the cost of production, and I add, that no article is dearer than another simply in virtue of the skill bestowed upon it. Let me explain. Skill, I say, is no element of cost, but it may be, and generally is, an indication of that which is an element of cost—namely, the sacrifice, whether in the form of labour or abstinence, undergone in acquiring the skill. Now, so far as skill is the product of such sacrifice, it undoubtedly represents an element of the cost of production; but the point to be attended to is, that the addition thus made to the cost of production is in proportion, not to the skill, but to the sacrifice necessary to the acquisition of the skill” (p. 84).

He admits, of course, that when two labourers are engaged in the same kind of work, the more skilful of the two will receive higher wages for the same quantity of labour as measured by time, but he maintains that when comparing different kinds of work, there is no proportion between the skill exerted and the remuneration received; as is illustrated by the low reward obtained by the expenditure of great skill in the production of an able book. He roughly divides society into four industrial groups—unskilled labourers, mechanics, highly skilled mechanics, and the members of the learned professions; and contends that though the members of each group exchange their products

among themselves in proportion to their cost, the exchanges between members of different groups are not so determined, but that each group enjoys a sort of practical monopoly as against all the inferior ones. He does not, of course, put forward this classification as an exhaustive one, nor does he contend that no individuals ever rise from a lower to a higher group, but he maintains that this happens so seldom that, for practical purposes, the different groups may be regarded as not competing with one another, and the scale of remuneration as not fixed in accordance with the sacrifices undergone. He thinks it possible (p. 107) that a great extension of popular education may render it more easy for persons to pass from one group into another, and that if this should ever be the case, the products of the different groups will exchange on terms more favourable to the less skilled and less favourable to the more skilled workers than at present. He also considers that this is already the case in new colonies as compared with old countries. It must be admitted that competition can hardly be said to prevail between unskilled labourers and engineers, or between jewellers and harristers; and it is somewhat straining the meaning of the word skill to say that the remuneration of these different classes is in proportion to their skill. But such an explanation is at least more satisfactory than that proposed by Mr. Cairnes, which is that the ratio in which the products shall exchange for one another is determined by reciprocal demand. He gives a new definition of demand, in order to enable it to be logically compared with supply. Adam Smith defined demand as desire for an article backed by ability to purchase, and supply as the quantity actually brought to market; and said that the value of an article was determined by the ratio between the demand and the supply. Mill, as is well known, objected to this statement—that there could be no ratio between two things so different in kind as a desire and a quantity of a material article. In order to meet this objection, Mr. Cairnes defines demand as the quantity of goods offered in exchange for other goods which constitute the supply, so that in every exchange the commodities which are furnished on either side are both demand and supply, according as we contemplate the bargain from one side or the other. The gold which is given for cloth constitutes the demand for the cloth, and also constitutes the supply for which the cloth is a demand. The statement, therefore, that the value of commodities is determined by reciprocal demand, is the statement that the two sets of commodities are demand and supply for each other, and that the ratio in which they exchange is that which is established by their respective quantities. This is the explanation which he gives us (p. 99) of the causes determining the value of the products of

different countries, and of different industrial groups in the same country, when exchanged with one another; but we must own that we fail to see anything more in the proposition than the bare statement of the fact that commodities exchange in the proportion in which they do exchange. The two demands are the two quantities which are exchanged in the bargain, and to say that they determine the proportion is to say that the proportion determines itself. He tells us that anything which increases the quantity of commodities which one country gives in exchange for the products of foreign countries, affects the exchange adversely to that country; but this is nothing more than saying that the country which gives more, does give more, which leaves us pretty much where we started. Whatever objections there may be to regarding different industrial groups as actually competing with one another, there would, we should have thought, be none to regarding different countries as so competing, and the facts brought forward by Mr. Brassey go far to show that the competition is sufficient to establish rates of wages in proportion to the efficiency of labour in different countries.

Although Mr. Cairnes puts forward a new definition of demand and supply, he does not use it as a means of framing a theory to account for all the fluctuations of market value. Mill attempted to account for these fluctuations by saying that the price for which an article actually sold, in any given instance, was such as to equalize the demand and the supply; but as by demand he meant the quantity demanded, and by supply the quantity actually given, the statement amounted to nothing more than the statement that whenever a bargain took place, the quantity bought was equal to the quantity sold. This was the form to which the theory was ultimately reduced when strained in order to meet the objections of Mr. Thornton; and as there seems no likelihood that it will ever be expressed in a better form, Mr. Cairnes resigns himself to abandoning the problem as insoluble. Although he analyses, at great length, the circumstances which affect the prices ruling in different markets, he confesses at length that there is no general formula which embraces every fluctuation, and maintains that, after all, it is of no great consequence whether one is discovered or not. Political economy, he thinks, has done enough in pointing out the general causes which determine the normal value of commodities, and those which cause the market value to fluctuate about this point; and an explanation of every trifling oscillation would be rather interesting to dealers than important to philosophers. In this case, then, he has come over to the side of Mr. Thornton, as indeed had been announced in Mr. Thornton's work; and though there may be some economists who are disappointed at

such a conclusion of the long investigation which the subject has received, we expect that his example will be generally followed, and that, at all events, they will cease to put forward as explanations what are virtually restatements of the problem to be explained. In an elaborate review of the circumstances which affect prices in wholesale markets, he takes account not only of all those which affect the supply of a commodity in the market itself, but also of those which affect the supply in other and distant markets; and of the opinions which dealers entertain as to the probable amounts which will be demanded and supplied in future times. He endeavours to discover what is the meaning of the "proper" price which dealers in wholesale markets express themselves anxious to give and to receive, and finds it to be that price which, as far as possible, prevents fluctuations in the retail price, so that consumers may be neither obliged to restrict their consumption, nor encouraged to consume more than they need, unless the circumstances are such that these courses are unavoidable or harmless, as the case may be. Retail prices he regards as differing from wholesale in this respect—that they are settled under "greater friction." By this expression he means to denote that though the retail price, like the wholesale, depends on the cost of production, the customers are not so keen in comparing the prices of different dealers as are the buyers in the wholesale market, and that, consequently, retail prices may, and do, vary more from the lowest rate which can be profitably maintained than can be the case with wholesale prices. Not that the fluctuations of price are more frequent, for the contrary is more probably the case, the retail dealers being more unwilling to perplex their customers by frequent changes; but the variations in the price of the same kind of article of the same quality when sold in different shops. It is very seldom that customers take the trouble to compare the prices of different tradesmen, and even when they do, there are many hindrances which prevent them from going to the cheapest shop merely because it is the cheapest.

International trade is the last of the three subjects to the discussion of which the work is mainly devoted, and it is in this portion of the book that the author's powers of applying general principles to the explanation of actual facts are best exemplified. He has first to show why a special theory is required to explain the facts of international trade, as distinguished from those of domestic trade. He says, of course, that the word "international" is not used in a political sense, but only to denote a difference which is important in an economic point of view. The difference is that within the same district, competition has power to bring profits and wages to the same level, and to cause capital to flow

to the place where it can be most profitably employed, while beyond certain limits a competition has no such power, and capital continues to be employed in a particular place although the capitalist is well aware that it might be employed to greater advantage in another place, if he would consent to migrate thither. The barrier to such migration may be a difference of language, of race, or religion, and such differences commonly prevail between what are called different countries. But even within the limits of the same political organization, there may be so great a geographical separation as will practically prevent capitalists and labourers from migrating from one part to another merely for the sake of pecuniary advantage.

He instances the Atlantic and Pacific States of the American Union as being thus separated by so vast an interval that they practically trade with one another on the same principle as foreign countries. International trade, as thus understood, though it offers many points of resemblance with internal trade, is yet so far different as to require separate examination. One consequence of essential difference between them is, that whereas in the same country articles can only be produced in those districts where the circumstances are most favourable to their production, and sent to those which are less favourably circumstanced, a country may import from abroad commodities which it might produce for itself with less labour than is expended in the exporting country. This abstract principle was long ago demonstrated by Ricardo, but we believe that Mr. Cairnes was the first to call attention to an instance in which a trade is actually carried on under these conditions. The instance is the trade between Australia and Europe, and he has described it at some length in one of his "*Essays in Political Economy*," and refers to it again in the present volume. Australia imports boots and shoes from England, although her unrivalled pastures must enable her to procure leather with much less labour than is required in England; and although there is no reason to suppose that Australian shoemakers are less skilful than their English competitors, Australia used to import, and perhaps still imports, butter from Ireland, and timber from Norway, although her pastures and forests are abundant enough to enable her to produce both these articles at as small a cost as Ireland and Norway, without taking into account the labour required to transport them from one side of the globe to the other. She does so because, though possessing an advantage over Europe in the production of these articles, she has a still greater advantage in the production of gold; and can by exporting gold procure them with less labour than if she produced them for herself. The process may be illustrated by imagining the case of two individuals, one of whom

is more skilful than the other, but who has not the same superiority in all branches of industry. Suppose that Brown can make two coats in a week, while Robinson can only make one, and that Brown can make six hats in a week, while Robinson can only make five. Brown is thus both a better tailor and a better hatter than Robinson, and yet they may profitably exchange products with each other. Brown's superiority as a tailor is more decided than as a hatter, and it will therefore be his interest to become a tailor, while it will be equally Robinson's interest to become a hatter. Let Brown produce two coats in a week, keep one for himself, and exchange the other with Robinson for four hats, and he will have procured by the labour of six days a coat and four hats, which he would have required seven days to make for himself. The arrangement is equally advantageous to Robinson, for the four hats which he gives to Brown have been produced by less than five days' labour, and enable him to procure a coat, which would have taken him six days to make for himself, and the result of the whole is that he procures by six days' labour a coat and a hat, which would otherwise have required rather more than seven days' labour. Countries, like individuals, have to choose their profession, and Australia has chosen the profession of a gold-miner. The statistics of her trade show that when the productiveness of the gold-mines was greatest, she relied most upon them for supplying her wants, and imported nearly everything which would bear transportation. Mr. Cairnes gives (p. 379) another instance of a trade carried on under such conditions, taken from the work of an American economist, Mr. Bowen. The case is that of the trade between the State of New York and some adjoining districts, on the one hand, and the Island of Barbadoes on the other. The former export breadstuffs and meat, and import various kinds of tropical produce—sugar, coffee, spices, &c.; and though it might naturally be supposed that Barbadoes had the advantage in producing the latter articles, we might not suppose, did not Mr. Bowen declare it to be a fact, that it has an advantage in the production of the former also. It appears that breadstuffs are raised in Barbadoes by less labour than is required in New York; and here as in the Australian case, the trade is determined not by the absolute, but by the relative cost of commodities. These actual instances serve at once to render Ricardo's theory more easy to understand and remember, and to show the service which thinkers render, by supplying theories which may explain facts which were unknown or had not occurred at the time when the theory was propounded. Mr. Cairnes considers that Ricardo's imaginary case is so far from being an exceptional one, that

on the contrary, the greater portion of the commerce of the world must be included within the category. A very large portion of this commerce is carried on either between tropical and temperate climates, or between highly civilized and semi-civilized countries, and to both of these large divisions he thinks that the above principle must be applied.

The question wherein consists the advantage of international trade, is one which is discussed at considerable length in this volume. In former times, as is well known, the advantage was supposed to consist in the quantity of the precious metals which it brought into a country. This opinion has now so completely gone out of fashion that it hardly needs serious discussion. It arose out of the habit of regarding trade from the dealer's point of view, which led men to suppose that because the object of dealers is to sell their commodities for money, the utility of trade was measured by the quantity of money which it brought into a country. Although it is now almost universally recognised that the precious metals are not the object which industry seeks to obtain, and that money is only so far useful as it enables its possessor to obtain useful commodities, yet the habit of regarding the subject from the dealer's point of view still continues, and has led to a curious inversion of the old theory. The old theory regarded the advantage of foreign trade as consisting in the excess of exports over imports, because it was this excess which was liquidated by the import of the precious metals. The new theory, on the other hand, which is often put forward at the present day, regards the advantage as consisting in the excess of imports over exports, and holds that this excess constitutes the profits derived from foreign commerce. Unfortunately for this theory, it is based on the assumption that nothing is exported, except in order to pay for imports, and it gives way when this assumption is seen to be groundless. It is well known that international transactions embrace much more than the mere export of commodities in return for other commodities, and that many payments have to be made between countries, as between individuals, in which nothing is given on the one side in return for what is given on the other. Many such payments have to be made in order to discharge the obligations due to absentee landlords, to shareholders in joint-stock companies, who happen to reside abroad, &c. ; and as soon as the fact is recognised, we see that we are not justified in assuming that the excess of imports over exports measures the profits obtained by native merchants, any more than that the excess of exports measures their loss. After discussing and rejecting these theories, Mr. Cairnes proceeds to propound his own, which is that the advantage consists in the saving of labour effected by importing foreign commodities,

which could not be obtained by so little labour if they were produced at home. While thus pointing out in what the advantage consists, he admits that this advantage cannot be measured in so simple a manner as the above theories would lead us to suppose. We can see that it consists in the saving of labour, and that where commerce is extensive the saving must be considerable, but there are no means of calculating how much labour is saved. England, for instance, effects a considerable saving by importing eight million quarters of wheat, but it is impossible to calculate the amount of labour which would be required to raise this additional quantity from our own soil, because to do this it would be necessary to cultivate soils of much less fertility than those at present tilled, and without trying it is impossible to tell what would be the limit of fertility thus arrived at. But unless this can be done, we cannot calculate how much the total labour which would then be required exceeds the total now expended in the production of those manufactured articles with which we now pay for our corn, and it is this difference which constitutes the advantage. We are therefore forced to content ourselves with a qualitative instead of a quantitative solution.

As the common saying that the exports of a country pay for its imports has been found to be so far inaccurate as to lead to a serious mistake, the author proposes to replace it by the more accurate statement that the exports of a country are of such an amount as to discharge its liabilities of all kinds towards foreign countries. There is nothing new in the proposition that the exports of a country discharge other liabilities than those incurred in paying for its imports. In a work written so long ago as Humboldt's *Essay on New Spain* the fact is fully recognised that the necessity of remitting money, or its equivalent, to Mexican landowners residing abroad, in payment of their rents would, if not counteracted by some other cause, cause the exports of Mexico to exceed its imports, not occasionally, but as a general rule. Whenever absenteeism has been under discussion, it has always been recognised as one of its effects that it causes a country to export more than it imports. But though it has long been known it has not received a prominent place in the expositions of the subject commonly given by political economists, and the statement is still commonly made that when a period of several years is compared, the exports and imports balance one another. How inaccurate this is as a statement of fact may be seen by referring to any table of statistics relating to this subject. England, for instance, regularly imports more than she exports, while the reverse is the case with Australia. The exports of the latter country, excluding gold, considerably exceed its imports, and yet she is able to export gold in addition to the amount of

six or seven million pounds a year. The obvious explanation is that large remittances have to be made to absentee landlords, and to the shareholders in Australian banks and joint-stock companies of all sorts, so many of whom reside in England. The excess of English imports is similarly accounted for by the fact that Englishmen receive immense sums on account of dividends on stocks and shares from every part of the world. The case of the United States has been selected by Mr. Cairnes as a good example to illustrate the principles here laid down. Before the civil war, the United States exported more than they imported, but ever since the commencement of the war the excess has been on the opposite side, and it has been very large. The fact is accounted for by the large amount of the American loans which have been raised in Europe, both by the Federal Government, by several of the State Governments, and by private companies. Although it thus becomes necessary for the United States to remit large sums to Europe in payment of interest on these loans, yet the amount of the new loans has hitherto been so great as to more than counterbalance the debts thus incurred, and to enable the Americans to import more than they exported for a period of thirteen years. But, as Mill pointed out, this process, if it continues at the same rate, will ultimately turn the tide in the opposite direction. If the United States continue to borrow the same sum every year, a time will at length arrive when the annual interest which they must pay will exceed in amount the annual loan, and they will then be obliged to export more than they import, in order to settle the difference. If they borrow money at 6 per cent. on the average, and borrow the same sum every year, they will, at the end of seventeen years, have to pay more than they receive, and this result will, of course, be precipitated by any event which may deter European capitalists from investing in American loans. It can only be postponed by borrowing larger and larger sums every year, and this is not likely to be easily effected. We must therefore expect that the statistics of American trade will soon show an excess on the side of exports.

The examination of the trade of the United States naturally leads the author to the discussion of the subject of protection. He does not, indeed, suppose that the protective tariff causes the imports to exceed the exports, though it has the effect of diminishing the exports and imports alike, but he endeavours to show at some length what its effects really are. Mr. Carey, the well-known American protectionist, once stated at a public meeting that he regarded the recent death of Cobden as a benefit conferred by Providence on the American people. On being asked the reason for this extraordinary statement, he replied that

Cobden had intended to visit the United States, and might, if his intention had been carried out, have used his popularity as a means of drawing away the Americans from their attachment to protection. We wish that the services which Mr. Cairnes rendered to the Americans by the publication of his "Slave Power," may have inspired sufficient gratitude to make them receive his opinions with more respect than they have hitherto paid to those of Adam Smith or Mill. Whether such a feeling exists or not, they will, at all events, find it difficult to answer his arguments. Several of the fallacies which have been before adverted to, serve at one time or another to prop up the fabric of protection: the notion that the field of employment is extended by whatever increases the amount of work to be done induces the American Government to impose heavy duties on foreign manufactures, in order that there may be work to be done by the employés in American factories. The notion that high wages indicate high cost of production makes the protectionist suppose that the highly paid artisans of the United States cannot compete against what they are pleased to call the pauper labour of Europe. To this Mr. Cairnes replies that they could compete if they would content themselves with European wages, and that they can compete whenever they confine themselves to those industries in which they have the greatest superiority over their European rivals. What they want to do is to obtain high wages without labouring under those conditions which alone make high wages possible, and the protective tariff does not enable them to obtain this end, but only gives them the appearance of it. Now that the principles of free trade have made so much progress that protectionists are obliged to ask rather than to command, they put forward theories designed to show that protection, though it ought to be ultimately abandoned, is yet useful in a certain stage of a nation's progress. One of these, M. Alby, contributed an article to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (October 15th, 1869) in which he alleged that 'England, after having attained all the benefit that she could from protection, had thrown it aside when she no longer needed it, and, with her usual cunning policy, called on other nations to follow her example, who had not yet acquired strength enough to do without it. This ingenious article has been much read and discussed in the United States, and has been eagerly welcomed by the protectionists. He considers that free traders have too often gained a victory over protectionists by attacking protection in detail, and that its defenders ought to insist on contemplating it as a whole. Thus, he says, that if a duty on foreign iron raises the price of iron in France, thirty-eight millions of Frenchmen have to pay more for iron in order that a few ironmasters may be

benefited, and it is manifestly unjust that the interests of the many should be sacrificed to those of the few. But if a similar duty be imposed on foreign cloths the cloth manufacturers will pay as much more for their iron as the ironmasters pay for their cloth, and neither of the two classes will have any right to complain of the other. Hence he infers that if similar duties are imposed upon all articles, no one will have any right to complain, since each will pay more for what he buys and get more for what he sells. Mr. Cairnes points out that there are two flaws in this reasoning. In the first place there are certain industries which are not in danger of being supplanted by foreign competition, and which therefore can obtain no advantage from an import duty imposed on foreign productions—such, for instance, are the vine-growers and silk-producers of France, to whom a duty on foreign wine and silk would bring no benefit in the shape of increased prices, and similar cases embrace so large a portion of French industry as entirely to vitiate the argument. But, in the second place, even supposing that all trades could derive a benefit of this sort from protection, there would still remain a grievance which would indeed be shared by all, but would nevertheless be considerable and indefensible. A protective duty only raises the price of an article by rendering it necessary for the home producers to employ more labour in producing the same quantity than was formerly necessary, and thus, in the case supposed, the whole community would obtain a smaller quantity of commodities in exchange for their labour. As Mr. Cairnes puts it :—

“All Frenchmen would be compelled to labour half as hard again, and to save half as much again, in order to procure every necessary and comfort they enjoy. But then equality and justice would be realized. No doubt, just as they might be realized by compelling every one to move about with a weight attached to his leg. The weight would, indeed, be an impediment to locomotion, but provided it were in each case exactly proportioned to the strength of the limb which drew it, no one, according to M. Alby's way of looking at things, would have any reason to complain. No one would walk as fast as if his limb were free, but then his neighbour would be equally fettered, and if it took him twice as long to reach his destination as before, he would, at least have company on his journey” (p. 458).

This is the sort of equality to which protection is always tending. The manufacturers demand protection, and duties are imposed on manufactured articles. Then the producers of raw materials demand protection in their turn, obtain it, and the increased cost of the raw material constitutes a fresh difficulty for the manufacturers; and, perhaps, cripples them so much that they are again exposed to foreign competition, and demand

a higher duty, and so the incessant struggle of selfishness goes on. The experience of the United States shows that, in point of fact, the state of things is there realized which theory would lead us to expect." Mr. Wells is referred to in this volume as having shown, by carefully collected statistics, that though the money wages of American artizans have risen since 1860, yet the prices of the principal articles of their consumption have risen in a still greater proportion, and the difference constitutes the loss which they have suffered from the protective tariff. Their labour has become so much the less efficient, and their reward has been proportionally diminished. What has happened to them has to some greater or less extent happened to all other classes, and the whole nation suffers by a system which benefits only a few. It has often excited surprise that among those who held that protection might be useful as a temporary expedient, should be included an economist who has stated the case in favour of free trade so ably as Mill. In a well-known passage he expresses the opinion that a protective duty, if imposed for a limited time, may enable a new industry to be naturalized in a country, and that this acquisition may more than compensate the privations incurred during the continuance of the duty. He supposes that if the protected classes understand from the first that they will only be protected for so long a time as will enable them to overcome the difficulties incident to the foundation of a new trade, they will shape their conduct accordingly, and will be able to stand alone when the duty is removed. The passage has been frequently quoted in the United States and Australia as an important admission in favour of protection, more especially as, in a parenthesis, he refers to the case of a young and growing country. As may be seen, this argument supposes that protection may have the effect of stimulating native industry, but how much ground there is for such a supposition may be judged from an anecdote related by Mr. Wells, and quoted in the present volume (p. 485). In 1867 an American Commissioner in Europe visited a factory, the products of which were largely exported to the United States. After ascertaining the rates of wages, the prices of the materials, &c., he expressed his surprise that the manufacturer could manage to export his products to the United States, in face of the heavy duties there imposed upon them, and remarked, "If you have given me your prices, products of machinery, and cost of labour correctly, I do not well see how you could export your fabrics to the United States, even if there was substantially no duty, as the advantage of raw material is mainly upon our side." The manufacturer replied, "I am sometimes at a loss myself to account for the course of trade, but perhaps it will help you to a conclusion if I

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tell you that some time ago, finding ourselves pressed with German competition, we threw out our old machinery and replaced it with a new and improved pattern, and the machinery, by us rejected, was sold to go to the United States." Mr. Wells further informs us that, to complete the story, it is only necessary to add that, "The owners of this second-hand machinery have since its importation demanded and received an increased protection on its products." Such are the singular results of protection working in such a field as the United States. In a fertile country, possessing abundant mineral resources, and inhabited by an intelligent and industrious people, the wages of labour have actually diminished instead of increasing. Among a people renowned for enterprise, it produces such an industrial torpor that they are content to buy machinery which is rejected in other countries because it is inefficient, and clamour for protection to enable them to continue using it. There is another argument which is put forward in America which, while conceding that protection is injurious in an economic point of view, yet maintains that it has overbalancing advantages of a social character. It is that protection prevents a country from devoting its whole energies to a single branch of industry, and so secures some diversity in the field of employment, which is better for the people than the monotony to which they would otherwise be reduced. Mr. Cairnes admits that there is some force in this argument when applied to such a case as that of the Southern States of America, when slavery prevailed there. Free trade enabled the planters to obtain such luxuries as they wanted while confining the negroes to labour on the plantations; and, had not they possessed this resource, it would have been necessary to give the negroes as much intellectual training as would be required to produce these articles. As it was, they could obtain what they wanted by exporting cotton, &c., and the negroes being restricted to the simple unskilled labour which the plantations required, were reduced to a lower level of intelligence than is the case with slaves in other countries. But when the argument is applied to the case of a free country, it fails because the circumstances are essentially different. It is not likely that the adoption of free trade would totally sweep away many branches of American industry, though it would alter the proportion between different branches. Free trade in corn enables England to import large quantities of wheat, but it does not cause the abandonment of agriculture or even of the culture of wheat in England. So free trade in iron would not cause all American iron-mines to be abandoned, but only some of them, which were less fertile than the rest. The home producer has always a great advantage on account of the diminished

cost of carriage, and this is particularly important in a country of such vast extent as the United States.

The general scope of the work may be inferred from the preface, in which the author modestly observes:—

“Though the following work is an attempt to recast some considerable portion of Political Economy, I should be sorry if it were regarded as in any sense antagonistic in its attitude towards the science built up by the labours of Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, and Mill. . . . The points on which I have ventured to join issue with them are what, in Bacon's language, may be called the *axiomata media* of the science—those intermediate principles by means of which the detailed results are connected with the higher causes which produce them.”

He does not attempt to revolutionize the science, but to remedy some of its defects, and make it into a more complete and harmonious whole. The subjects which he has dealt with are few, and we do not think that he has exhausted them; but whatever conclusions may be adopted by future inquirers, they cannot fail to profit by the careful investigation and elaborate illustration which every subject included in the work has received.

ART. IV.—THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE.

1. *Lectures on Mr. Darwin's Philosophy of Language.* By Professor MAX MUELLER. *Fraser's Magazine*, May, June, July, 1873.
2. *The Descent of Man.* Chapter II. By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S., &c.
3. *Chapters on Language.* By the Rev. FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. Longmans, Green, and Co. 1873. New Edition.
4. *Language: its Origin and Development.* By T. HEWITT KEY, M.A., F.R.S. London: George Bell and Sons. 1874.

WHEN an old French lady in the last century was asked to contribute towards the expense of an improved version of the Psalms, she indignantly wondered whether the applicants thought they could write better French than the king and prophet David. This old woman's saying has the advantage of expressing as a definite firmly-held opinion, what was probably in many other minds a vague sentiment half unconsciously in-

dulged. It happens repeatedly that we allow our conduct and views to be influenced in this illogical manner, by tacitly accepted beliefs which we should never venture to put into set phrase. Especially in regard to human speech, there seems to have been a recurring tendency in nations to fancy that language means exclusively their own language, and that all other utterance is jargon. The spread of education and extended intercourse have made such a feeling now almost impossible, but a trace of it remains in an incapacity which is by no means rare, an incapacity of understanding that the genius of a foreign language may be totally different from the genius of our own. It requires some teaching to make us apprehend the difference of sense which may have grown up between kindred words in two closely connected languages. For example, a Frenchman, familiar with the use of the word *bête* in his own tongue, called his maid-servant "beast" for some trivial piece of stupidity, unaware that he was translating a commonplace term of reproach into an atrocious insult. Mistakes of much more serious consequence and far more difficult to correct, have arisen when, not the sense of particular words has been in question, but the whole mental tone of a language and the literature contained therein. Controversies often spring up about the *obvious* sense of what has been written, and its *natural* meaning, while it escapes all the parties to the dispute that both these terms are relative terms, and that the interpretations which seem so very obvious to their eyes, may never even have occurred to the view of the original authors writing in distant lands, in distant ages, and under quite different mental conditions. If we were always to mean what we say, and say what we mean, language would still be far from adequate to inform our neighbours of our real thoughts, since in a majority of cases our neighbour would take the words in his sense of them rather than in ours. Thus when a lady sends word to a friend at the door that she is *indisposed*, the obvious and natural sense to some minds will be, that the lady is unwell; to others, that she is *indisposed* to receive that particular visitor. On the other hand, we should often do much injustice by binding others to the full value, so to speak, of what they utter. A man is anxious to catch a train, and still more anxious to receive his letters before leaving home. "A plague," he cries, "on all loitering postmen!" yet the same man would perhaps sacrifice his correspondence for a year, rather than see one dilatory letter carrier perish by pestilence. The courteous dishonesties of social life will probably remain in vogue till men and women square their conduct much more thoroughly than at present with accepted standards, so as to justify by a real brotherhood the conventional affection and

faithfulness pretended to in the phrases of ordinary correspondence. Gross impieties of language are happily less familiar to our own than to past generations. A military officer nowadays may reprove a trooper for swearing without accompanying the rebuke, as sometimes formerly happened, with the most violent oaths and curses. But that such an inconsistency should ever have been possible shows how faulty a representative language may be of what is really intended. No one can easily suppose that men of character and position really indulged the feelings towards God and man implied in the expressions at one time commonly used on the most trivial occasions, and so characteristic of ourselves that an old author could speak of the march of ten thousand English Goddams as a synonym for the progress of that number of English soldiers. Physicians tell us how difficult it is to get a prescribed treatment exactly carried out by ill-educated and untrained nurses, because of the false interpretations which such persons put upon words. Not what the physician said, but what they think he *must* have meant is the guide they are pleased to follow. Consciously or unconsciously we almost all treat language, whether sacred or profane, much in the same way. Certain theories as to what is right and true are taken for granted, and words describing ascertained facts or making authoritative declarations, if they will not fit the theories, must be forced to do so. Language moreover long retains expressions which have had their origin in opinions since modified, or in exploded and almost forgotten errors. It is a mere commonplace to remark that the firmament no longer means a firm and solid crystal dome, and that we speak of lunatics without any reference to the influence of the moon upon their madness. We still talk of a kind heart, and have scarcely ceased to talk of the bowels of compassion, although modern physiology would reject the idea that the emotions of affection and sympathy are seated either in the heart or the bowels. A man will own to having drunk a glass of spirits without admitting or even knowing Lord Bacon's dictum that "all bodies have spirits, and pneumatical parts within them." Let us be ever so truthful in inclination and ever so learned as to the origin of words, we should never be able to get at an absolutely truthful mode of speech. The further we traced a word back, the less we should like the look of it. We should feel ourselves hampered in every direction. Not only would eloquence begin to seem a hateful tissue of lies or a silly set of misapprehensions, but in writing a simple letter we should be stopped at the outset. We could not conscientiously say "Sir," "that is," "Senior," or "Elder," without knowing our correspondent's age to be fairly advanced, or, at any rate, greater than our own. We could not date the letter October, well knowing

that month not to be the eighth, as its name implies, but the tenth in the year. We might avoid mentioning the day of the week by its heathenish name of Monday, as though it were a day consecrated to the moon ; but the number of the year would involve us in much tribulation, unless we appended a short article on chronology to show that the vulgar era is probably wrong by four years, and that we are therefore justified in writing 1878 rather than 1874.

Very little inquiry into the nature and use of language shows that, although an invaluable instrument of thought, it is on many accounts a very imperfect one. The same estimate holds good of it as a medium of intercourse ; it is invaluable, but imperfect. Often it justifies the old sarcasm of the diplomatist that its use is to conceal one's meaning, so that over and over again men argue at cross-purposes because the words which they use in common are not symbols of the same thoughts to each. The poverty of language hampers us. Its riches are a snare and entanglement. Sometimes we have ideas without words to express them ; at others we fancy a problem has been explained when it has only been set forth with a difference of phraseology.

Language is so cumbrous, especially in scientific nomenclature, that few men can readily command the names of objects with which they would wish to be familiar, unless by special and serious efforts directed to particular branches of that kind of learning. Minds of ordinary education are soon bewildered and disgusted with subjects where such words as zygapophyses, parallelopipeds, cheirotheria, potamogetonacæ, collembola, and dinitro-brombenzene are necessary *for simplicity's sake*. While too the aid of language in the association of ideas is essential to the progress of poetry and the progress of science alike, it often involves the pioneer, the discoverer, the man who gets a new hold upon truth, in this dilemma—that he must either use words round which all sorts of erroneous ideas are still clustering, or invent others which will sound to the multitude as repulsive jargon. In the attempt to convey, in popular language, new, unexpected, and therefore unpopular information, he will sometimes be told that the very words he is using ought to have taught him better. Between the first flash of a new hypothesis across the scientific imagination and a theory firmly and conclusively established is a wide interval. The point where “it may be” merges into “it is” can scarcely be defined. It will vary with different temperaments. The sanguine will speak at once with a prophet's decisive tone of what is still only an inchoate probability, while the cautious will scarcely forego a modest peradventure even when the debate is closed. The consequence is that the one will be accused by opponents of absolute untruthfulness, and the

other twitted with conjugating the potential mood, with having no confidence in his own opinions, and on such grounds the world at large will often be invited to dismiss, without a hearing, the results of the most elaborate and prolonged inquiry.

Stubborn as language appears to be under some aspects, under others we cannot help marvelling at its wonderful elasticity. Thus the lawyer claims to be able to drive a coach and six through an Act of Parliament. Knowing very well what its framers intended to prescribe, he stretches the language to bear an opposite interpretation. Hostile religious parties find support for their various views in the same formularies, so that, for instance, men of the greatest piety, antiquarians, scholars, lawyers, merchants, find it impossible to decide by common consent which is the north side of a rectangular table having its edges parallel to the walls of a rectangular building standing due east and west. Gulliver in the kingdom of Lilliput very likely heard the question disputed, with heat and vehemence, by the philosophers of that ingenious realm. At the first blush one would be inclined to maintain that every rectangle has four sides; but how abashed one would be, after staking a fortune on the assertion, to find that it was quite untenable, and that no rectangular figure but a square or a rhombus has four sides—in all others two of what we thought were sides being nothing but ends. Words of authority—of which at one time a man says they can bear but one meaning—all of a sudden, under some new light, assume an entirely different aspect. Without giving here any opinion as to the time, whether early or late, when death was introduced into the world, we may take an instructive example from that question. A writer of evident intelligence, who had become acquainted with some of the facts of geology, thus expresses himself: "I was accustomed," he says, "to entertain the idea of death having passed generally upon the whole creation, at the fall of man. But when I heard of the discoveries of geologists, I was led to examine into the foundation of this opinion. I referred to Scripture; but upon examination I found no passage which supports such a notion."* Yet we well know that the notion is built upon Scripture; and doubtless this writer himself, along with millions of other men, both in the past and present, held it upon that very authority; for he goes on to say: "Not finding it declared in Scripture, I began to consider what reason there might be for supposing it; and I was led to the conclusion that there was none." We are not now concerned with the accuracy of this person's opinions, either first or last, but only with the contrast

* See Pye-Smith, "Scripture and Geology," Supplementary Note A.

between them. He had long held that a particular inference was warranted by the language of a certain record. The record remains the same; its credibility and truthfulness remain seated as firmly as ever in his mind; yet he suddenly, and with a clear conscience, gives up the inference as having no warrant either in the record or anywhere else. We must admit that it is an imperfection, or, to use the mildest term, an inconvenience in language that this should be possible. Not only do intolerable controversies and heartburnings arise from it, because the new light never strikes all men at the same moment, but it insidiously fosters immorality. What one man does with a clear conscience, another will do out of conceit or cowardice, or from other selfish motives. Men, whose minds have been thoroughly penetrated by the new light, will profess to retain the old view, or give out that there is much to be said on either part, as if sense and nonsense were of equal authority. Were it not for this capacity in language of stretching, so that we can use forms of speech with one intention in them for our own mind, and another for those who hear us, we could never tamper as we do with truth. It is quite a mistake to suppose that a man is respected for speaking the truth, except in social and mercantile affairs where direct and obvious self-interest makes the veracity of our neighbours a matter of pressing moment. If he tells us what he really thinks, and we do not happen to agree with him, we say he is preaching falsehood. As a rule, we consider not the truth of facts and opinions, but what we suppose to be their tendency. You will hear whole branches of knowledge described as dangerous and unsettling. A man who simply sets forth the proved conclusions of an unpopular subject, will be called a "very dangerous man." "Fancy his saying such things to a carpenter," you will hear, or, "Fancy his saying such things to a child." "Why, what want of tact!" one will say; and another will answer, "Well, I never heard of these things when I was young, and I'm too old for them now." Hence, what with the danger of novelty to the young and foolish, and the incapacity for its reception in the old and ignorant, the wonder is that truth, every particle of which must, at one time or another, have been new to mankind, has ever made any progress in the world at all.

The town-clerk of Ephesus told his fellow citizens that all the world knew that the city of the Ephesians was a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter. The still popular view of language would undoubtedly accord with the Ephesian feeling about the image which fell down from Jupiter in deeming it simply a miraculous gift, needing, therefore, no further explanation of its origin, but

requiring its honour to be vindicated by more or less of anger and resentment shown towards any who should call that origin in question. In one sense all things are miraculous, and all things we enjoy, with language among them, are miraculous gifts; but when a hen lays an egg, and gradually a chicken is formed within the shell, and in time comes forth and feeds itself, gathers feathers and wings about its curious little body, grows up into a cock and begins to crow, we are agreed not to call that course of events miraculous. In the same sense of the word we shall now presume to contend that the origin of language is not miraculous, and all that we have been saying about its poverty, its cumbrous character, its deceitfulness, and the chains with which it entangles the intellect, has been by way of apology for introducing an opinion so contrary to the common view.

Of plants and animals we say that one species differs from another species when the members of the two will not breed together. If we may say of two forms of language that they are specifically different when a man from his knowledge of the one is not able to understand the other, it will be lawful for us to maintain that we can trace our own English language back to a time when it is no longer, or rather has not yet become, our own English language. The main steps are well known which lead us back through the names of great authors and celebrated works—the translation of the Bible, and Shakspeare, and Spenser, and “Dan Chaucer’s well of English undefiled,” and the vision of Piers Plowman, and the Saxon Chronicle, to the Old Saxon and Old Frisian, which are certainly not intelligible from a simple knowledge of modern English. We know too that the process of change is still going on. Words fall into disuse; new words are coined; a change in pronunciation comes into fashion; words are clipped in one district and drawled in another; foreign idioms are introduced; foreign words imported, but so disguised under a new accent as to seem equally alien to the tongue which borrows and the tongue which lends. In short, it will be admitted without difficulty, whatever we may think of language in the abstract, that the various forms of it at present in the world have been shaped in the mental factories of mankind. By ingenious analysis words are traced back to their roots; a single syllable is found to be, as it were, the parent of a large group of words extending through numerous languages; it may be compounded with other roots to modify its meaning and to adapt it to the different parts of speech; it may lose almost all, or all, resemblance to its original self by what are called phonetic changes, as when a man pronounces a “w” for an “r,” or “th” for an “s,” and says, “Weally, what a thocking thtory!” But besides all this, it frequently comes to convey an entirely

different meaning from that with which it first started. To account for this we have only to remember that wherever the primary roots themselves may have come from, at any rate starting from them language has been formed by human beings, and not by them with any definite concert and plan, but in the haphazard style of ordinary intercourse, all having a chance of a share in its production, as well the unskilled as the well-trained labourer. It need not, therefore, always be the reflection of very consistent thinking, and while in some instances the derivatives will depart by almost insensible gradations from the original intention of the root, in others there will be odd jumps of thought and freaks of fancy manifested, just as in common converse you may be discussing Dartmoor mutton, and some one will suddenly tell you that talking of sheep reminds him of a good thing in the "Essays of Elia," the only link of association to the topic of mutton being that the "Essays of Elia" were written by Charles Lamb. The Latin word which gives us our English *lenient* means to soften, and from it comes the word *lentus*, which has the two opposite meanings of *ready* and *unready*. You can easily understand that what is softened may become pliant, what is pliant does not easily break, a thing not easily broken is tough, and toughness carried to a certain point makes things hard to bend, or just the reverse of pliant. Pliancy and toughness applied to morals and the intellect easily suggest the opposite characteristics of the yielding and the stubborn, the ready and the unready. Every schoolboy is taught with the first smattering of classics that the word which means school in English means leisure and idleness in Greek, and not a few of them prefer the Greek acceptance of the term.

The deservedly popular works of Professor Max Müller may be referred to as repositories of facts and proofs sufficiently conclusive that all the languages of the world with which we have any satisfactory acquaintance have sprung from roots. The botanical metaphor employed is fairly convenient, since to the ordinary student of language it is sufficient to trace back words to the simple forms from which whole groups have been derived, as it is sufficient for the ordinary gardener to know from what roots the produce with which he is specially concerned has been developed. How the earth came to possess such roots is in each of these cases another, and a most interesting, but distinct question, or at any rate one which for certain purposes may be treated as distinct.

An important volume has just been published by Professor Key, on the "Origin and Development of Language." Such a title implies that both the questions of which we have been speaking have been handled by the author. It is true that for

five hundred pages about the development, there are only five-and-twenty about the origin of speech ; but from so eminent a scholar it is valuable to have even this brief exposition of his view—a view that cannot be impeached as the result of juvenile giddiness, ready to accept any plausible novelty, since we learn from the preface that Mr. Key is in his seventy-sixth year, and can judge from the rest of the work that his well-trained powers are still unimpaired. Much of the book appears to have been quite recently written (see p. 214) ; but the principles of philology with which the chief part of it is concerned, were given to the world tentatively some years ago in a pamphlet entitled "*Quæritur*," and in other essays. These principles are now supported by a wide induction. It would not be to our present purpose to enter into remote points of philological controversy, but everything which helps to explain what has seemed to be unmeaning and lawless in language leads on to a recognition of linguistic science as possible, besides being itself a step in scientific progress. Certainly after having been told in Latin Primers that the name of a town at which a man was said to have lived or died or eaten his dinner was to be put not always in the same case, but in a case varying according to the number and declension of the noun, it was a great satisfaction to discover that this monstrosity of a rule was erroneous, and that the case required was always the same, though like other cases it had various forms.* The same sort of satisfaction is excited by Professor Key's chapter on Grammatical Figures. It is only too common an absurdity against which he warns the student—the disposition, namely, to regard the Greek names by which these figures are known as philosophical explanations. Prosthesis, Epenthesis, Paragoge, Metathesis, have a formidable appearance ; and when a young philologer meets with a prefix to a word, or a transposition of letters for which he cannot account, he will think it an important addition to his knowledge to learn that the one is due to Prosthesis, the other to Metathesis ; or, as he might be told in equivalent words, that the prefix is due to the figure Prefixing or Affixing, and the transposition of letters to an interchange of places between them. The first three of the figures just mentioned Professor Key would "cancel as being utterly without a title," on the ground that they have to do with the lengthening of words, while "the one law which governs the changes in form of words is that general law which characterizes the action of man on every side, the desire to abbreviate labour ; and hence we may safely refuse to admit the claims of those figures which pretend

* Max Müller, "*Lectures on the Science of Language*," p. 223. Fourth Edition.

to extend words in form without any addition to the idea conveyed, whether such extension be claimed for the commencement, the middle, or the close of a word." Here is a reasonable and satisfactory principle, although, as Professor Key almost immediately afterwards admits, it does not quite run to the length of wholly cancelling the figure Prosthesis; for, as he observes, "when a foreign word which begins with two consonants is presented to the ears of a race not accustomed to the combination, there is, undoubtedly, a tendency to prefix a short vowel," of which he gives some instances; and he might no doubt have added from a schoolmaster's experience the change by beginners in Greek of such a word as *xenos* into *exenos*, with no reference whatever to its derivation or original form. Here the prefixing of the initial *e* before the *x* or *ks* may very well be designated Prosthesis, if only we remember that it is not *due* to that figure, but to some defect of power, whether natural or from want of training, in the organs of the speaker.

From such involuntary changes it may be understood how, in spite of any longings and efforts for a universal language, the confusion of tongues must almost inevitably continue. Widespreading languages like widely-extended empires have an inherent tendency to break up, which can only be counteracted by greater facilities for oral intercourse than the world at present commands. But though men's organs of speech like their powers of reason vary to some extent, so that ere now a man has lost his life because they said unto him, "Say now, Shibboleth; and he said Sibboleth; for he could not frame to pronounce it right;" still the organs of speech do not vary indefinitely. Hence it is that we can pass, in analysing languages, from the domain of caprice and accident to guiding principles, such as the subjection of letter changes to fixed laws, or laws that are seldom violated. Thus we have the law commonly known as Grimm's law, but to the first notice of which, Professor Key, on the evidence of Bopp, asserts the claim of the Danish scholar Erasmus Rask. According to this, in the passage from Latin to English, for instance, thin consonants or *tenuēs* pass into aspirates, aspirates into thick or *mediæ*, *mediæ* into *tenuēs*, so that *p* in *pater*, becomes *f* in *father*, *f* in *frater*, *b* in *brother*, *b* in *labium*, *p* in *lip*.

The results that legitimately follow from philological laws are sometimes so surprising as to make the unwary imagine all things lawful in philology, so that given a word "the letters of which, if tossed in a bag and then thrown out, might by a happy accident take the form" * of another word, such a lottery will be

* "Language: its Origin and Development," p. 104.

accepted as proof that one is derived from the other, or both from a common stem. As Professor Key, however, is very little likely to err from want of caution, it is interesting to find him accepting the opinion of Ewald and Lepsius, "that the Hebrew names for the numerals 'six' and 'seven' are in themselves so far good evidence for a distant connexion between the Semitic and Indo-European languages," and closing his volume with an argument which leads to the following conclusion: "I trust, then, that the affinity of Finn, Lapp, and their cognates with the Indo-European stock will now be allowed by philologists; and if so, the whole family of so-called Tatar languages must go with them; and even a connexion of Chinese with our European stock is not to be summarily rejected."* As an illustration, which may be understood at a glance, of the unity of the Indo-European stock itself, we take, from his lists of numerals, the words meaning "seven" and "ten." They are:—Sanskrit, *saptan*, *daçan*; Zend, *haptan*, *daçan*; Greek, *ἑπτα*, *δεκα*; Latin, *septem*, *decem*; Lithuanian, *septyni*-, *deszimt*; Old Slavic, *sedmi*, *desiati*; Gothic, *sibun*, *taihun*; Old German, *sibun*, *zehan*; German, *sieben*, *zeh(e)n*; Norse, *sjö*, *tiu*; Old Erse, *secht*, *deich*; Old Welsh, *seith*, *dec*; Breton, *seiz*, *dek*.† The connexion between such forms is easily accepted. More consideration will be required for the following lists, containing the words for "son" and "daughter," especially when we are given to understand that there is a virtual identity, not only in all the words for "son" and in all those for "daughter," but between the words "son" and "daughter" also. The lists, then, are as follow:—Sanskrit, *sunu*-, *duhitar*; Greek, *ὑιο*-, *θυγατερ*-; Latin, *filio*-, *filia*-; Slavic, *syn*, *doch*; Lithuanian, *sunu*-, *dukter*-; Gothic, *sunu*, *dauhitar*; Old German, *sunu*-, *tohtar*; Old Norse, *son-r*, *dóttir*-; French, *fil*, *fille*; Spanish, *hijo*, *hija*‡. To make the union of all these forms credible we must follow Professor Key's suggestions, which will quickly supply a trace of order amidst the apparent confusion. First of all, the modern Greek has *θυγος* in place of *θυγατερ* and *υγιος* as a variety of *υιος*. "Sanskritists deduce their *duhitar*, 'daughter,' from a verb, *doh*

* "Language, its Origin and Development," p. 516, 529.

† Ibid., p. 517. The plausible explanation of the Indo-European names for "ten," as coming from *dva*-, 2, and *kvan*-, 5, is questioned by Mr. Ferrar, in his *Comparative Grammar*, p. 307, note, on the ground that there are no traces of the two *e*'s. Mr. Key (p. 282) takes the root-syllable to be *dec*,

the same as that of *dico* (*deico*), *δεικνυμι* *δακτυλος*, *digitus*, and so to mean originally the fingers. He ingeniously compares the German *zehen*, *toes*, *zehen*, *ten*. Mr. Ferrar (l.c.) regards the likeness between the Shemitic and Indo-European names for "six" and "seven" as merely accidental. See, too, Dr. Farrar, "Chapters on Language," p. 199, note.

‡ Ibid., p. 515.

'draw' (milk), some making the term = 'milkeress,' so to say, in the sense of 'dairy-maid'; Lassen, I think with more reason, 'suckling.' Ouy of *θυγατηρ* *θυγος* must of course be one with the Sanscrit *doh*; and I believe it also to be one with the Latin *sug-* and the Latin *duc-*." Then as regards the limitation of meaning from 'drawing' generally to 'drawing milk' compare the French *traire* (to milk) from *trahere*, and the Greek *ἐλκειν μαστον*, as also such a phrase as Ovid's '*materna rigescere sentit ubera, nec sequitur ducentem lacteus humor.*' As between *θυγατηρ* and *filius*, how a Greek *θ* passes into a Latin *f* may be seen in such words as *θηρ*, *fera*; how *g* passes into *l* and vice versa may be seen in the equivalents *μογεις*, *μολεις*, and in the Spanish *muger*, *ageno* corresponding to *mulier* and *alienus*. While *hijo* comes near to *υιος* and *υγιος* on the one hand, its connexion on the other hand with *fi'ius*, through the Old Spanish *fijo*, cannot be disputed. "There remains our own term *son*, German, *Sohn*, a word widely spread, as it occurs in the form *sunus* in Sanskrit, Lithuanian, and Gothic; and in the two former, as also in the Old Russian, *soun-s*, the first vowel is long, as it also is in the German *Sohn*. It may therefore well be that the word is compressed from a fuller, *sugnus* or *sucnus*, and so be a derivative from such a verb as *sugo*. The immediate relation of a child to her mother is best exhibited as her 'suckling.'"^{*}

Though on many points of detail Mr. Key is at issue with the German school of philologists, and seems to hold his own very successfully against them, it will be seen from what has been quoted that he does not very widely differ from their general view or methods of reasoning. His may be said to be not so much a different view as an enlarged one, while his reasonings are cautionary and corrective rather than a condemnation of theirs.

On the origin of language as distinct from its development he accepts, without hesitation or reserve, the theory discussed some years ago in these columns, and then represented as sure of that final victory against all odds which it is no doubt slowly winning.[†]

Before, however, bringing forward Professor Key's opinion on this topic, we will turn to Professor Max Müller's Lectures of last year, especially and not incidentally devoted to the subject. In these lectures he sharply distinguishes between emotional language, which, he says, "is certainly shared in common by man and animals,"[‡] and rational language, the whole of which can be

^{*} "Language: its Origin and Development," pp. 373—375.

[†] *Westminster Review*, No. lix., July, 1866.

[‡] *Fraser's Magazine*, June, 1873, p. 675.

traced back to roots, every root being the sign of a general concept; or, in other words, expressive of some general idea. In drawing this distinction, the learned and eloquent professor aims at establishing the following thesis, that rational language is such a barrier between man and all other animals, that the theory of man's evolution from any lower form of life breaks down before it. This opinion, and the arguments he uses in its favour, we propose to examine.

One thing we may observe at the outset—he does not suggest and cannot for a moment be suspected of believing, that the earliest members of the human race were taught the roots of language by any miraculous interposition. This is probably not an uncommon view, and it may be called the parrot theory of the origin of language, implying, as it does, that articulate sounds were first supplied to men as we supply them to parrots. This, however, is not Professor Max Müller's view. While confessing, as every one must, that to account for the origin of those roots, to which analysis of all given language leads us back, is a difficult problem, he adds that "experience gives us interjections and imitations as the only conceivable beginning of human utterance;" that is, as it seems to us, he directly affiliates the language which he calls rational to the language which he calls emotional, and of which he had already admitted that "it is certainly shared in common by man and animals." He shows, indeed, an uneasy consciousness that such a conclusion may naturally be drawn from his argument, by the following passage at the close of it. His words are these:—

"Now a clever pleader—of whom we have too many, even in the courts of science—might say, Why, does not the very theory you have propounded of the origin of roots prove that Mr. Darwin is right? Have you not shown that animals possess the materials of language in interjections; that they imitate the cries of other animals; that they communicate with each other, and give warning by shrill cries; that they know their own names, and understand the commands of their masters? Have you not 'blessed us altogether' by showing how interjections and imitations can be filed down, lose their sharp corners, become general—become, in fact, roots? Surely, after this, Mr. Darwin will be justified more than ever in saying that the language of men is the result of mere development, and that there must have been one or several generations of men who had not yet generalized their intuitions, and not yet filed down the sharp corners of their interjections."•

We shall have by-and-by to consider why the "clever pleader" who puts the case so forcibly against himself, is still

persuaded that this way of putting it is more plausible than truthful.

When the lectures from which we have just been quoting appeared, the "Chapters on Language," published in 1865, by the eloquent and learned Head Master of Marlborough College, were out of print. Dr. Farrar has long been known as a bold opponent of Professor Max Müller, and the "Lectures" have been speedily followed by a new edition of the "Chapters." This reissue, on many grounds most desirable, may have been further prompted by the commendation given to the work in Mr. Darwin's "Descent of Man."* Dr. Farrar will be very generally accepted as an enlightened champion of orthodoxy. It will therefore be worth while to quote his opinion on language as a human discovery. He supports his opinion by numerous arguments, for which his books may be usefully consulted:—

"Those theologians," he says, "who by the liberal intrusion of unrecorded and purely imaginary miracles into every lacuna of their air-built theories, do their best to render science impossible, have earned thereby the merited suspicion of scientific men. Nevertheless, all *but* the most obstinate and the most prejudiced even of theologians ought to admit that if man *could* have invented language, we may safely conclude that he *did*; for the wasteful prodigality of direct interposition and miraculous power which plays the chief part in the idle and anti-scriptural exegesis of many churchmen, finds no place in the divine economy of God's dealings displayed to us either in nature, in history, or in the inspired Word itself. This single consideration ought to be sufficient for every mind philosophically trained."†

It is rather curious that Dr. Farrar, no less than Professor Max Müller, appears to be strongly opposed to the theory of evolution as applied to mankind. Witness the following passage from his sermon on "The Voice of Conscience," a sermon, like all his writings, full of poetic fervour. Thus he speaks:—

"If any rejoice to fling aside the old and inspiring conviction that man, 'so noble in reason, so infinite in faculty, in form and moving so express and admirable, in action so like an angel, in apprehension so like a god,' originated because God made him out of the dust of the earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and to take in exchange for it the humiliating and wholly undemonstrable hypothesis

* We have referred at the head of this paper to one chapter of Mr. Darwin's work—namely, that on the "Comparison of the Mental Powers of Man and the Lower Animals;" not for comment or criticism, nor only because it is to this chapter especially that Professor Max Müller addresses his reply, but because it seems to us a brief and admirable summary of all that human science has yet attained to in regard to the origin of language. Very important details and reasoning will be found in Chapters V. and VI., on "Emotional and Imitative Language," of Mr. E. B. Tylor's "Primitive Culture."

† "Chapters on Language," p. 4.

that he came into being by some accident of development, I know not how, from some film of protoplasm, I know not where—still man *is*, and the facts of his inner being remain unchanged. Such beliefs, if they can be called beliefs, have indeed spread with a rapidity out of all proportion to the cogency of the arguments by which they are supposed to have been established. The great thinker who originated the theory, and whose name it is impossible to mention without admiration and respect, has distinctly declared himself against an atheistic materialism; and it has been left for his violent and reckless followers to maintain, to the outrage of all sense and of all religion, that man sprang from a single primordial monere, which was self-generated and self-evolved, and that therefore the belief in a Creator is unscientific and exploded. Enough of such: but even in England it has been thought a necessary sequence of this belief in evolution to argue that man, thus developed, proceeded to develop a moral sense out of social instincts, fortified by hereditary transmission, and it is probable that very many even of my younger hearers have read that celebrated book on the Descent of Man, which professes—to quote the author's own words—to 'approach the conscience exclusively from the side of natural history.'"^{*}

A little further on Dr. Farrar continues: "Since it is common, in these times, to try and represent the clergy as wilfully shutting their eyes to all recent investigation, I only allude to these forms of scientific assertion and negation to show that what is called the silence of ignorance may sometimes be the silence of repudiation, sometimes even the reticence of scorn." Surely, after characterizing an hypothesis as humiliating and wholly undemonstrable, and those who accept it as violent and reckless, it is rather Hibernian to say that you repudiate the whole affair in silence and dumb contempt. That a man of Dr. Farrar's calibre should apply the term "humiliating" to a scientific hypothesis as if it could even remotely affect the question of its truth; or as if it ought to affect any mind whatever in accepting or rejecting it, is most extraordinary; whether we consider that the central fact of Christianity is intimately concerned with the deepest humiliation, or that the facts of natural science can no more be affected by our sentiments about them than an iceberg. How little, too, the rhapsody from Shakspeare has to do with the matter may be seen by a moment's reflection. In form and moving we suit, perhaps, our own standard of taste; to the eagle, the shark, the lion and the fawn, we must appear feeble, awkward and slow, almost fettered to our patch of earth, unless when aided by machinery dangerous, cumbersome, and attended by noise and smoke, and other inconveniences. Of the action of angels we know nothing; that our faculties are not infinite we

* "The Silence and the Voices of God." Sermon II.

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know very well. To say that man in apprehension is like a god is very unscriptural—unless we mean, like the silly, quarrelsome, impure gods of the heathen, gods which are no gods, but only disreputable likenesses of disreputable men. To serve a turn we may admit that man is noble in reason; but if we are writing a satire on the vanity of human wishes, or a sermon on the follies of the age, or declaiming against rationalists, this noble reason will hear itself abused as violent, reckless, petty, contemptible, retrograde, degraded, with many more “jibes and flouts and sneers” of similar character.

One is tempted to ask who it is that describes the single primordial moneres from which some evolutionists believe man to have sprung as self-generated and self-evolved, except in a special scientific and non-theological sense of the words. An organism generated or evolved from inorganic matter, is not self-generated or self-evolved; any more than an organism generated from another organism like itself, or evolved from one unlike, is self-generated or self-evolved.* Haeckel's supposition, whatever we may think of his phrase for expressing it, of an animal organism “becoming” by natural process from inorganic matter is no more *atheistic* in itself than the *supposition* that lightnings flash among the clouds, and hail descends from the sky by natural process, although in the olden time it was Zeus that thundered, and Jehovah that rained down hailstones from Heaven. As to the evolution of man and the evolution of conscience, we cannot resist confronting Dr. Farrar with his own words, that if man *could* have invented language, we may safely conclude that he *did*. In the same way, if man's body and his mental and moral powers *could* have been developed or evolved, we may safely conclude that they *were*. That they *can* be we know, because they *are* in the endless repetition of the stages through which the individual man passes between the fetus and the adult state. We ought, therefore, on Dr. Farrar's own showing, gratefully to accept the theory of evolution, even as applied to conscience, as rescuing us from a belief in “the wasteful prodigality of interposition and miraculous power which finds no place in the Divine economy.”

At any rate, we have in Dr. Farrar a scholar and theologian of eminence strongly opposed to any hypotheses or conclusions which seem to favour an atheistic materialism; and yet at the same time one who stoutly maintains that language is a human invention. He even appends a note of admiration or astonishment when he declares that, “some modern writers, essentially

* For Professor Max Müller's criticism on Haeckel's opinion, see *Fraser's Magazine*, July, 1873, p. 3.

aggressive, and essentially retrogressive—doctors of that school which learns nothing and forgets nothing, and whom eighteen centuries have only pushed back behind the earliest Fathers in tolerance and liberality—can only see in the certainty of a language discovered by mankind a materialistic and deistic hypothesis.* While pressing his point with great force of expression and clearness of argument, that language is undoubtedly a human discovery, he ridicules, as a piece of “futile and baseless arrogance,” the objection that before the discovery man must have borne the undignified and degraded position of being, through long and feeble periods of animalism and ignorance, a dumb creature. “Disbelieving,” he says, “on the scientific ground of the fixity of type, the Darwinian hypothesis, we should yet consider it disgraceful and humiliating to try to shake it by an *ad captandum* argument, or a claptrap platform appeal to the unfathomable ignorance and unlimited arrogance of a prejudiced assembly. We should blush to meet it with an anathema or a sneer; and in doing so we should be very far from the ludicrous and complacent assumption that we were on the side of the angels.”† In the sermon, it will be remembered, it was the Darwinian hypothesis itself that was humiliating; here it is the unreasoning condemnation of it that earns that epithet. The preacher seems closely to agree with the platform orator in the assumption, which is at least complacent, whether ludicrous or not, of thinking man “in action so like an angel.” But in estimating the merit of such an appeal to the feelings against the Simian origin of mankind, we ought not, perhaps, to forget that the pulpit was the pulpit of Cambridge University, while Mr. Disraeli was only addressing the ignorance and arrogance of an Oxford mob.

Considering that Dr. Farrar, on many and apparently solid grounds, is satisfied that “science banishes amongst myths and chimeras the fancy of a primitive man, burning with youth and beauty; to show us upon icy shores I know not what abject being more hideous than the Australian, more savage than the Patagonian, a fierce animal struggling against the animals with which he disputes his miserable existence,”‡ there is a taste, a slight savour of that dogmatism which he elsewhere censures in Professor Max Müller, in his subsequent declaration, that, “undoubtedly the idea of speech existed in the human intelligence, as a part of our moral and mental constitution when man first appeared upon the surface of the earth.”§ If man was not man till he had the idea of speech, and if there

* “Chapters on Language,” p. 8. † *Ibid.*, p. 44.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 43. § *Ibid.*, p. 51.

was no human intelligence prior to that form or degree of intelligence which had the idea of speech existing in it, then the statement is a truism: if it means more than this, it begs the question. One who, like Dr. Farrar, "can contemplate the human race as originally created in a low and barbarous condition," who does not refuse to see in his far-off ancestors a "miserable population, maintaining an inglorious struggle with the powers of nature, wrestling with naked bodies against the forest animals, and forced to dispute their cave-dwellings with the hyæna and the wolf;" one who sees nothing "irreverent or absurd" in the hypothesis, though he disbelieves it, "that myriads of centuries ago, there may have been a near genetic connexion between the highest of the animals and the lowest of the human race," may well be content with the positions he has really won, without claiming ground which his inquiries and argument certainly do not cover. "Thus far shalt thou come and no further," is a cry too often addressed to science even by its most devoted and successful students. So, one philosopher will carry language back to "roots," but forbid inquiry as to the origin of these roots themselves; another will solve that mystery, and display to us human beings "with the germs of language and the primitive idea of it:" but lower than that he will not permit us to delve. He can imagine and allow a creature angel-like in mien and movement, god-like in reasoning power and moral state, to be at least possibly descended from an ape; but those who dare track the possible ancestral monkey back to a primordial monere are fools and atheists; they cannot be allowed to protest that the wisdom of God is just as much glorified by the *results*, whether we trace back an Elijah and an Æschylus, or any other king among men, gradually to shapeless protoplasm, or abruptly to lifeless dust. If even a man believes matter to be eternal, does it make him an atheist, seeing that all hold the Supreme Being unchangeable, whence it follows that to the Divine mind all things that are both ever have been, and ever will be, what they are? Before many years are over the doctrine of the evolution of all organic life from lifeless inorganic material may come to be proclaimed by eloquent and orthodox theologians as agreeing with the express statement of the Book of Genesis, that "The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground." We shall then be told that those who maintain the old view of the direct creation of living beings, "distinctly contradict the very book to which, in their desire to usurp the keys of all knowledge, they groundlessly appeal as a scientific authority," and that to assert the *creation* of animals as opposed to their *evolution*, "is, after the manner of certain ignorant divines, to force upon us as an article of faith, that which is nothing

more than an arbitrary and anti-philosophic hypothesis.”* Just as the kindly and well-intentioned barbarians of Melita, when they saw the viper fasten upon Paul’s hand, said among themselves, “No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live;” but, after they had looked a great while and saw no harm come to him, changed their minds and said that he was a god; even so, when some slightly venomous epithet, such as “infidel,” or “atheistic,” is fastened upon a new scientific theory, the multitude expect it to collapse, and presently fall dead; but after looking a great while, and seeing no harm come to it, they change their minds and say that it is divine.

A writer in these columns, to whom we have already referred, pointed out, as we think, with great force and truth, that the origin of language ought not to be assigned to a twofold source, interjections *and* imitative cries, since the interjection itself must be due in the first instance to imitation. The new edition of Dr. Farrar’s work being only a reprint, he has not had the opportunity of giving his opinion upon this simplification of the view which he has himself so ably urged and illustrated. Had he taken it into consideration, it could have scarcely failed to open his eyes to the more than probability that man, without even interjections, with nothing vocal except mere animal cries, in the state in which he must have been upon this theory before the evolution of language, will have been something less than man. Once admit that something less than man could become, and has become man, and all controversy of man’s evolution from this, that, or the other stage of degradation, humiliation, savagery, animalism, or protoplasm, will speedily die out, or be relegated to that cold but serene region of inquiry in which wishes and emotions, and “prejudicate opinions” have no sway. The riddle so repeatedly quoted from Wilhelm v. Humboldt’s writings, that “man is only man through language, but to invent language he must already have been man,” is not solved by the answer that language, properly speaking, was never invented but slowly developed, without the additional remark that neither was man, properly speaking, ever invented, but like language, slowly developed, so that at one stage of the process there will have been a half-human creature with a half-articulate language; at another stage a savage, with few abstract ideas, and few, if not fewer, words to express them, with no general term for existence, no logic, no grammar; and only after many ages of lisping and stammering, and specializing and despecializing, and picturing, and writing, and printing, is a philosopher sure,

* “Chapters on Language,” p. 6.

whenever he is addressing human beings, of addressing *rational* animals.

Professor Key fully and explicitly accepts the mimetic theory. "I conclude," he says, "with the expression of a strong opinion that original language is mimetic—in other words, consisted solely in the imitation of natural sounds; nor am I deterred from this conclusion by what I readily admit, that in a very large number of cases we are still unable to explain the rationale of the selection. Meanwhile I look in vain for any other tenable theory" (p. 22). We cannot help thinking that it would have been graceful in Professor Key to have noticed Dr. Farrar's eloquent writings in support of the theory to which he thus gives his decided adhesion. For any such notice we have looked in vain. There is, moreover, a slight querulousness of tone in more than one passage, in reference to other writers, which would have been as well avoided by a scholar in Mr. Key's acknowledged and assured position. For instance, after repeating, from his writings of forty years ago, the opinion "that the fifth syllable in the Sapphic stanza ought for the most part to have a strong accent," and a protest "against the misleading influence of the anti-Jacobin verses in pseudo-Sapphic form, entitled the 'Knife-Grinder,'" it was scarcely worth while to find occasion for the following statement:—"The same doctrine and the same illustration appeared in the first edition of the 'Varronianus' (p. 275 note), without any reference to either of my articles." The explanation in a foot-note scarcely mends the matter; it is this:—

"I purposely insert this evidence of the plagiarism of Dr. Donaldson in a trifling matter, that I may express my contempt for the silly statement of a Reviewer, that it is 'shocking' to make such a reference to one who is no more. As I publicly exposed his doings during his lifetime, so now, too, I reject the doctrine *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, for what is better morality, *nil nisi verum*."

But surely one cannot want better morality than for a man to abstain from attacking an antagonist who is no longer in a position to defend himself. Besides, whatever Dr. Donaldson's merits or demerits may have been, and no doubt he had some of both, the stream of controversy, in which in his day he was at least a lively swimmer, has now passed on beyond him. For the praise of men he is no longer a competitor; by their dispraise we can scarcely suppose him to be affected, so that jealousy and righteous indignation alike would seem to be mis-spent in making him their mark. It may be well and useful to point out where he has slipped in philology or brought forward a grammatical form without authority; but a charge of trivial

plagiarism had far better be allowed to slumber. It is notorious that thinkers in all departments at times come independently to the same conclusions, couching them in almost the same phraseology, supporting them by the same illustrations. A student who reads much and thinks much may be excused if he sometimes forgets what part of the stores of his mind is due to the first process and what to the second. Mr. Key may believe that this would apply to the theft of his opinion about the accent in Sapphics, or to the theft of his illustration, each taken simply, but that it cannot excuse the appropriation of both together. This, however, is not so certain, since the very familiarity of an illustration may create an impression that the idea which it illustrates is equally familiar, and has in fact all along been our own. Some writers, among whom we may single out Mr. E. B. Tylor as a very favourable example, have so suggestive a style, that before they reveal their discoveries their readers have made them for themselves; just as we read that among the Athenians wit well matched between speaker and audience often made the hearers fancy themselves the authors beforehand of what the orator's ingenuity propounded. There are, it may be admitted, unscrupulous writers whose plagiarisms deserve exposure, but the exposure to be useful should be in the lifetime of the plagiarist, and should not include trifles.

Turning now again to Professor Max Müller's lectures, one must confess that he seems entirely to concede the whole point in controversy between himself and Dr. Farrar, for though he still holds that his "*roots* or *phonetic types* are indeed the ultimate facts in the analysis of language," he admits "that, from a higher and philosophical point of view, they admit of a perfectly intelligible explanation," since, as he says, "experience gives us interjections and imitations as the only conceivable beginning of human utterance." This is rather like saying that the Land's End is indeed the last portion of English territory looking westward, though, from a higher and geographical point of view, we know that the Scilly Isles, which are also English territory, lie beyond it. But while accepting as possible, as probable, as almost certain, the evolution of language from interjections and imitative cries through what he calls a process of *friction* or *despecialization*, Professor Max Müller is as anxious as ever to combat the possibility of man's evolution from "an animal." He appeals to what he designates as "one palpable fact," viz., "that whatever animals may do or not do, *no animal has ever spoken*."* He maintains as an axiom that thought without language is impossible,† and declares that "no animal except

* *Fraser's Magazine*, June, 1873, p. 674.

† *Ibid.*, May, 1873, p. 528.

man possesses the faculty, or the faintest germs of the faculty, of abstracting and generalizing, and that therefore no animal, except man, could ever have developed what we mean by language."* On the historical ground that no animal ever *has* spoken, he raises, it will be perceived, a strong presumption that no animal ever *will* speak. On the philosophical ground that language without thought is as impossible as thought without language, he seems to carry that presumption to demonstration, if a creature can never use language until it can reason, and can never reason until it has the use of language.

But surely all this is begging the very question in dispute; for if the theory of evolution be true as applied to mankind, and men are descended, it matters little through how many generations, from animals which were dumb, as some human beings are even now, it will no longer be true that *no animal has ever spoken*. According to the theory under discussion there must have come a time when some of these animals learned to make a general application of some of their interjections and imitative cries; and this they must have done either with thought or without it. If the language was antecedent to the thought, then language without thought is possible; if the thought was antecedent to the language, then thought without language is possible; if neither could have the precedence, it simply follows that the thought and the expression of it must have occurred to the mind of the animal simultaneously. Mr. Darwin says, "Man not only uses inarticulate cries, gestures, and expressions, but has invented articulate language;" and then adds, with his usual mixture of caution and insight—"if, indeed, the word *invented* can be applied to a process completed by innumerable steps, half-consciously made." This reflection, extended to thought and reason, releases us from any dilemma as to the alternative priority of words and concepts. Professor Max Müller, too, affirms that "in the usual sense of that word language was never invented," apparently imagining that he is establishing a position in support of his own views. His opinion on the impassable gulf which separates the human from the animal intellect, that no number of steps could ever lead from the one to the other, may best be seen by an illustration of his own devising. He asks, "What do we mean when we say we know a thing?" He then introduces a child for the first time in its life seeing an elephant, staring at, feeling, and measuring it, but concludes that we should never say, the first time the child sees an elephant, that he knows it. When, however, the child sees the same elephant, or another elephant, a second time, and recognises the

* *Fraser's Magazine*, July, 1873, p. 23.

animal as the same, or nearly the same which he saw before, then, for the first time, we say that the child knows the elephant.

Still "this is knowledge in its lowest and crudest form." "It is properly speaking *remembering* only, and not yet *cognition*. The animal intellect, according to the ordinary interpretation, would go as far as this, but no farther." We are then invited to take, not exactly a child, but a boy who for the first time sees an elephant. This clever boy, it seems, though he does not know the elephant, knows that what he sees for the first time is an *animal*. "What does that mean? It means that the boy possesses the concept of a living and breathing being, different from man, and that he recognises this general concept in the elephant before him." But why should we not take, not exactly a boy, but a dog, who for the first time sees an elephant. Assuredly the dog, though he does not know the elephant, will know that what he sees for the first time is an animal, and then we may ask, what does that mean? and answer, as the Professor answers, *mutatis mutandis*, concluding, as he concludes, "Now an animal, as such, has no actual existence. A boy (or a dog) may have seen dogs, cats, and mice, but never an animal in general. The concept of animal is therefore of man's (or dog's) own making, and its only object is to enable man (or dog) to know?" But, without appealing to any quadruped, we think that the Professor explicitly admits and affirms the very thing which he is striving to prove impossible, for he admits as an unquestioned truth, "that language, in the usual sense of the word, is not the only organ of conceptual thought;" that, "besides the phonetic symbols of language there are other less perfect symbols of thought;" that "we can form the concept of '*three*,' without any spoken word, by simply holding up three fingers," that "this is how people who possessed no organs of speech would speak; this is how the deaf and dumb *do* speak." It is almost startling, after having been told on the previous page, in emphatic italics, that "*there is no thought without words, as little as there are words without thought*;" and, while respectfully regarding the fortress of language as a fortress still "untaken and unshaken on the very frontier between the animal kingdom and man," nevertheless to have to read, that "three fingers are as good as three strokes; three strokes are as good as three clicks of the tongue, three clicks of the tongue are as good as the sound *three*, or *trois*, or *drei*, or *shalosh* in Hebrew, or *san* in Chinese. But all these are signs, and being signs, symbols, or embodiments of concepts, they fall under the general category of *logos* or language?"

Such signs and symbols animals have at their command, and

undoubtedly use, whether for showing an acquaintance with arithmetic, we need not discuss, but certainly for communications which imply the possession of conceptual or discursive thought. The nocturnal intruder, the ill-dressed applicant, are recognised by the dog, and the creature not only says to itself, but by gait, by action, by voice, all perfectly intelligible, declares to its human friends and companions, that men are at hand, but not men of the right sort, nor present in the right time or in the right place. The Professor seems to have been almost overwhelmed by ladies, young and old, with anecdotes of intellectual cats and dogs, but for the subject he is handling too many cannot be accumulated, if only they are truthful. We know a dog which has been taught to sit up and beg by waving its two fore-paws conjointly up and down. Eager and impetuous expectancy it expresses most ludicrously by rapidity of the movement. The slow and intermittent motion, as hope of success dwindles to despair, is proportionately pathetic. The eyes at the same time appear to exchange imperious glances for looks of supplication. Food and exercise are two of the principal requirements of canine existence; it is about these, therefore, that the dog oftenest *speaks* to those on whom he is dependent for their satisfaction. Accordingly, the dog to which we have been referring, uses its greatest urgency of appeal when a chance of a walk presents itself. It will also be quiet through the earlier portion of dinner, till its favourite course comes on, although the number of courses which precede it is not a constant one. Whether for walking or feeding, it pleads most persistently with those who are in general most ready to oblige it, whilst with others it will make a short effort and then desist. Another dog, accustomed as so many are, to beg at mealtime, could be dismissed by a gesture of opening the arms to signify that we had no more to give it. This gesture we employed, in the first instance almost unconsciously, but the dog, both on that occasion and many subsequent ones seemed fully to comprehend its meaning, if we may judge by its at once quitting our side to seek indulgence elsewhere.

Professor Max Müller quotes an instance of a pike, which was separated from some small fishes in the same aquarium by a pane of glass. After hurting himself severely in several ineffectual attempts to seize these fishes, the pike gave up the attempt, and when some months later, the pane of glass was removed, continued to respect his original companions, though he swallowed any strange fish that was thrown in with natural voracity. Then comes the inference, translated with approval from a paper by Professor Möbius, "the training of this pike was not therefore based on judgment; it consisted only in the establishment of a certain direction of will in consequence of

uniformly recurrent sensuous impressions." The view of the familiar fishes "provoked in him, no doubt, the natural desire to swallow them, but it evoked at the same time the recollection of the pain which he had suffered on their account, and the sad impression that it was impossible to reach the prey which he so much desired." The same sensuous impression, proceeding from the same fishes and overpowering his voracious instinct, was always "the beginning of the same series of psychic acts. He could not help repeating this series, like a machine, but like a machine with a soul, which has this advantage over mechanical machines, that it can adapt its work to unforeseen circumstances, while a mechanical machine cannot. The pane of glass was to the organism of the pike one of these unforeseen circumstances."

This philosophy, if new as applied to fishes, is not altogether new in itself, which, after ascribing to the pike a certain direction of *will*, declares that, willy nilly, he *could not help* repeating a series of psychic acts. But what is this machine with a soul that can adapt itself to unforeseen circumstances, when the unforeseen circumstance is a pane of glass, yet cannot adapt itself when the unforeseen circumstance is the removal of the pane? It may have been an error of judgment on the pike's part not to eat the familiar fish when the barrier was removed, but surely we may say that he associated with the attempt to devour them the *ideas* of danger and distress, and *judged* it safer not to make the attempt. He feels the natural desire to swallow them, he remembers the pain formerly suffered through trying to gratify his desire, and abstains. How does this result differ from that which we aim at in the treatment of the dangerous classes, the pikes of human society? We seek in them to establish a "certain direction of the will, in consequence of uniformly recurrent sensuous impressions." The misfortune is that we cannot make the impressions recur with sufficient uniformity. The idle boy learns his lesson to avoid the rod. The same sensuous impression, overpowering his natural love of ease, is always in his soul the beginning of the same series of psychic acts. He cannot help repeating this series like a machine, but like a machine with a soul, which has the advantage of being able to adapt its work to unforeseen circumstances, such as his master's ascertained and protracted absence, and then he finds that he *can* help repeating the series, just as sometimes a fracas breaks out in "a happy family" or a tame lion scalps the lion-tamer.

The pike, with a persistency worthy of Robert Bruce, continued its onsets against the transparent barrier, though with diminishing frequency, for three months, before what we must call its judgment was convinced that, even for pikes, "there is no armour against fate;" that some *super-piscal* power was

interfering for the protection of its natural prey. It is rather too much to ask us to believe that the pike was restrained by "the sad impression that it was impossible to reach the prey which he so much desired," at the very time when he was swimming freely among these fishes, before whom he "always halted at a respectful distance of about an inch." The whole analysis of the pike's education might be fitted to the analysis of human education in the sphere of morals and personal prudence, so that of the loftiest actions done in obedience to the dictates of conscience, we should have to say that they were "not based on judgment," but due only to "the establishment of a certain direction of will in consequence of uniformly recurrent sensuous impressions." It is an old doctrine in regard to human character that by training and habit our wills do become so set in one direction that morally we lose the power of choice and *cannot help* acting in the manner which has become habitual to us. That a pike should be like a man in this respect will be no great matter for surprise to an evolutionist; his only wonder will be that such a conclusion should be approved and welcomed by an opponent of evolution. For, if it shows, which we question, "how much can be achieved by purely intuitional knowledge, possessed in common by men and animals," without the help of conceptual knowledge, it shows still more forcibly how narrow an interval separates the education and moral development of a fish from that of a human being.

After admitting that the deaf and dumb can acquire some kind of conceptual thought and language, though, of course, their language cannot possibly include *phonetic* types, Professor Max Müller gives a facetious description of abortive attempts to think silently, to conjure up without words the thought, for instance, of a *dog*. Banish all synonyms, and begin, "Rise up, then, quadruped, with ears and wagging tail." Alas! words, words; we must begin again. "The inner consciousness sinks lower, and at last there rises a being to be developed gradually and insensibly into a dog." But "being," too, is a word. We must try again in breathless silence. This time we are greeted with the Professor's favourite "bow-wow," itself a word, and the attempt is relinquished as hopeless. He scarcely seems, in this obviously imaginary description, to have remembered the power which the association of ideas exercises over the human mind, owing to which we may be unable to separate an idea from the verbal symbol of it, when once the two have been connected together, while, if we *were* able to effect such a separation, it would obviously be out of the question to convey to other minds a notion of our success by words. "We do not complain," the Professor says, "that we cannot move without legs. Why, then,

should we consider it humiliating that we cannot think without words?" Certainly, as a matter of sentiment, there is nothing humiliating in the use either of legs or of language; but, as a matter of fact, men do manage to move who have lost their legs; men do manage to think even when they are dumb; and numbers of other animals move, although they have no legs, by means of other contrivances. So that if we may trust the simile, there may be other contrivances besides language to make thought possible. What else, indeed, can be the meaning of St. Paul's expression, when he speaks of "groanings which cannot be uttered;" and of poets, when they tell of thoughts too deep for words? Are there no general ideas involved in the emotions thus alluded to? How is it with infants? How is it with us in maturer age at times when we are just awaking from sleep, or awaking from the confusion of some surprise, and go through the process known as collecting our thoughts; or again, when the memory is half-treacherous, and we are conscious of remembering, and are yet unable to convey the idea in language? Who is not conscious that he often says much more than he means, and often much less than he means? What is the feeling that we cannot find words to express what is in our minds if there be no thought without language? Professor Max Müller himself speaks of the work as occasionally still being accomplished, of coining a new word for a new thought, though how such coining is possible, or why it is necessary, if you cannot have the thought without the word, he does not explain. He tells us, on what he deems good authority, "that deaf and dumb persons, if left entirely to themselves, have no concepts except such as can be expressed by less perfect symbols; and that it is only by being taught that they acquire some kind of conceptual thought and language." The sentence appears to be self-contradictory, for if they have, when left to themselves, such concepts as can be expressed by less perfect symbols, they have a kind of conceptual thought and language independently of teaching. That it is a very imperfect kind, compared with that which they may acquire by instruction, will not be denied. Rather, it will be insisted on as indicating the possible or conceivable gradations in the development of man from a lower animal. When stress is laid on the possibility or conceivableness of such a development, it shows a curious misapprehension to answer that "the very opposite, the non-transition of any lower animal into man, is equally conceivable."* No one ever denied it, while hundreds have declaimed against the theory of evolution, both as inconceivable in itself, and a piece of inconceivable folly on the part

* *Fraser's Magazine*, July, 1873, p. 22.

of its propounders. To say that, moreover, the non-transition, at least, as far as our experience goes, is real, seems altogether beside the point, since the non-creation of any animal whatever, *at least, as far as our experience goes*, is equally real.

Professor Max Müller believes that language was made by men at a period beyond the reach of tradition, but still at a period which must have had an historical reality. He enforces his view by a geological comparison. "As," he says, "during enormous periods of time the earth was absorbed in producing the abundant carboniferous vegetation, which still supplies us with the means of warmth, light, and life, there must have been a period during which the human mind had no other work but that of linguistic vegetation, the produce of which still supplies the stores of our grammars and dictionaries."*

Geologists will scarcely agree with him that the earth was ever absorbed, if that means exclusively occupied, in producing carboniferous vegetation; but, letting that pass, we may fairly inquire what were the seeds from which the linguistic vegetation sprung, and it almost looks as if we should be driven back upon the answer which "the clever pleader" gave us, that rational language was gradually developed from emotional language,—that it grew out of those ejaculations and imitative cries which man shares in common with other animals.

In one passage Professor Max Müller tells us that if Mr. Darwin is right, then the great German philosopher, Kant, and all who follow him, will simply be out of court. It may seem, then, something too positive on his part when, in another passage, he speaks of Kant's great work, "The Criticism of Pure Reason," as "a work which, in the onward stream of philosophic thought, has stood, and will stand for ever, like the rocks of Niagara." Here, again, the geologist will tell him that the rocks of Niagara will certainly not stand for ever, unless the laws of friction and of aqueous and atmospheric action in general are to be altered in their favour. But supposing the philosophy of Kant to be an eternal verity, lasting, therefore, when the rocks of Niagara have been worn to powder, a great part of Darwin's theory might still be maintained, the Professor himself being the judge, for he says,—

"Were we to accept the theory of evolution which traces the human mind back to the inner life of a mollusc, we should even then be able to remain Kantians, in so far as it would be, even then, the category of causality that works in the mollusc, and makes it extend its tentacles towards the crumb of bread which has touched it, and has evoked in it a reflex action, a grasping after the prey. In this lowest form of animal life, therefore, the category of causality, if we

* *Fraser's Magazine*, May, 1873, p. 528.

may use such a term, would show itself simply as conscious, or, at all events, as no longer involuntary, re-action; in human life, it shows itself in the first glance of recognition that lights up the infant's vacant stare."*

To ordinary minds to speak of the category of causality working in a mollusc, or working in a man, will seem equally unintelligible modes of expression; but whatever these may mean, since reflex actions can be excited in animals, and fragments of animals, without the will or knowledge of the patient, we cannot infer simply from the existence of such movements that the re-action is either conscious or voluntary. We have similar phenomena in vegetable irritability, well-known especially in the tribe of sensitive plants, without, it may safely be said, either consciousness or will. There may even be animals, such as sponges, in which all the actions necessary to their life and sustenance are carried on without voluntary effort, and with a scarcely appreciable glimmer of consciousness. Here, then, at the outset, among the lowest members of the animal kingdom, we have the whole controversy at once before us. If reflex actions could never develop into voluntary and conscious actions, but must have been so by the work of original creation, or not at all, then, indeed, the theory of development, without further parley, is out of court. Between the unconscious and the conscious the interval is surely as great as that between an animal which jabbars and an animal which talks.

Some may be well pleased to take the issue in this form, feeling confident that we shall never be able to discover what the feelings of a sponge are, or whether its ancestors were absolutely without any. No doubt to many minds the sentiment of the French proverb will occur, "*c'est le premier pas qui coûte*," but in reality each onward step is as difficult as the first, the development of higher powers of consciousness from the lower as difficult as the development of the lower from none at all. Yet it can scarcely be profound philosophy to say that these onward steps can never be taken because we do not understand how they can. How often must it be repeated that the theory of development seeks to explain what has actually come to pass in the world's history, not why it has come to pass in that way rather than another! It is not a whit more reasonable to speak of it as a theory of creation without a Creator, than it would be for a man, who knows that he has passed through various embryonic and unconscious stages to the ripeness of perfect manhood, to say that he had attained to that state without having had any parents. Such a reasoner might, so far as we can see, prove that he had never been a baby at all by precisely the same

* *Fraser's Magazine*, May, 1873, p. 540.

line of argument which is used to prove that man cannot have descended from a mute animal. Substitute *infants* for *animals* in the language of Professor Max Müller, and observe what the alteration will make him say: "The rules of positive philosophy," he will tell you, "forbid us to assert anything about their instincts or intellectual faculties. We may allow ourselves to be guided by our own fancies or by analogy, and we may guess and assert very plausibly many things about the inner life of *infants*; but however strong our own belief may be, the whole subject is transcendent, *i.e.*, beyond the reach of positive knowledge;" only we can "appeal to one palpable fact, *viz.*, that whatever infants may do or not do, no *infant* has ever spoken," from which line of argument it seems we are to infer that no infant has ever developed into a man.*

Again, language, such as we speak, is founded on reason, reason meaning for philosophical purposes the faculty of forming and handling general concepts; and as that power manifests itself outwardly by articulate language only, we, as positive philosophers, have a right to say that *infants* being devoid of the only tangible sign of reason which we know, *viz.*, language, may by us be treated as irrational beings, irrational "in the sense of devoid of the power of forming and handling general concepts."

But we all know that the apparently unconscious embryo *does* pass by certain gradations into the apparently conscious infant, and the apparently irrational infant into the reasoning man. Professor Max Müller finds fault with the expression "insensible graduation." He says it "is self contradictory," that, "translated into English, it means graduation without graduation, degrees without degrees, or something which is at the same time perceptible and imperceptible." "Exact science," he affirms, "has nothing to do with insensible graduation." "The admission," he maintains, "of this insensible graduation would eliminate, not only the difference between ape and man, but likewise between black and white, hot and cold, a high and a low note in music; in fact it would do away," he says, "with the possibility of all exact and definite knowledge."

But what, we may ask, is the worth of exact and definite knowledge unless it be true? We speak of the deepest black and the purest white and of many intermediate shades of grey, but it is easy at least to conceive that there may be innumerable gradations besides those to which we give names, which our senses with all available aids are not fine enough to distinguish; and these we should call insensible gradations.* Indeed, as it

* Compare "Language: its Origin and Development," p. 23. "Of neces-

seems to us, one would naturally use the above illustrations of black and white, hot and cold, high and low, to show how real differences of great importance may be gradually established by stages so small that, as far as human perception is concerned, we may have, not, as often in argument, a distinction without a difference, but a difference without, for us, the possibility of distinction. A white garment may gradually become black, and frozen water slowly pass to a temperature at boiling point, and in this way the difference may be eliminated between black and white, hot and cold, just as the difference between ape and man may have been eliminated by the process of development. But in truth it is a faulty mode of expression to speak of the difference as eliminated in either case, for no one pretends that ape and man are actually alike, any more than they would pretend that ice and steam are of the same temperature, when arguing that one may be developed from the other. When the eloquent Professor maintains that, in a supposed series of beings intermediate between ape and man, the point where the animal ends and man begins could be determined with absolute precision, in that it would be coincident with the first formation of a general idea embodied in a general term, he can scarcely perceive the full force of his own observation. He must, one would think, mean that at this point there would be a specific difference between the animal possessing a general term for a general concept and the animal without such a term. He must, we say, mean this, for the whole controversy turns on the question whether two such animals could stand to one another in the relationship of parent and child. But if he means this, what is there to prevent some one else from affirming that the possession or absence of a musical ear constitutes another specific difference, and that either persons who can distinguish the tune of "God save the Queen" are something more than human, or that those who cannot are something less? No savage ever wrote an opera or an oratorio, but it would be extremely arbitrary to maintain on that account that the men who write them are a different species from the Fuegians and Andamaners. The whole art and science of music itself has attained its present perfection through insensible gradations from beginnings which, if the figures of ancient instruments and the usages of the modern savage may be trusted, would have been regarded by Handel and Mozart as little better than atrocious noise and dis-

sity the symbols for vowel-sounds must be limited, but this must not be allowed to hide from us the fact that the sounds themselves are simply infinite, the passage from the one to the other of the few which have a special notation being by *imperceptible gradations*."

cord. The point, moreover, at which the Professor separates the animal from man he defines as *coincident* with the outburst of a general idea. This is worthy of notice, because not only would the coincidence separate father and son into two distinct species, but it might just as well separate one and the same individual into two species, not otherwise than would be the case if a man by learning to read ceased to be a man and became a demigod. In fact, the coincidence in question lands us in this dilemma, that, either the human infant has general ideas without general terms to express them, which the learned Professor denies to be possible, or else, the human infant, as long as it is an infant is not human but only an animal, separated with absolute precision, by wanting the *proprium* of rational language, from the species man.

The acquisition of rational language has no doubt given to the human mind a gigantic superiority over that of every other animal, but this very superiority has been one of gradual acquisition, aided immensely by other acquisitions which come more or less within the known period of history. Such are the arts of writing and printing, the applications of steam and electricity, nay, even algebra and road-making, since all of these have contributed to make the exceptional sagacity of individual men the common property of the whole race and its enduring heritage.

The question is often asked why, if man was originally a mute animal, other creatures should so long have remained dumb, especially as dogs, apes, and elephants, have the beginnings of reason attributed to them no less than the supposed speechless ancestry of mankind. In answer to this it must be remembered that, compared with man's whole career upon the earth, the time during which he has possessed articulate speech may be but a short period, and that the other animals may be at a less relative distance behind us than we are apt to suppose. Twenty thousand years hence, when dogs have learned to speak, but not yet learned to print, the orthodox philosophers of the day will contend that the fortress of printing "stands untaken and unshaken on the very frontier between the animal kingdom and man," and "still appeal to one palpable fact, that whatever animals may do or not do, no animal has ever" *printed*.

In a deficiency of the power of generalizing, savage languages, as Dr. Farrar well shows (p. 177), from numerous authors, have that very peculiarity on which Professor Max Müller relies so much in regard to the mental faculties of the lower animals. Between the tribe which first acquired some feeble form of human language, and the anthropoid tribes nearest to it, there is no reason to suppose any great difference to have existed at the outset. But such difference as there was would be rapidly

increased in two ways: in the first place, the human being would improve and turn to various uses his new faculty, while the Simian, not having the faculty to begin with, would make no advance. In the second place the human tribe, with its improved means of combination, would be almost sure to stamp out its immediate inferiors, as being its most powerful rivals in the struggle for life. It would be in its power, it would be in its interest, to do so. Can the result be doubted at an early stage of civilization, seeing that in our own day the less cultured races of mankind are continually falling before the Anglo-Saxon overflow, and thus making the distance between men and animals ever wider and wider? Practically language has been a weapon of war, an instrument for gaining the mastery. How little anxious men will have been in past days to impart it to other animals may be understood from what has happened in the parallel and analogous case of reading. Though a man incapable of reading is only half a man compared with his fellows who have that capacity, still it is only with serious misgivings and the greatest reluctance that the governing classes of our own country have been induced to concede education in this respect in any secure and substantial form to the classes beneath them. To substitute an instructed mind for a machine-like pair of hands was thought dangerous to the exigences of farm-labour and domestic service, and many religious and kindly persons, fully if unconsciously believing in the divine right of the upper ten thousand, would gladly find some expedient, if they could, by which the children of the poor might be taught how to read the Bible and Catechism, without learning how to read any other literature which can only make them "uppish," "above their places," discontented with the state of life to which they have been called, and thorns in the sides of their "betters," instead of obedient machines, to work and work on without comment and without reproach, till they and their masters alike—

"Must in the ground be equal laid
With the poor crooked scythe and spade."

Dr. Farrar closes his very interesting chapter on Interjections to which, aided by association of ideas, he attributes the beginnings of language, with an allusion to the subject we have been discussing. After declaring that the divine secret of language lay completely revealed in the use of two or three despised "interjections," he appends the following note:—

"The objection, 'Why, then, did not animals also discover language?' rises so often from the grave where it was long since buried and appears to be endowed with such inextinguishable vitality, that we must *again* repeat that it was not the mere possession of these

vocal cries that enabled man to invent a language, but that, the Innate Idea of language being already in his mind by virtue of his divinely created organism, the possession of these natural sounds taught him how, and supplied him the materials wherewith, to develop the Idea into perfect speech."

It is a pity to confuse a scientific argument by the use of expressions either theological or simply rhetorical, and in either case inadmissible for the purpose in hand. If language were an express revelation, according to the old opinion which Dr. Farrar emphatically rejects, it would be appropriate to speak of it as a *divine secret*; but being, as he admits, a human discovery, it is as little of a divine secret as printing or painting. His explanation, too, why man alone has developed speech is not a reason at all, but a theological opinion. Man, and animals below man, are alike organisms divinely created, alike in possession of vocal cries. To affirm that man alone developed speech because man alone had the innate idea of it implanted in his mind, is to provoke the question, How do you know that what you are saying is true? It does not seem especially reverential to the Author of the Universe, that we should only fit in His agency, like that of a theatrical *deus ex machinâ*, in those odd corners, and on those occasions where and when we find ourselves unable to solve a scientific enigma. The old theory of mountain ranges was that they were so shaped when the foundations of the earth were laid by the Creative hand. The natural processes are now known of aqueous deposition, the massing together of organic remains, slow and gradual, or rapid but intermittent, upheavals, with concurrent atmospheric disintegration and waste. No one, therefore, any longer speaks in a scientific treatise of the divine secret of mountain formations; and we venture to think that the most pious among educated persons would be disgusted with a geologist, who, being asked to explain why some parts of the earth had been elevated into ranges of hills, while others remained level plains, should answer that the rise of a hill was due to the innate principle of elevation, residing in its constituent materials by virtue of their divinely created formation. Yet this innate principle of elevation would be as easy to assert and as difficult to disprove as Dr. Farrar's innate idea of language. As scientific explanations they have this slight drawback to their value, that they explain nothing. Between this divinely implanted innate idea of language, prior to any actual form of speech, and Professor Max Müller's phonetic types existing, "as Plato would say, by nature, though with Plato we would add, that when we say by nature, we mean by the hand of God," there seems but little to choose on the score of consistency, since both authors alike reject the miraculous origin of language.

Language may now be claimed as congenital to man—born with him; but it is only congenital as a beard and moustache are congenital. Had the faculty been a special endowment, abruptly bestowed, instead of being, as we contend, the result of gradual development, there is no reason why an infant should not have received the power to speak as soon as it is born, just as a chicken begins to pick up food as soon as it emerges from the shell. How much odious squalling of babies would be saved! How much needless pain would be spared if the babies could communicate their sorrows and disgusts in some more intelligible manner than by cries and yells! But the theory of development makes it easy to understand the present state of affairs. For language, as an acquisition, would have reached its grand climacteric, not first in the minds and mouths of animals very young or newly born, but in those of the adult and mature. Then, like many other variations, it would have a tendency to be inherited at a corresponding age, and, in course of time, at successively earlier periods of life. This theory, be it remembered, of inheritance at corresponding ages, and then at ages earlier and earlier, is not invented here and now for the sake of the present argument. It was invented to account for ascertained facts in the development of crustaceans; and it must be admitted as at least a remarkable coincidence when the same theory will equally account for certain phases in the life-history of a shrimp, and for the fact that infants cannot speak, while both boys and men are able to do so. Some, very likely, will be ready to ask, why should not infants, too, have acquired this useful faculty of speech by natural selection; as Professor Max Müller asks, why, on the principle of evolution, should not trees grow into the sky, and why should not birds fly up to the moon; and endeavours to anticipate all excuses by the further question, why should they alone not possess the power of adapting themselves to new environments? Questions of this sort almost drive one to despair, not of being able to maintain the disputed theory, but of making people apprehend its elements. By a tree growing up into the sky must be meant a tree growing up at least beyond the reach of our atmosphere, that is to say, a tree about thirty or forty miles high. Now, since according to evolutionist philosophers, it has taken all the millions of years which, as not only they, but many others maintain, have elapsed since life began upon the earth, to develop a tree like the *Wellingtonia gigantea*, of some 450 feet at its greatest height, is it reasonable to pretend that according to their views there might just as well be trees forty miles high? It is on the theory of abrupt creation, and not on that of evolution, that you might expect these trees growing into the sky, and birds flying up to

the moon, or anything else you are pleased to fancy. That the time may come when children will be born with the faculty of speech developed, enabling them to learn at once a rational language, is easily conceivable. Other mental characteristics are sometimes developed, as the word *precocious* indicates, at a far earlier period of life than that to which they seem properly to belong. The self-restraint of the young Jewish princes in their luxurious Babylonish captivity, the genius for command of the youthful Alexander, the sagacity of William Pitt, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer at twenty-three, are instances in point. The accidental circumstance that none of these men left children inheriting the early ripeness of great qualities, is sufficient to remind us how slow the process of evolution must be ; so slow that men are tempted to fancy it goes not on at all, but that the state of the world is ever in one stay, just as they are tempted to fancy that the rocks of Niagara will stand for ever, because they do not notice, year by year, or day by day, the slight successive diminutions of their bulk.

To confirm the distinction drawn between rational and emotional language, reference is made to the phenomena of a certain disease of a particular part of the brain—a disease known as *aphasia*, which, physicians say, “may induce partial or complete defect of intellectual language, and not cause corresponding defect of emotional or interjectional language.” Now Professor Ferrier, following up the researches of Hitzig and Fritsch, has recently been experimenting on the brains of various animals, and on that of the monkey among others, and “the part,” he tells us, “that appeared to be connected with the opening of the mouth and the movement of the tongue was homologous with the part affected in man in cases of *aphasia*.” This must surely be admitted again as at least a very curious coincidence, easily explicable, indeed, on the evolution theory, but not easily on any other. A certain intimate connexion between the organs of speech and a particular portion of the brain appears to be essential to man’s use of rational language. In the course of evolution, therefore, such a connexion would need to be established before rational language could be acquired ; and this very intermediate stage, where the connexion exists, although the further acquisition of speech has not yet been attained, is now presented to us in the monkey, a creature of all animals, beyond contradiction, in general appearance and physical conditions, most closely similar to ourselves.

A writer, who is far from being a Darwinian, tells us that among baboons—

“The leaders have a mode of communicating their orders to their subordinates, and they again to those placed under them, in a curi-

ously varied language of intonations. Short and sharp barks, prolonged howls, sudden screams, quick jabberings, and even gestures of limbs and person, are all used with singular rapidity, and repeated from one to the other. There was a system of military telegraphing, by means of attitudes and sounds, which was invented some time ago, and which really might have been copied from the baboons, so much do their natural tactics resemble the artificial inventions of mankind."

It is hard to see why language such as is here described, used for the purposes described, should be presumed incapable of development into the rational language of human beings. The author quoted, a well-known and very entertaining writer on natural history, deploras that such details should be used in favour of what he evidently considers a very objectionable theory, yet he cannot forbear to give his readers the following story as coming within the possibilities of Simian intelligence. An Oriental had a baboon which he taught to watch his dinner during the process of cooking. Man has been defined as the only cooking animal, but the faithful creature soon learned to take a personal interest in this peculiarly human occupation. On one occasion a fowl was boiling in the pot. Curiosity prompted the removal of the lid. The pleasant odour that came forth suggested one little taste; and taste followed taste, till by almost insensible gradations the fowl was picked quite clean. Then followed the stings of conscience, and dread of what would befall when the master came back for his dinner. Here was an exigency to tax the wit and resource of a Syrus or a Scapin! But a brilliant plan of campaign occurred to the baboon, a plan dependent partly on his own personal conformation and partly on the circumstances of the region in which he found himself. For the first, nature had provided him with a bright red patch of colour, so that, by dint of rolling himself in the dust and adopting a certain posture, he wore the appearance of a stone with some raw meat on the top. For the second, in that locality numerous birds of prey are soon drawn together at the least scent of cooking. The savour of boiled chicken still gave fragrance to the air. The kites assembled after their wont, and, not making nice distinctions between flesh and fowl, stooped down to clutch, as they thought, that nice raw steak. But before they could achieve their object, the owner of that piece of flesh in good earnest clutched one of them, thrust it screaming into the pot, feathers and claws, and beak and all, shut down the lid, and then, to use Mr. Wood's own words, "resumed its post of sentry with the placid ease that belongs to a conscience void of offence."

All this, however, would, as it seems, make no difference to Professor Max Müller. He would still treat the baboon as an

irrational being—"irrational," as he says, "not in the sense of devoid of observation, shrewdness, calculation, presence of mind, reasoning in the sense of weighing, or even genius, but simply in the sense of devoid of the power of forming and handling general concepts." Though why he denies this power to the baboon, and grants it to the deaf and dumb among mankind—why he should maintain in one essay that articulate language is "the only tangible sign of reason which we know," and admit in another that "language, in the usual sense of the word, is not the only organ of conceptual thought"—does not appear to be explained, and is probably not capable of any valid explanation.

Let us not, however, lead any one to mistake the attitude in which so distinguished a writer stands towards this and every other scientific inquiry. The question, he declares, is not whether the Darwinian opinion is monstrous, "but simply and solely whether it is true." When human beings in general take that standpoint in matters intellectual, and the corresponding standpoint in morality, so as no longer to square their opinions and actions with what for the moment seems agreeable and safe, but in all things to think and act in accordance with what they best know of truth and justice, with the uttermost disregard of consequences such as are often now deemed paramount to govern conviction and to guide the ways of life; when, as a race, men have learned that false thinking and base action, besides leading on the one to the other and each to each, are sure to be fraught with far more evil consequence than unswerving candour and magnanimity: when that time comes, though it can come but slowly, yet when it comes, the race of mankind, without therefore ceasing to be the race of mankind, will have made as grand a step in the process of development as that which separates the ingenuity of the most knavish ape from the logic and sweet-voiced eloquence of Greece and Rome, and Germany and England.

ART. V.—CHARLES AND MARY LAMB: THEIR EDITORS
AND BIOGRAPHERS.

IN 1823 were published, in a small octavo volume, "Elia : Essays which have appeared under that signature in the *London Magazine*." This attempt to denote both the author and his essays by the word *Elia* failed. The readers of these delightful compositions found their main charm to consist in a peculiar and fascinating vein of egotism. Neither Addison nor Montaigne had given indications of so novel and interesting a personality. Each essay clung to a centre as petals enfold the calyx, and for that centre a symbol must be found. Hence, in later editions, Charles Lamb's first volume of essays became "The Essays of Elia," and the familiar signature resumed its old place, though it could hardly have been foreseen by the author. This twofold division of Lamb into his proper self and the visionary Elia has proved a fortunate chance for Lamb's literary fame, and for the posterity to whom he left the rich bequest of his life and his writings.

In literature, as elsewhere, first impressions count for much ; and whether the most prominent of an author's productions, the one by which he is admitted, as it were, into the confidence of the general reader, is one-sided or many-sided, has one characteristic excellence or many, and reflects a part or the whole of the writer's mind, are weighty alternatives in the determination of literary fame. The most powerful of a man's books does not necessarily give a true picture of his character in its most multifarious aspect ; and yet the majority of desultory readers is apt to form its literary judgment on a solitary specimen of the author's genius, and that the most striking one, having neither time nor inclination to collate it with the rest. This is a hazard which all authors more or less incur ; few escape it so fortunately as Charles Lamb. Lamb's Essays are by far the most popularly read of his works, and they present on the whole the best portrait it would be possible to have of him within the compass of one book. Particulars of time and place, niceties of thought and action, historical accuracies even, are of little consequence in the first conception of a character or epoch ; representative truth, that will by-and-by expand and thicken into substantial truth, is all that is required ; and precisely this is supplied by the Essays of Elia. The shadowy author of these well-nigh insoluble compounds of jest and earnest whom the reader summons to his side as Elia, is in every sense an honest ghost, and whoever reads

no further may assure himself that he has seen a true phantom of the "gentle Charles." Further researches, even extending to the last scrap of Lamb's published remains, well as they reward the searcher, only fill in the outline, as the features in a sun picture grow distinct under exposure. Popular acquaintance is with the Elia of the *Essays*, and Lamb's fame has benefited more by this than if he were principally known through any other of his works, through his biographers, or even through his correspondence.

And readers of Lamb profit no less from this precession of his shadow. Most of them owe their first knowledge of him to the attraction of his shadow, and these reap a decided advantage from having approached the man through his maturest work. Even the highest lessons of his life, far outstepping any mere literary interest, become more eloquent when viewed as the stern parents of those dream-children, the *Essays*. For Lamb's intimate associates—for acquaintance with him is something closer than converse with the dead—almost every sentence in the *Essays* carries a meaning, so that in reading them one conjures up, and that not only in the essentially autobiographical essays, the figure of the author in one or other of his many haunts, giving birth to just such a creature of the fancy, and linking it by the queerest chain of conceits to incidents and passages in his own life.

But though the shadow Elia has a consistency, truth, and value of its own beyond the consistency, truth, and value of most first conceptions, everything is to be gained by tracking the shadow back to the substance, and learning from published works, and the writings of biographers, the length, breadth, and height of so excellent a piece of humanity. The pawns which move across the board do not all meet with the same vicissitudes; and Charles Lamb's outwardly uneventful life was an heroic one in a sense of the epithet rarely used, and to a degree still more rarely practised.

The writer of an introductory sketch of Charles Lamb prefixed to a cheap edition of the "*Essays of Elia*," begins the few pages allotted to him with a description of the "terrible domestic tragedy—which both shaped and coloured the whole after-life of the author"—the death of the invalid mother at the hands of poor Mary Lamb. This is, of course, a crude way of arresting popular attention, but it has its advantages. It is not only true that Lamb's whole after-life was "shaped and coloured" by this occurrence, but it is also true that it affords the point of departure for all that was exceptionally noble in his character, the key to unlock this nobility, and the light in which his moral

excellences are most heightened, and his frailties excused. Although this may now rank as a truism, it was always so. For thirteen years at least after Charles Lamb's death, the principal circumstance of his life, the one that moulded more than any other his character, and marked out for him the path of life he cheerfully and resolutely made his own, was a secret to all but a few intimate friends. This was of course inevitable, owing to Mary Lamb's survival during that period; but it must be taken into account in any attempt to exhibit Charles Lamb's characteristics in the order in which they have been successively revealed by editors and biographers.

Whether or not Lamb was quite so great a solecist in society as he delights to paint himself,—whether or not he ever made a pun at a funeral, or was guilty of unseemly levity at a wedding, it is quite clear that there was nothing about him of the superior wisdom or even originality that attract casual attention. In a mixed company he was a mere ill-bred stammerer, and among strangers he was frowned down for his startlingly bad poems. A curious proof of Lamb's insignificance to all but his friends, is supplied by the letter of a clergyman who wrote to Talfourd:—

“I have no recollection of Lamb. There was a gentleman called Guy, to whom you once introduced me, and with whom I have occasionally interchanged nods for more than thirty years; but how is it that I never met Mr. Lamb? If I was ever introduced to him, I wonder that we never came in contact during my residence of ten years in Edmonton.”

The explanation being that Mr. Guy was Mr. Lamb, Guy being Lamb's early nickname. As regards literary fame, it may be safely said that Charles Lamb had but little of this in his lifetime. The “*Tales from Shakspeare*,” and “*Mrs. Leicester's School*,” joint compositions of brother and sister, ran comparatively quickly into a considerable number of editions; the “*Essays of Elia*” too were republished ten years after their first appearance, and about a year before the author's death; but, with these exceptions, Lamb did not live to see editions of his works multiplying, or profit or reputation accruing from them. He has somewhere playfully called himself the publisher's ruin. Since his death the *Essays* have proved an inexhaustible mine, and the collected works have arrived at least at a seventh edition.

Charles Lamb died in December, 1834, and left his sister Mary, the sole surviving member of the family, to be supported till her death by a handsome annuity from her brother's old desk-masters. There is something significant in the terms in which this honourable treatment of the worse than invalid are

referred to. She was pensioned as if she had been Charles's wife. We who have the whole life of these two before us without reserve, can go beyond the authorities at the India House, and say that she was more than a wife, and he more than a husband.

Mary Lamb was under formal treatment at the time of her brother's death, and the necessity for some sort of restraint seems to have continued to the day of her death. This must not however give us a false idea of her condition. She was sane enough to visit her friends and be visited by them, and to retain an interest in what passed around her. Mr. William Carew Hazlitt, in a book* to which further reference will be made, relates a curious anecdote about her in 1843, half humorous, half pathetic ; and from "*Crabb Robinson's Diary*," not to mention other sources, we learn that her existence was not one of mere passive endurance. Whilst she was thus not only bodily but spiritually among them, those who held the secret of her early life were duly reticent about it ; and as to have broached in any way the subject of Charles's insanity during his sister's lifetime might have launched the whole story upon the world, such notices of Lamb as followed his quiet death at Edmonton were, it appears, silent as to what may be called the governing incident of his life.

This serious but unavoidable defect was still more marked in Serjeant Talfourd's first biography.† From the sketch of Lamb's life had to be excluded its main episode, and the whole of it was treated so as to contain no hint to the general reader of any omissions. Of still greater consequence were the gaps left in the early correspondence by the necessary exclusion of a large body of letters containing references to the change in Charles's life subsequent to his mother's death, and the unavoidable mutilation of many others that might have aroused suspicion. Thus imperfectly was Lamb shown to the world during his sister's lifetime. Talfourd himself, one would suppose, must have felt the unsatisfactory nature of a work carried out under these conditions. We do not, however, find any acknowledgment of this in the preface to the *Final Memorials*,‡ with which, after Mary Lamb's death, he completed his task. This leads us to the con-

* "*Charles and Mary Lamb: Poems, Letters, and Remains*. Now first collected, with Reminiscences and Notes." By W. Carew Hazlitt. Chatto and Windus. 1874.

† "*The Letters of Charles Lamb, with a Sketch of his Life*." By Thomas Noon Talfourd, one of his Executors. 2 vols. 1837.

‡ "*Final Memorials of Charles Lamb: consisting chiefly of his Letters not before published, with Sketches of some of his Companions*." By Thomas Noon Talfourd, one of his Executors. 2 vols. 1848.

clusion that the biographer thought his friend's character complete in death as in life, without any overt consideration of the family malady and its consequences. He speaks as if he alluded to these subjects only under compunction. On another point Talfourd fell into an inexcusable error of judgment. Where he found strong expletives, and what seemed to him objectionable expressions among his friend's writings, he thought to mend matters, and present Lamb in a more fastidious dress, by garbling the text with an unscrupulous freedom that reminds us of the old commentators; and to justify this liberty Talfourd could not plead, as we learn from many independent sources, that Lamb's writings belied his habitual manner and conversation. Mr. Carew Hazlitt attacks Talfourd unsparingly on this point, and every one will agree with him; but in proceeding to enlarge on the general want of affinity between Lamb and biographers, he has stumbled himself into a curious nest of editorial blunders. Lamb, he says, did not enjoy "the complete or unreserved sympathy either of Talfourd or of Mr. Procter." "Even while he lived, Lamb represented an almost extinct type; his social tastes and sympathies were chiefly with the generation which had passed away before he met Talfourd or Procter. . . . His heart was only half with an age which scarcely so much as half understood him. He was very possibly more than semi-serious when he once said, in a letter to a friend, 'Hang the age! I will write for posterity!' Now "hang" is Talfourd's emendation for "damn," and "posterity" a gratuitous substitution on Mr. Hazlitt's part for "antiquity." Nor does it strengthen Mr. Hazlitt's argument to find that this quotation in its unemended form occurs in a letter to Mr. Procter, one of the very biographers with whom, it is urged, Lamb had nothing in common.

The passage containing this editorial mishap is quoted principally for the sake of questioning its accuracy. On the most cursory view of Charles Lamb, the question occurs, can a man who entered so heartily into the pleasures of life, who so resolutely put care and anxiety away from him, be said to have misunderstood his age and been misunderstood of it? Mr. Hazlitt's verdict must not be taken on this point without considerable modification: still more unwilling are we to accept his sweeping detracting of the services of Talfourd and Mr. Procter as biographers. Mr. Hazlitt denies them in general terms the necessary qualifications for their task—sympathy and intimate relationship with the man they undertook to describe. But this is not the opinion most would form from Lamb's extant letters to these men; Talfourd, whom Lamb befriended in his earliest literary career, introduced to Wordsworth as his "one admirer," dined with on the last occasion of his dining anywhere, and

appointed his executor, with charge over Mary Lamb and Isola ; Procter, who, under his familiar signature of Barry Cornwall, is repeatedly alluded to in terms of more than friendship, who was present at that last dinner party, and whose name was on Lamb's tongue in death. But for Talfourd's cardinal mistake of tampering with the text, we remain of opinion that he did his work judiciously, and that he and Procter together have given us a portrait of Lamb in which no feature of importance is wanting. To two specific charges Mr. Hazlitt brings against them we shall allude to by-and-by.

Talfourd's difficulties in 1837 were not confined to the necessity under which he found himself of suppressing all reference to the insanity of the Lambs and its consequences. Charles Lamb's letters contained mention of living persons in the writer's usual outspoken style. These letters, although it may safely be said that there is not a really ill-natured word in any one of them, had to be withheld from publication. It was especially so with reference to Wordsworth, friend alike of Lamb and his biographer, and Talfourd was no less under restraint in this respect when Mary Lamb's death enabled him to speak more reservedly of other matters. He seems accordingly to have consulted Lamb's friends as to the advisability of a further publication. If we are to accept a statement in "Crabb Robinson's Diary," there seems to have been some hesitation on this point.* Fortunately wiser counsels prevailed, and the Final Memorials were issued, explaining for the first time (with the exception of an account published a few months before in the *British Quarterly*) the episode of 1796. Still correspondence was held back† and allusions suppressed ; and still the same prudery was shown in docking Lamb's inelegant phraseology.

Some years previously Talfourd had edited a tolerably complete collection of Lamb's Prose and Poetry,‡ and with this and the two volumes of letters already referred to, his principal labours as an editor and biographer ceased. By additions and re-publications the form of these books were slightly altered, and finally all three were combined into one large octavo volume, published in 1859, which omitted only, of what had at that time been

* "Talfourd has doubted whether it is right to give publicity to these letters [the letters to Coleridge containing allusions to Mr. Lamb's death, and necessitating an explanation on the part of the editor]. I have given a strong affirmative opinion." H. Crabb Robinson's Diary.

† "Called on Talfourd" (Feb. 8th, 1848), "and gave him all those letters of Lamb to Wordsworth, &c., which I thought might, without giving offence, be printed." H. Crabb Robinson's Diary.

‡ "The Works of Charles Lamb : with Sketches of his Life." By T. N. Talfourd. 1 vol., portrait and frontispiece. 1840.

brought to light, "Mrs. Leicester's School," the "Tales from Shakspeare," and the "Adventures of Ulysses."

In 1864 Mr. J. E. Babson, of Chelsea, U.S., edited *Eliana*—a series of uncollected writings from various sources. This collection was soon after published in England, and is still in print, being now sold bound up with the two series of *Elian Essays*. Besides some letters in print elsewhere, and some before unpublished "*Eliana*," it contained about thirty essays and sketches rescued from the pages of various periodicals, of which several, such as "John Kemble and Godwin's Tragedy of Antonio," "Charles Lamb's Autobiography," "Elia on the Confessions of a Drunkard," and "The Character of late Elia, by a friend," (the preface to the "*Last Essays*" only consists of a portion of this) can only have been passed over by Talfourd through inadvertence.

Almost all about in *Elian* touches well worth preservation, but the four specified have a peculiar autobiographical value. Mr. Babson's diligence did not end here; he included in his collection—"The Pawnbroker's Daughter," a farce of greater intrinsic importance than the better known "Mr. H—," "The Adventures of Ulysses," and six tales, three of which composed Charles Lamb's contributions to his sister's early volume, "Mrs. Leicester's School."

In 1866-7 were published memoirs or monographs on Charles Lamb, by Percy Fitzgerald,* Barry Cornwall† (B. W. Procter), and Thomas Craddock.‡ Were not Barry Cornwall's delightful memoir too well known to need recommendation, it would be impossible to pass it by with a bare enumeration. Mr. Hazlitt, who (rightly) accuses Talfourd of "literary falsification, by which I mean the garbling of letters," imputes to Mr. Procter "moral falsification, by which I intend the distortion of biographical facts." Some items of this serious charge will be discussed later, but even admitting a ground for it, is such harsh language as this, which Mr. Hazlitt nowhere in any way palliates, due to a veteran author some ten years older than the century? Mr. Procter, let us admit, writing in his seventy-seventh year of a friend who died thirty years before, preferred, without having recourse to suppression or conscious misstatement, to place the beauties of that friend's character in a stronger light than its blemishes, allowed that Lamb drank to excess, but pleaded an excuse, and was not careful to tell us that he indulged in what would now be

* "Charles Lamb: His Friends, his Haunts, his Books." By Percy Fitzgerald. 1866.

† "Charles Lamb: a Memoir." By Barry Cornwall. 1866.

‡ "Charles Lamb." By Thomas Craddock. 1867.

considered an impolite licence of speech. Mr. Hazlitt thinks this a sufficient occasion to accuse him of "half-heartedness, egotism, effeminate prudery," and "a solicitude to exhibit the man in as elegant an aspect as might be, for fear the world should be scandalized at the notion of gentlemen of position associating on intimate terms with a person who quaffed porter out of a pewter pot, and interlarded his discourse with profane expressions." There is a vindictiveness about this (and the same tone is adopted again on p. 203) that outsteps the courtesy of a critic.

Mr. Craddock's Essay deserves more attention than it has received. Charles Lamb's literary style is so curious a blending of old and new that it almost eludes critical canons; the originality of his talent is, at all events, such as to make comparative criticism difficult. Mr. Craddock's comparisons are not ingenious only; more successfully than any previous criticisms they bring into prominence Lamb's chief literary characteristics, and the threads of his history discoverable in many books are well handled within a conveniently short compass. This essay, unnoticed, so far as we are aware, by the press, is for the present withdrawn from circulation.

In 1868 appeared the first instalment of Moxon's Edition of Lamb's Works in four volumes, and its publication was attended by an author and publisher quarrel to which, as it does not redound to the particular credit of anybody, it is only necessary to make brief allusion. In the *Athenæum* for November, 1867, *passim*, and in the preface to Mr. Hazlitt's "Charles and Mary Lamb," it will be found described at length. The publishers, stimulated probably by Mr. Babson's enterprise across the Atlantic, determined to issue a new edition of Lamb, containing everything worth printing that had been up to that date recovered, with the important emendation that all letters and other writings were to be derived where possible in their integrity from the original text. Mr. Carew Hazlitt was chosen as editor, but in course of time Mr. G. A. Sala succeeded to the office, and the first volume of the edition was advertised and appeared with a prefatory essay from Mr. Sala on the Life and Genius of Lamb. Of this essay the less said the better; it is not to be bought now, and is not worth buying.

A critic in the *Atlantic Monthly* has called it "a masterpiece of digressive skill and ingenuity."

Ultimately this introduction was withdrawn, and an article by Mr. Thomas Purnell, incorporating the recollections of "Isola" (Mrs. Moxon), Lamb's adopted daughter, took its place. Mr. Purnell, says the same critic, "prattles pleasantly of Elia, and has something like a right idea of his great and peculiar merits."

He does this, and something more; he makes the observation that Lamb, "although intellectually and politically on the other side, was essentially a Tory of the Tories in feeling." This one sentence not only embodies a truth as to Lamb's nature, but throws out the valuable suggestion that in the person of Lamb may be studied a Toryism very different from the same article adulterated by party ties and forms.

A note to this essay may be here quoted, because the episode therein narrated contains in miniature the life of Charles and Mary Lamb from their mother's death;—

"Emma Isola, during the whole period of her residence with the Lambs, was completely ignorant of the terrible event. One night Charles and Mary Lamb and herself were seated at table. The conversation turned on the elder Lamb, when Miss Isola asked why she never heard mention of the mother. Mary thereupon uttered a sharp, piercing cry, for which Charles playfully and laughingly rebuked her; but he made no allusion to the cause."

Mr. Purnell might have said that in that "sharp, piercing cry," and in Charles's laugh, breathed the spirit of their whole existence.

The four volumes, after such odd editorial handling, were finally completed in 1870. Mr. Hazlitt, who seems to have had as much share in their production as anybody, says:—"The original MSS. have been consulted in every case where access to them was feasible, and I am happy to be able to say that I know of very few exceptions."

The *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1871, contained a review of the new edition, by Mr. J. S. Babson, the critic already quoted, and the painstaking editor of "Elia." His verdict is plain: "Unquestionably this edition is a disgrace to its publishers, and an insult to the memory of Lamb." An old writing-master's copy used to say, "It is no great merit to spell well; it is a great defect to do it incorrectly."

After so long a delay peculiar facilities were open to the publishers for a new edition of Lamb, emending and re-constructing Talfourd's. Although it would have been no great merit for such an edition to be free from ordinary blemishes, it is sadly disappointing to find it marked by slovenliness and inaccuracy enough to provoke deservedly the strong criticism quoted above.

Independently of editorial mistakes such as the assertion by inference that Ainsworth wrote his "Guy Fawkes" when he was six years old, which a man of ordinary literary sagacity, not to say knowledge, would have avoided, we find some lines by Cary, the translator of Dante, attributed in an indistinct way to Lamb. Lamb's verses on his mother's death inserted twice over,

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and six or seven poems by Mary Lamb, in former editions, and on Lamb's own authority, always assigned to the sister, handed over to Charles. With blunders like these, of the first magnitude, amounting to twelve in all, before us, for the careful exposure of which we are much indebted to Mr. Babson, what can be said of that part of the work the accuracy of which is not so easily determined? To judge by what is apparent, there is no warrant that the part of the work less open to inspection has been performed carefully and satisfactorily; and there is at least an *à priori* probability that with more opportunities of comparison, more mistakes would be revealed, and we should be forced to say that an unfortunate combination of circumstances attending its birth had sufficed to ruin what should have been a final and complete edition of the works of Charles Lamb. These are reasons why such a standard edition should have taken a different shape to the one actually assumed, but these we shall defer till we have spoken of Mr. Hazlitt's book of the present year.

Moxon's four-volume edition reproduced, or professed to reproduce, Lamb's original text throughout. Talfourd's over-nice interpolations were weeded out; names inserted which in the lifetimes of the individuals referred to had been only indicated by initials, and sometimes by false initials; and whole letters, as well as essays and poems, were admitted which had been previously withheld or unknown. But the additions thus made were by no means as complete as ordinary diligence would have made them. At all events, if no blame in this respect attaches to either editor or publisher, it is singular that letters and miscellaneous fragments should have been omitted in sufficient numbers to call so soon for a volume of waifs and strays, gleanings after the gleaners, as Mr. Hazlitt calls his collection.* The enumeration of Mr. Hazlitt's services in this respect must unfortunately be accompanied by reference to his own strange inaccuracies. It is a pity to criticise harshly what is in many respects a valuable book, but the pity is greater that publishers could be found to undertake so faulty a compilation.

First in the collection stands what the editor has called "Lamb-Stoddart" correspondence. These letters from Mary Lamb to the future wife of Hazlitt, the critic, give us a more intimate view of the home-life of the Lambs before they obtained a competence, and a moderate share of fame, and of the character of Mary Lamb, than either Talfourd's or Barry Cornwall's memorials supply. They give what Mr. Hazlitt has happily

* "Charles and Mary Lamb: Poems, Letters, and Remains. Now first collected, with Reminiscences and Notes." By W. Carew Hazlitt. 1874.

called a Rembrandtish picture of the Lamb household, and especially of the habits of that most sterling and worthiest of old maids, Mary Lamb. Lamb's solicitude for his sister is pretty well known; her care for him, half indulgent, half restrictive, and withal full of tenderness and sympathy, shines here, delicately disguised as it was likely to be in the sister's own letters. The homeliness of the whole scene, even including the ill-spelling which Mr. Hazlitt religiously preserves, heightens its charm. On one occasion Mary Lamb writes:—"I have been busy making waiskoats, and plotting new work to succeed the Tales, as yet I have not hit upon anything to my mind." On an occasion when Miss Stoddart's brother seems to have been opposed to her marriage, Mary Lamb writes:—"We would not quarrel unnecessarily with your brother," but she adds with genuine warmth, "let there be a clear necessity shown, and we will quarrel with anybody's brother." And further on in the same letter: "Next to the pleasure of being married, is the pleasure of making or helping marriage forward." Elsewhere, in a letter mainly occupied with discussing whether as Miss Stoddart's bridesmaid Mary Lamb should wear the silk Manning had sent from China, or "the gown you sprigged for me," occurs a sentence equally characteristic and touching. "Having never had any presents from gentlemen in my young days, I highly prize all they now give me, thinking my latter days are better than my former." These few specimens will serve to show the peculiar interest of the Lamb-Stoddart letters, an interest which Mr. Hazlitt himself fully appreciates, for he has published the greater part of them twice before. Here, however, we are informed, "for the first time they are printed entire from the originals."

This series is followed by twenty-two "poems for children," by Mary Lamb, the reason for the publication of which is not obvious. In 1872 they were issued with ten others by the same author, and six by Charles Lamb, in a small volume still in print.* This section of the book ends with "Recollections of the Lambs," an article by Mrs. Cowden Clarke, reprinted from the *National Magazine*, and even better worth preserving than a paper from the same hand in a recent number of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. A section, entitled "New Illustrations of the Life and Character of Charles Lamb," occupies the next hundred pages, followed by ninety pages of "inedited remains," and two appendices.

These ninety pages probably afford a unique specimen of the

* "Poetry for Children, by Charles and Mary Lamb." Edited and prefaced by Richard Heene Shepherd. 1872.

carelessness of a modern editor. Nothing can exceed Mr. Hazlitt's severity on the failures of others, but with the sins of his predecessors before him he has fallen into worse himself. Only seven poems are given as inedited, and yet one, "The Christening," was collected and edited even by Talfourd. Four or five verbal discrepancies between the texts afford some excuse for reprinting it, but Mr. Hazlitt does not notice these, and himself makes an obvious misprint in the second line. As to the letters, a casual perusal shows that out of a total of something over forty, eleven appeared in what from the confusion of its editors we have preferred to call Moxon's Edition, and five others not only in this but in the earlier "Elia." Of these sixteen letters, fifteen are reprinted from the latest authoritative editions, without cause alleged or implied. The sixteenth is apparently inserted to give Mr. Hazlitt an opportunity of making the profound observation that he has been "assured that those only who were living fifty or sixty years ago, and who now half belong in spirit to the last generation, can form any adequate conception of the state of this country during the fifteen or twenty years which preceded the first Reform Bill." Besides the sixteen letters thus wrongly described as "inedited," a few, which are collected from various printed sources, serve to diminish in bulk what at first sight appears the very considerable fruits of Mr. Hazlitt's industry.

Our editor has, however, stumbled unawares upon a piece of intelligence that is worth something. In the Ollier edition of Lamb's works, the "two slight crown octavos," published in 1818, was printed "The Witch," there described as "a dramatic fragment of the seventeenth century." Mr. Hazlitt prints this poem without substantial variation in a letter to Southey, from which it appears that this fragment originally formed part of the tragedy of "John Woodvill," and was cut out perhaps when Lamb sent in his play a second time to Kemble, published separately at a later date. The personages in "The Witch" are an "old servant in the family of Sir Francis Fairford," and a stranger; these are represented in the original by Sandford and Margaret. In his "Life" Talfourd says:—"He seems also to have sent to Southey about this time the solemnly fantastic poem of 'The Witch,'" but has no inkling that it was at that time a fragment of "John Woodvill," and had yet to be transformed by the alteration of a phrase or two into a distinct poem, before it took a distinct title. Curiously enough, Mr. Hazlitt gives no hint of being aware of his discovery.

By way of concluding the "inedited remains," are printed "Recollections of a late Royal Academician." The recovery of this characteristic and interesting article from the pages of the

Englishman's Magazine was a feather in the cap of whoever was responsible for Moxon's Edition; it was one of the few papers of any value that escaped the editor of "Elia." Under these circumstances it is surprising to find it paraded afresh as a virgin product of Lamb's pen. A curious error, by which in Moxon's Edition the academician in question is described as *James* instead of *George Dawe*, is perpetuated in Mr. Hazlitt's volume; and this points to the conclusion that article and note alike are adopted from Moxon's Edition. Altogether this is one of the most singular collections of "inedited remains" that critic ever met with.

The second of Mr. Hazlitt's appendices comprises matter of some consequence—a series of letters from Charles Lamb to Thomas Allsop, covering a period from 1819, when the acquaintance began, to the year of Lamb's death. These letters or "notelets" rather, are reprinted from Harper's *New York Magazine*. Individually they are not significant of much, but collectively they stretch the growth of what seems to have been a cordial friendship between the two men,—genuine kindness on Mr. Allsop's side well appreciated by its recipient. Thomas Allsop was Coleridge's friend as well as Lamb's, and is better known as having published some reminiscences of him,* in which several pages are devoted to recollections of Lamb.

Thus far as Mr. Hazlitt's editorship, but from passages in his preface, and in the "New Illustrations of the Life and Character of Charles Lamb," he has claims to notice as a biographer. Where so much has been written in both a systematic and a desultory way towards a right understanding of the facts of Lamb's life and his literary history, it required some ingenuity to collect and arrange afresh such scattered material as was hitherto unappropriated. Mr. Hazlitt has acquitted himself with a certain amount of success, though the very ingenuity of some of his theories renders them "suspect." As early as on the fourth page of his "New Illustrations" he hazards a curious conjecture. In discussing Lamb's parentage he says:—"The truth seems to have been then, that Mr. Lamb (the elder) was a native of Lincoln, born in a lowly station—probably from a hint in *Elia*, a shepherd on the neighbouring hills." The hint referred to occurs in the essay on "Blakesmoor in H—shire." "And what if my ancestor at that date (two centuries back) was some *Damocetas* feeding flocks, not his own, upon the hills of Lincoln" If *Elia's* authority is to be accepted upon this point, why not accept it in its

* "Life and Letters of S. T. Coleridge." By Thomas Allsop. 1837.

† *Ibid.*

integrity, and deduce from this passage that some remote ancestor, not Mr. Lamb himself, was a Lincolnshire shepherd? And what, it may fairly be argued, is the probability that a Lincolnshire farm-labourer would on migrating to the town become a poet, and a benchers' clerk and factotum, solving knotty points of law for his master, as the *Elian* description of Mr. Lamb (the elder) runs? But if it is wanted, tolerably convincing evidence that the "*Damætus*" allusion is merely a play upon Lamb's patronymic, is supplied by his sonnet on "*The Family Name*."

"What reason first imposed thee, gentle name,
Name that my father bore, and his sire's sire,
Without reproach? We trace our stream no higher;
And I, a childless man, may end the same,
Perchance some shepherd on Lincolnian plains,
In manners guileless as his own sweet flocks,
Received thee first amid the merry mocks
And arch allusions of his fellow swains."

The point is not worth referring to at all, except as characteristic of Mr. Hazlitt's mood of wild hypothesis. James White, the author of the "*Falstaff Letters*," the Jem White of the essay on Chimney Sweeps, was an associate of Lamb's earliest days, of whom and of whose "*Letters*" we do not hear enough. That Lamb had a keen appreciation of his friend's peculiar humour, and lost no opportunity of recommending his book for favourable notice, is about the limit of our knowledge. Mr. Hazlitt, however, goes further, and raises the hypothesis that Lamb had a considerable share in the production of the "*Falstaff Letters*," and confirms it by producing an "inedited" letter from Mr. Gutch, Lamb's schoolfellow, to Dr. Bliss. This letter describes White, "*familiarly called 'Sir John,'*" as having personated Falstaff at a masquerade "*in a dress borrowed from the wardrobe of Covent Garden Theatre, through the kindness of Fawcett, the comedian.*" Some of the company present, "*with much ill-will, procured a rope, and held it across the room (at the Pantheon, in Oxford Street), and White was obliged to take a leap over the rope to escape being thrown down. The exertion he underwent by this interruption, added to the weight of his dress, injured his health for some days afterwards. We were at this time in the habit of meeting at the 'Feathers,' in Hand Court, Holborn, to drink nips of Burton ale, as they called it. One of our friends, who was particularly fond of the beverage, was called 'Nipperkin.'*" As to the Letters, Mr. Gutch says they "*were the production of my old schoolfellow, James White, with incidental hints and corrections by another schoolfellow, Charles Lamb.*" Advancing beyond this admission of "*hints and corrections,*" Mr. Hazlitt

suggests that Lamb imbibed his love of Shakspeare from his friend White. But far from this, we have Lamb's own statement that the reverse was the case. It is contained in a review of the Letters in the *Examiner* for September 5th, 1819, signed, as others of Lamb's contributions to that paper were, with four stars. Barry Cornwall mentions this review in his Memoir as having appeared after White's death, but the review itself seems to have escaped notice hitherto. Independently of the signature (* * * *), and Barry Cornwall's evidence, the internal evidence of style places its authorship beyond dispute. "We remember," says Lamb, "when the inspiration came upon him (White); when the plays of 'Henry the Fourth' were first put into his hands. We think at our recommendation he read them, rather late in life, though still he was but a youth. He may have forgotten, but we cannot, the pleasant evenings which ensued at the 'Boar's Head' (as we called our tavern, though in reality the sign was not that, nor the street Eastcheap, for that honoured place of resort has long since passed away) when over our pottle of sherris he would talk you nothing but pure *Falstaff* the long evening through. . . . Those evenings have long since passed away, and nothing comparable to them has come in their stead, or can come. 'We have heard the chimes at midnight.' " Pace Barry Cornwall, this review must have been written in White's lifetime, and this also agrees with a statement in Mr. Gutch's letter that he died in 1822. Such a statement as to the *Falstaff* plays, if made in White's lifetime, disposes pretty satisfactorily of Lamb's conjectured obligations to his friend.

Mr. Hazlitt's next theory, in which he finds an origin for the "Dissertation on Roast Pig" in an Italian poem entitled "The Praises of the Pig," a copy of which was in Lamb's possession, seems to amount to a genuine discovery; but an opportunity of judging between the parallel passages and expressions on which this decision is based, would have relieved the reader of the responsibility of taking Mr. Hazlitt's critical acumen on trust. Beyond the Roast Pig episode the current of Mr. Hazlitt's ingenuity slackens, and but for the interpretation of Lamb's Alice W——n as Alice Winn, transferred to this volume from the pages of *Macmillan*, there are no conjectures in the remaining pages to which we need allude.

As for Mr. Hazlitt's worst blunders, and his many remarks of doubtful propriety, it would be out of place here to correct or discuss them at length. Criticism of criticism is at best tedious, and that is essentially the case where the criticism in the first instance is wire-drawn. To do these "New Illustrations" brief justice, if that large proportion of the notes containing errors, complimentary remarks upon previous editors, and irrelevant allusions

to what has been rather summarily designated the "tribe Hazlitt," were omitted, and a few passages expunged from the text that are open to objection on the score of discourtesy and egotism, the illustrations might then be worth printing in the large-paper edition of which the publishers speak.

Allusion has already been made to Mr. Hazlitt's charge of misrepresentation against Lamb's previous biographers. His attack is made with a vehemence that makes it worth while indicating the line of defence that may be adopted on behalf of these authors, and especially on behalf of the veteran poet whose work is principally impugned. Talfourd's "literary falsification" deserves all rebuke; his other faults may find some excuse in the necessity laid upon him of exhibiting Lamb successively in two distinct aspects. Mr. Procter's "moral falsification" consists according to his critic in suppressing the fact that Lamb drank to excess, and habitually used the sort of language which Talfourd chose to alter or suppress. Another point raised by Mr. Hazlitt is the mental condition of Lamb during the months preceding his death. Mr. Procter says:—"It is not true that he was ever deranged, or subjected to any restraint, shortly before his death. There never was the least symptom of mental disturbance in him, after the time (1795-6) when he was placed for a few weeks in Hoxton Asylum, to allay a little nervous irritation." Mr. S. C. Hall makes a contrary assertion; but Mr. Purnell who, we may suppose, obtained his biographical facts from Mrs. Moxon, alludes to Mary's indisposition at this time, but not to Charles's. On the whole this is a question of facts, and we can conceive no reason why Mr. Procter should have willingly mistaken them. The other two points, however, may be twisted so as to affect, if not Lamb's morality, at least his gentility. Mr. Procter is to be blamed if he has concealed anything that makes against Lamb in these respects. It is open to every one to read Mr. Procter's Memoir, with a view of testing him in this matter; our own opinion is that as Lamb, more than most men, was distinguished for peculiar beauties of character, counterbalanced by singularly few blemishes, Mr. Procter is not chargeable with undue flattery, because in portraying his friend he has not dwelt upon failings which in a stranger's eyes would have levelled him to a mere pothouse wit. To any one who prefers Lamb, pewter in hand, unsteady in gait, uttering strange oaths, to Lamb, the gentlest-hearted, the bravest and most loving of men, Mr. Procter's advice is applicable, "It is wise, as well as modest, not to show too much eagerness to adjust the ideas of all other thinkers to the (sometimes low) level of our own." A complete picture of Lamb the Memoir does not profess to supply, that is best to be gained from his own

letters; and it is impossible to read many of these without learning the truth about the writer's habits of life and conversation.

On the matter of insobriety the letters are especially explicit; so much so that it is difficult to avoid suspecting Lamb of playfully overstating his own failings. Mr. Procter, in the very reasonable excuses he makes for his friend on this score, says:—"The truth is, that a small quantity of any strong liquid (wine, &c.) disturbed his speech." This plea, a slight one at best, Mr. Hazlitt undertakes to upset, asserting that Lamb's brain was not by any means abnormally susceptible to the influence of drink. The particular point is of little consequence, but it is worth remarking that Mr. Edmund Ollier, presumably on his father's authority, confirms Mr. Procter in this. That Lamb, as he himself expresses it, "kept a little on this side of abstemiousness," has for so long been made a subject of offensive observations that it is odd to see it paraded as a discovery. The *Quarterly's* assumption that Elia's "Confessions of a Drunkard" contains autobiographical truth, was one of Lamb's early troubles; and in a series of temperance tracts, entitled "Beacon Lights," in which the confessions are printed, they are described as "published anonymously many years ago, but now known to have been indited as a record of his own experiences by the celebrated Charles Lamb, whose sparkling wit," &c. The editor of these tracts subsequently withdrew this sentence, and with it Elia's Confessions, and "the experience" of poor Hartley Coleridge now takes their place, and is purchasable as a "beacon-light" at a shop in the Strand.

Reverting to the immediate subject of this article, it will be admitted that Lamb's writings, and more especially his fugitive productions and letters, have scarcely yet escaped from a state of chaos. Moxon's four-volume edition was a great step out of the prevailing disorder, but only a step after all. There remained scraps enough to supply Mr. Hazlitt with a fifth volume. That this production is unsatisfactory, whether it stands alone or as a supplement to the other four, has been already suggested: it would be easy, but tedious, to prove this at greater length. This being the case, the questions naturally occur, Is it not time for a new and final edition of Lamb's works—a finer tribute to his memory than any monument in Edmonton churchyard? If so, on what system shall it be arranged? and what shall it include?

The appearance so recently as the end of last year of a new batch of Lamb letters (those to Mr. Cowden Clarke) raises the doubt whether all are yet recovered. Until this question is closed with a reasonable amount of certainty, a final edition is not to

be thought of. With respect to letters, there are sources as yet unexplored where a search might prove successful. To indicate two of these, the note in Crabb Robinson's Diary already quoted ("Called on Talfourd, and gave him all those letters of Lamb to Wordsworth, &c., which I thought might without giving offence be printed") refers to letters held back. Have the letters to Wordsworth published for the first time in Moxon's four volumes exhausted this budget? Again, Mr. Forster in his "Life of Landor," quotes from two of Lamb's letters, both of them apparently characteristic enough of the writer to be well worth preserving. Are not these, and perhaps others from the same quarter, obtainable? A passage in Mr. Forster's article on Charles Lamb, in *Colburn's New Monthly* for 1835, runs thus:—

"His occasional criticisms in the *Examiner* should not be forgotten; they are exquisite, and will be recognised by any one acquainted with his style. It will startle some of his friends, perhaps, to be told that he has even done such a thing in years long past, as write a sort of poetical political libel for that distinguished journal."

The latter paragraph refers to a lampoon on the Prince of Wales, beginning, "Io! Pœan! Io! Sing!" printed in Moxon's Edition. Of the theatrical criticisms, are any yet unrecovered? The essay "On the Acting of Munden" appeared in the *Examiner*, and Leigh Hunt probably refers to it in his autobiography, when he says,—“I particularly erred with respect to comedians like Munden, whose superabundance of humour and expression I confounded with farce and buffoonery. Charles Lamb taught me better.” It is no small thing for a critic of Leigh Hunt's stamp to make such an acknowledgment: are there any of these criticisms, fragmentary or complete, as yet unrecovered?

The review of James White's "Falstaff Letters," from which we have quoted, should certainly appear in a note, if it has not calibre enough for the text. In connexion with this hero of the Chimney Sweep Essay may be mentioned a letter in the *Examiner* of May 12th, 1822, over the signature L. E., which, although other contributions of Lamb's to the same journal are signed * * * *, savours strongly of the genuine Elia. The previous number of the *Examiner* had contained an extract from the essay in question, and L. E. writes:—

"‘Reader,’ says Elia, ‘if thou meetest him it is good to give him a penny; it is better to give him twopence,’ and so indeed it is; but this relates to his extraforuneous treatment only; I would add, if the state of thy chimneys, or the landlord's rules, or remonstrances from the Phoenix, or the terror of thy spouse, or any other terrors, should render necessary the labours of one of these neglected scions, see that thou treat him kindly; thou canst not clothe him; humanity at that one entrance is quite shut out, but command the damsel who

presides over the destinies of thy kitchen, to take this little compendium of sufferings—this duodecimo of miseries, and regale him with the food which thy happier children have left untasted, that his powers may be recruited, and that the demon of disease may not take up his residence in that inviting habitation—an empty stomach.”

Elsewhere in the same letter Elia is referred to by the pronoun *he*, and to this is appended a note, “it may be *she*, *n’importe*,” a French expression which Lamb has used. The last argument may be weak, but from similarity of style is very strong.

Of one poem only by Lamb we have the title and nothing more, “Prince Dorus, the Long-nosed King,” a ballad alluded to by Crabb Robinson as irretrievably lost. “The Poetry for Children” by the author of “Mrs. Leicester’s School,” by Godwin, in 1809, contained pieces by both brother and sister; of these a selection only were included in later editions. So that a few of these juvenile poems, though probably none of any consequence, remain uncollected.

A more important matter is Lamb’s review of “The Excursion,” in the *Quarterly*, which has been hitherto with the general consent of editors omitted, perhaps not altogether wisely. Lamb, in telling Wordsworth of the merciless havoc committed by Gifford’s pen and scissors, writes:—“The language he has altered throughout. Whatever inadequateness it had to its subject, it was in point of composition the prettiest piece of prose I ever writ, and so my sister (to whom alone I read the MS.) said. That charm, if it had any, is all gone,” with much even more strongly worded. But the article, as it stands, certainly suggests the original groundwork of this piece of composition. It must be remembered that this was Lamb’s first review, on which, for Wordsworth’s sake and his own, and because it was sent like an embassy into an enemy’s country, the author doubtless expended infinite pains. As a monument of Gifford’s botching, it might be appended in a note to the letters which refer to it.

As regards arrangement of material, the greatest possible divergence exists between Talfourd’s and Moxon’s editions. Talfourd’s is divided into two narratives, each intended to be self-contained, the former excluding all allusions to the insanity of the Lambs, the latter overweighted in the early chapters with the mention of it. In each case Talfourd’s text and Lamb’s letters are interwoven so as to form continuous histories. Even could these two narratives be combined, or the letters pieced together with a fresh text, such an arrangement would not suit present requirements, and the editors of Moxon’s Edition have printed the bare correspondence under the headings of “Letters to Coleridge,” “Letters to Southey,” &c., all that were not

addressed to Lamb's principal friends being included in a chapter of miscellaneous correspondence. This method and Talfourd's have their several advantages, but Talfourd's has the fewest. As to anything in the shape of disquisition or biography a strong word may be said for their entire exclusion from an edition of the works. The main facts of Lamb's life are widely known and are becoming more so through the best and most natural channels—those already indicated. We do not want any old or new arrangement of them, or any old or new preface on Lamb's genius. Moxon's adoption of Mr. Purnell's essay as preface, and Mr. Procter's memoir as appendix, is a case of literary hotch-potch that admits of no defence. Mr. Procter's memoir and Talfourd's letterpress re-edited might be printed as uniform and companion volumes, and such good essays as are extant or worth reprinting would actually or practically form numbers of a Lamb series.

Anecdotes or reminiscences scattered over a variety of sources might be worked into a supplementary narrative, or strung together by way of appendix. Mr. Cowden Clarke's two recent articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine* should certainly be included in such a collection, Mary Lamb's memory having suffered great and unmerited neglect. Mary Lamb was as true a partner of her brother's life as was Dorothy Wordsworth of the late poet's, and in the former case there was a fuller correspondence of intellect and literary ability.

But there is more than a literary reason for combining the works of the Lambs under one title. They were never ashamed of their partnership in life. Elia and Bridget Elia made up but one whole between them, and a more fitting recognition of this most touching interdependence of brother and sister cannot be found than the combined publication of the literary remains of both. Such an edition would contain all Mary Lamb's tales and poems, the Lamb-Stoddart correspondence to which Mr. Hazlitt has introduced us, and such others of Mary Lamb's letters as may be recoverable. We are not aware of any systematic attempt to collect these letters; but it would well repay an editor's trouble, and he will deserve well not only of the literary world who in this way produces a complete and altogether worthy edition of "The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb."

Such a title might have barbed one of Gifford's brutalities; but brother and sister are beyond being hurt by the critics, even could one be found to call Charles a "poor maniac," and Mary perhaps by a harsher name. At all events such a posthumous tribute to the common pursuits and common sympathies of this pair, knit together by love, rarer and perhaps more wonderful than that of husband and wife, would have met Charles's wish.

For forty years he lived for her, and in view of the final separation he used to say, "Mary, you must die first." They lie in one grave. Death has not parted their memories; it need not divide their literary fame.

ART. VI.—INDIAN PUBLIC WORKS: THE NON-RESPONSIBILITY OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

1. *Return of Cases in which the Expenditure on Public Works in India has been considerably in excess of the Original Estimates during the years from 1863 to 1873; and Copy of any Despatches from the India Office calling the attention of the Government of India to the same.*
2. *Copy of a Paper entitled "Observations on some questions of Indian Finance." By Sir JOHN STRACHEY, K.C.S.I.*

TWO important papers on Indian affairs have recently been laid before Parliament: (1) "A return of cases in which the expenditure on Public Works in India has been considerably in excess of the original estimates;" and (2) "Observations on some questions of Indian finance, by Sir John Strachey, K.C.S.I." The latter is a valuable record of the opinions of an experienced public servant, who has filled some of the highest posts in India, and it affords information which ought to be most useful to those at home desirous of advancing, and able to advance, the real interests of England's great dependency. There may be found in the memo a few traces of official optimism, and it seems scarcely fair to some of India's best governors to admit that in 1857, "the whole paraphernalia of a great civilized administration, according to the modern ideas of what that means, had to be provided," for a very large portion was assuredly there. Under the civil administration of such men as Lord Dalhousie, Mounstuart Elphinstone, and Sir Thomas Munro, many of the most important changes required had been effected; principles had been discussed and laid down; new systems had been introduced; and administrative agency had been created to an extent which left to succeeding Governments the comparatively easy task of perfecting measures possessing the great merit of original true conception, and firm execution. It will be well for India, and for England, if the principles on which these statesmen acted are at

least well considered in carrying out the "modern improvements" now advocated from all quarters. Too many influential and sincere advocates of improvement, who correctly believe some change to be desirable, are but partially aware of what has gone before, and are, therefore, not alive to the extreme difficulty and danger which must often be faced.

It is now very generally stated that the future of India, as a British dependency, mainly rests on the efficient working of the Public Works Department, the very unsatisfactory state of which has been brought prominently before the English public by Lord Salisbury's proposal to place in the Viceroy's Council one member specially charged with the control of this important department. Much opposition has been offered to a measure in itself very simple, and of obvious utility, though whether it is sufficient for the purpose stated is another question, which will be presently considered. The measure was discussed in Parliament in a manner calculated to convey to the general public little more than the impression that there has been great failure in the design and execution of Indian Public Works, and that it is intended to rectify this by some new system of control.

Whatever may be gained by the appointment of a Minister of Public Works, there must always remain much with which any such minister can only very partially deal, and exactly here lies the evil to which more than to anything else are attributable failures continually increasing in magnitude and cost, and threatening fatal consequences in a future, which is to see expenditure on a scale hitherto unknown. In the Indian Public Works Department responsibility has been defined, assigned, and paid for excessively, but it has not been properly enforced. If rules and regulations defining responsibility were alone sufficient, the department would long ago have been a nearly perfect machine, instead of the unsatisfactory creation which is said to puzzle everybody how to deal with it, and is now described as India's greatest danger.

The opposition with which the Secretary of State for India has been met, and the reasons assigned for this opposition, are to some extent instructive, inasmuch as they afford convincing proof of the existence of the evil, the vigorous repression of which seems at least probable under the administration of Lord Salisbury who, when in office in 1866, more than once denounced it. Just before the discussion of the Indian Councils Bill in the House of Commons, there appeared in *The Times* a letter from Lord Napier and Ettrick, formerly Governor of Madras, deprecating the measure, and declaring that "improvement must be expected from increased experience, and the better education of officers." Lord Napier traced "the course of an Indian public work from

its inception to its maturity," and then described certain "sources of danger," one of them being that "in the process of execution the contingencies of human infirmity continue in an aggravated form." These contingencies Lord Napier did not further explain, but they were subsequently very remarkably illustrated when the Under Secretary for India read in the House of Commons (July 29) extracts from correspondence between the Secretary for India and the Madras Government, regarding the failure of an important work (the Madras Waterworks), excused by the Madras Government on the allegation that there had been "no one whose special duty it was" to examine the project. On being told by the Duke of Argyll, that which was beyond reasonable doubt or question, that the special duty had devolved "not on one person only, but on a whole series of authorities," the Madras Government replied that the responsibility being individual and collective, had not devolved specially on any one; and no one was made responsible. Here is the system, as described by the Madras Government, the reform of which Lord Napier would leave to "increased experience." Lord Salisbury thought otherwise; he thought the experience already gained more than sufficient. "It was to abolish the system (said the Under Secretary) that the Secretary of State had brought in the Bill," and it may well be asked how such a system can have been so long tolerated. It will be seen further on, how on another occasion, the Duke of Argyll refused "to press with special severity" on a subordinate Madras engineer officer, shown to have been culpably negligent, on the ground, expressly stated, that it appeared to be not so much the subordinate as the system that was to be blamed. For such a system, added the Duke, no condemnation can be too severe. Lord Napier desires further experience of this system, but strongly advocates increased decentralization of authority in India, on the ground that "Local Governments would be gratified, and would be impressed with a better sense of responsibility;" but if anything can throw doubt on the utility of further decentralization, it is to be found in such proceedings as those of the Madras Government, in describing which, the Under Secretary for India referred quietly but significantly to the obvious impropriety of a transfer to the public press of criticisms which could and ought to have been made in the House of Lords, when the Bill was discussed there, and when Lord Salisbury was in his place to reply to them.

The debate (29th July) in the House of Commons was unsatisfactory and misleading. It was well remarked by *The Times* that the debate had "wandered into a barren examination of the relations between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State,

in or out of Council," and that the judgment of most Englishmen upon the debate would be one of "profound dissatisfaction." The Under Secretary did, however, allude to the matter underlying the whole Public Works difficulty, for when deprecating Mr. Fawcett's opposition to the Bill, he reminded him of his previous concurrence in the opinion of a former Chief Commissioner of Works, Mr. Ayrton, that "each man in his own sphere should be definitely responsible, and it should not be like the game of 'Hunt the Slipper,' in which the responsibility was shifted about so that no one could find it." Here was the real issue; it seems probable that had this been clearly stated at first, the discussion would have taken a more useful turn. It is true that very full information was to be found in the correspondence which had been placed on the table of either House, but no sufficient attention seems, judging from the speeches, to have been paid to this correspondence, and it seems fortunate that Lord Napier had taken the unusual course of discussing the matter in the columns of *The Times*, for to his having done so was probably due much that was opportunely said by the Under Secretary, whose speech was supplemented by one from Sir S. Fitzgerald, lately Governor of Bombay, intended to defend his own proceedings, but having the effect of directing public attention to one of the worst cases shown to have occurred in the Public Works Department. Referring to this case, Mr. Grant Duff, who having been Under Secretary for India during the whole of Mr. Gladstone's administration, was presumably well informed in the matter, told Sir S. Fitzgerald that either he or his predecessor, Sir B. Frere, had "very grievously misapplied public money." It is remarkable, however, that Mr. Grant Duff made this plain statement only after he had, (to use his own words) "endeavoured to build a bridge over which the honourable gentleman might retreat," and after the use of the bridge had been declined.

The Times has truly said that the judgment to be formed on the India Councils Bill must "depend entirely on the spirit in which it is worked." No explicit information whatever on this all important point was elicited in Parliament, although full discussion would have strengthened the hands of the Secretary for India, on whose watchful firmness so much must depend. How the Indian authorities have endeavoured, and have been allowed, to explain away all individual responsibility, the published papers sufficiently show. It has not been merely the game of "Hunt the Slipper," as described by Mr. Ayrton; the Madras Government in 1872 went the length of declaring that individual responsibility had no existence. In some of the most objectionable and costly cases, the Local Governments are shown to have been clearly and ex-

clusively responsible, and their proceedings are only less remarkable than the subsequent inaction of the Secretary of State. Under such a system as this one may be without any great difficulty realized the expressed fears of the "distinguished civil servant," referred to in Lord Salisbury's speech at Cooper's Hill, that each of the men educated there would cost a million to India.

It has been specially pointed out by the Commons Select Committee on Indian Finance, that "even the appearance of neglect may be misunderstood and magnified by the natives of India, some of whom take the most intense interest in the minutest details of the policy adopted by this country towards its Indian possessions." Is it credible that thousands and thousands of these natives are blind to the defective system tolerated until it becomes almost a national scandal, or are unable to draw a bitter contrast between the treatment of native subordinates held responsible and punished for faults committed, and the manner in which great cases have been treated?

Sir H. Maine, in 1867, when he was a member of the Government of India, described in the following terms one of the weakest parts of the financial system then existing:—

"I do not think that anybody can have observed the recent working of our system of financial control without coming to the conclusion that if we be not on the point of an inevitable collapse, it is at all events in great danger of going to pieces unless the strain be lightened somewhere. The rules imposed on the Local Governments depend for their force, like all laws, on the efficacy of the penalty which they threaten in the event of disobedience. The penalty is in the present case a reproof from the Government of India. But if any Local Government has become, which any Local Government might become at any day, callous to the rebukes of the Government of India, through discovering, which any Local Government may at any time discover, that these rebukes lead to no ulterior consequences, what impediment remains to the employment of one or more of the hundred expedients by which the Central Government may be morally compelled to condone infractions of its rules, and to allow the share of its revenues which it has allotted to a particular purpose to be exceeded?"

So it was in and before 1867, and so it has continued up to the present time. Does this, illustrated by the proceedings described in the correspondence now published, point to decentralization as the one and sufficient remedy, or does it lead to an irresistible belief that unless responsibility be made a reality on both sides, reward and punishment, decentralization and improvement, may not be found convertible terms?

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Fairly to apportion and strictly to enforce individual responsibility can be nowhere more necessary than in a great department in which, as in that of Indian Public Works, operations are carried on over an enormous area, and are dependent for success, in many of the most important cases, upon the efficient co-operation of two very distinct branches of the public service. This has been referred to by Sir A. Cotton in a letter to *The Times* which deserves attention, although his view of the irrigation question is one-sided and incomplete, while his assertions regarding existing mismanagement are not supported by any proof. If Sir A. Cotton is correct, some of the largest irrigation works constructed in the Madras Presidency have remained uselessly expensive burdens, owing to the conduct of the revenue authorities. Referring to these works, Sir A. Cotton writes that the Public Works Department "has perfectly succeeded in its part of the operation, and the Civil authorities have totally failed in theirs;" that in localities where millions have been expended, all results are lost owing to such mismanagement; that "the details of every work in Madras are settled by officers who have no knowledge of the localities;" that the engineers, aware of this, are powerless to interfere, and are, when they attempt to do so, "treated with utter contempt;" and that in two named localities the mismanagement has been such as to "prevent the cultivators from using the water." It seems probable that the question really at issue between Sir A. Cotton and the Civil authorities has been that of a compulsory water rate. This question is referred to at some length by Sir John Strachey (pages 32 to 35 of memo), a strenuous advocate of compulsion, and is one which may well occupy the early consideration of the new minister, who ought to be able to reduce it to a form in which the Secretary for India can safely pass a decision. Lord Mayo is shown to have strongly insisted on the necessity of irrigation works as, and *only* as, reproductive operations. Money spent on Indian irrigation works, really reproductive, must be well spent, but under the pernicious system which has prevailed, costly irrigation works have been sanctioned on culpably incorrect statements, which would never have been hazarded had it been generally known and felt that responsibility for those statements would be enforced, and that enforcement meant something far more inconvenient and serious than censure leading to no ulterior consequences. Sir A. Cotton describes a case in which a young officer, who had never seen an irrigation reservoir, was directed to prepare plans for an enormous work of this description. Here, of course, everything was left to depend on the control exercised by the numerous authorities through whose hands the plans must pass. On this point Sir A. Cotton is silent, nor does he say

whether the work succeeded or failed. If the young officer be the gentleman whose name will be found by-and-by mentioned in connexion with the Chembrumbaukum Tank, error in appointing an officer known to be in some respects unqualified, was followed by the far greater one of failing properly to scrutinize his proceedings.

What has been the system at length made public by Lord Salisbury, and what are the main difficulties with which the Minister of Public Works will have to deal, may be fairly understood from the correspondence which has been published. It is proposed here to analyse this correspondence, and to place before the reader a succinct statement of each of the cases to which it refers.

The Lawrence Asylum.—The Madras Government proposed this work in 1863-4, at a probable cost of 18,000*l.*, and commenced it without plans or estimates, which were *six times* called for by the Government of India, and were, when at last (1867) received, found to amount to more than five times the sum originally named, it being at the same time stated that 13,000*l.* had already been expended on "preliminary work." The Secretary of State, Lord Cranborne, in 1867, censured the Madras Government for having, "in total disregard of the most familiar rules of the Public Works Department, incurred an expenditure greater than any Local Government could sanction, on mere preparations for a further and much greater expenditure, which made the work one beyond the sanctioning power of even the Government of India." Lord Cranborne declined to consent to this excessive expenditure, and ordered the substitution of a less expensive project. His peremptory order produced a revised estimate which, together with the expenditure already incurred on preliminary work, the Government of India sanctioned. The whole sum thus sanctioned was 52,000*l.*, but the sanction was so much waste paper, for in the following year (1870) the Madras Government showed an expenditure of 83,000*l.*; stated that this would not nearly suffice; and forwarded a new estimate amounting to 118,000*l.* The Government of India refused sanction to this estimate, and stopped the works. Here as regards expenditure the published correspondence ends.

With these facts before him the Duke of Argyll wrote to the Government of India that he could not understand their having so long delayed "authoritative interposition" in regard to proceedings justly described by themselves as "characterized from the beginning by a disregard of the rules laid down," and that the long delay became more surprising, bearing in mind that "the extravagant expenditure" had been blamed by Lord Cranborne when it was not "too late to enforce some regard for

economy on the Madras Government," but that the time for that had been allowed to pass, leaving no other "alternative but to acquiesce in the misemployment of public money so unaccountably permitted." The Government of India had passed "special censure" on two of the Engineer Officers, and had blamed the architect, but the Duke of Argyll, referring to this, wrote: "without desiring to screen these gentlemen from any censure which they may merit, I must nevertheless observe, that of the entire responsibility for the great irregularities under notice, it is comparatively only a very small portion that, in my opinion, justly attaches to them."

The Government of India replied (September, 1871) that their repeated representations had been disregarded by the Madras Government; that the well-known rules existing had been similarly treated; that had further rules and orders been possible, they would probably have fared no better; that under these circumstances, there had been open but two courses, (1) to stop the works, or (2) to "call attention" to their reiterated orders; and that the latter course had been followed, "with what success has been shown above." The meaning of this last remark may well be matter of speculation, for taken in its ordinary sense it was a bitter satire on their own proceedings, remarkable certainly for nothing more than for entire want of success. Almost the only order obeyed was that of Lord Cranborne, who insisted on and obtained a cheaper plan and reduced estimates, but even here obedience was but nominal, for the Madras Government, instead of adhering to these estimates, exceeded them by 31,000*l.*, and when found to have done so, proposed to spend 36,000*l.* more.

In this case the Government of India would not order stoppage of the works, on the alleged ground that such stoppage would have caused pecuniary loss. It is not intelligible why this difficulty could not have been faced at the outset, as it was at last, in the seventh year of the irregularities, when the work was stopped, nor is it credible that any loss caused by early stoppage could have been more than a fraction of the excessive expenditure which such stoppage would have prevented; but be this as it may, what can be said in extenuation of the course adopted, and alleged to be the only alternative? Periodically recurring censure must simply tend to demoralize the public service by proclaiming practical immunity from any ulterior consequences. The utter inefficacy of such censure was in the present case rendered absurdly evident by the fact that at each successive stage of the proceedings, the evil denounced and censured presented itself to the Government of India in an increasingly aggravated form. By the very simple method of threatening, and if necessary enforcing the suspension of the governor, at an early stage of the

proceedings, the public interests could have been protected, and the Madras Government would have been prevented from placing, and during seven years keeping, the Government of India in the dilemma described in their justificatory despatch of the 14th September, 1871.

Government House near the City of Poona.—The Bombay Government in 1865-6 proposed this work at a probable cost of 35,000*l.*, and this sum was granted by the Government of India "on the express instructions" that the amount should not be exceeded. Two years later the Bombay Government forwarded estimates amounting to 96,000*l.*, and in doing so told the Government of India that "the work had already progressed too far to render any stoppage possible, with a view to any material revision of the design." The Government of India "severely animadverted upon" these proceedings, and at once reported them to the Secretary of State, but would not order any stoppage of the works "in consequence of the inconvenience which would have been occasioned to the Governor of Bombay." The Secretary of State, Sir S. Northcote, then expressed to the Bombay Government (March, 1868) his "entire concurrence" in the censure passed by the Government of India, and his regret that the control over the expenditure of public money, by law imposed upon that government, should have been "practically set at naught." This censure had merely the effect of bringing into stronger relief the determination of the Bombay Government to set all control at naught, for work called "subsidiary" went on without sanction until the expenditure had risen to 155,000*l.*, and then it was stated that the account would be closed, but this closing did not put an end to the expenditure, for more money was spent on more subsidiary work, and was carried to a separate account in defiance of the express order of the Government of India that this should not be done. And while this expenditure on a house close to Poona was taking place, more than 10,000*l.* was being spent on alterations and additions to the Council House in Poona.

At this stage the case came again before the Secretary of State, and again censure was inflicted; "the grave displeasure" of Her Majesty's Government was conveyed by the Duke of Argyll, who at the same time required "a more detailed report upon the causes which have rendered possible such a long continued course of extravagance," and here the published correspondence ends. No further report can, however, be required to show that the long continued course of extravagance was possible only through defiance of authority, and disregard to rules on the part of the Bombay Government. Sanction to the work was obtained on the express condition that it should cost 35,000*l.*, and

no more. This condition was forthwith violated; the work was, without any sanctioned plan or estimate, commenced on an improper scale, and allowed to go on, without any intimation whatever to the sanctioning authority, until the Local Government was in a position to say that matters had progressed so far as to render any modified plan impossible. The expenditure in this manner of 95,000*l.* brought upon the Bombay Government severe censure proved to be useless by the fact that "a similar course was subsequently pursued," and a further expenditure of 60,000*l.* incurred. Then completion was reported, though there was no completion, but more expenditure, and to keep this out of sight it was brought to account in a manner expressly prohibited.

What could have checked, or what can ever check, such proceedings? Certainly nothing else but "authoritative interposition," which was never exercised, but which would assuredly have been exercised by more than one former Governor-General, under whose rule such defiance of authority would, it was well known, not have been tolerated, and was therefore never attempted. Lord Dalhousie would have removed, or effected the removal, of any subordinate long before such a continued course of extravagance could have been carried out.

The High Court of Calcutta.—It was decided, in 1864, by the Government of India and the Secretary of State, that for this building an expenditure of 160,000*l.* was "amply sufficient," and "should be regarded as a maximum not to be exceeded under any circumstances." 177,000*l.* were, however, expended, and in 1869 the Duke of Argyll expressed his regret that the first-named amount should have been "so greatly exceeded."

The Madras Waterworks.—This project, for supplying the city of Madras with water, and for irrigating a tract of country near Madras, was brought forward in 1866, at an estimated cost of 61,000*l.*, and it was stated that the irrigation returns alone would yield more than eleven per cent. on the outlay. In 1871, however, the Government of India found that the estimate was being exceeded, and it was then stated by the Madras Government that the work would cost 122,000*l.*, and that the irrigation return would not be much more than one-third of the amount originally given. It was explained that much work essential to the efficiency of the project had been in the first instance omitted, and that the extent of irrigable land had been erroneously calculated. These errors were acknowledged by the Madras Government to "reflect more or less discredit on all who were concerned," and at this stage the proceedings came before the Secretary of State, who considered the "larger share of blame" to belong to the Collector of the district, who had

simply taken every acre of unoccupied assessed land, and had, without further inquiry, set down as irrigable land which the water could never reach, and land which, however watered, could be worth little or nothing. 15,000 acres had thus been represented as irrigable, the real extent, ascertained by the Collector's successor, being only 4000 acres. The Duke of Argyll inquired how the Madras Government had treated this "culpable negligence."

Here something more than mere censure was indicated, but the effect of the inquiry was the almost incredible one of removing censure from everybody. The reply from the Government of India was: "Your Grace will perceive from these papers that Mr. Thornhill, the Collector of the District, as well as Mr. Fraser, the Executive Engineer, have both been exonerated from blame in the matter, the Madras Government taking on itself the responsibility of the error in having omitted to verify the calculations of the latter officer." A further statement by the Madras Government was that there had been "no one whose special duty it was to examine completely the general bearings" of such a work, and to insure the receipt and consideration of "all requisite information." The Secretary of State considered this to be a "singular statement," and inquired what had become of the whole set of responsible officers—Executive, Superintending, and Chief Engineers, Secretary to Government, and the Members of Government.

The extraordinary reply of the Madras Government was: "To say that a particular duty devolved upon a whole series of authorities, including all the members of Government, individually and collectively, is to say that it did not devolve specially on any one of those authorities, and this is all that the Government of Madras intended to affirm." This statement was followed by a proposal to increase the public expenditure by the creation of "a Chief Engineer of Irrigation," and thus to add another to the series of authorities.

At this point the published correspondence closes, showing flagrant neglect of duty, clearly brought home, to have been expressly exonerated from blame, on a statement by the Madras Government which, if it means anything, means that where there may exist a whole series of authorities, no one of them can be responsible for any error or neglect of which he may be guilty. It is not easy to conjecture what can be expected from a Minister of Public Works in a case such as this one. Putting aside the quibble of "special" devolution, it is clear that on the Collector and Engineer did devolve duties which were neglected, and that the work passed (to use Lord Napier's words) "from its inception to its maturity" without the discovery of this neglect.

In this state it went to Calcutta, where the means of discovery did not exist, and must be equally wanting to the new Minister of Public Works, who may certainly refuse to accept in its meaningless absurdity such an explanation as that which was allowed to pass; but his power can scarcely go further, for further measures must necessarily depend, just as they did here, on the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

Moota Valley Irrigation Works.—In or about 1869, the Bombay Government proposed, and obtained sanction, to these works, at an estimated outlay of 300,000*l.*, "on which nett annual returns equal to nearly ten per cent. were confidently promised." Two years later, however, the Secretary of State was told that 200,000*l.* more would be required; that without this additional expenditure the money already spent would have been thrown away; and that "many years must elapse" before the confidently promised returns could be fully realized. It was explained that there had been, in the first instance, oversight in calculating the quantity of masonry work required, and error in calculating the compensation to be paid for land.

For the first error the Secretary of State declared "no apology admissible," one of the chief purposes of estimates being to guard against such oversight. Later on, however, the Engineers were held blameless, on a statement "that great pains had been taken to ascertain the nature of the rock on which the dam was to be founded." The second error—valuing the land at "not much more than half the proper amount," the difference being about 20,000*l.*—was pronounced "unaccountable," and there the matter was apparently allowed to rest, no attempt being made to hold any one responsible.

The Secretary of State pointed out that such proceedings were calculated to lead to "very serious financial embarrassment;" and that recent experience with regard to many large irrigation works in various parts of India had shown how carelessly estimates were often prepared, and how additional care was required, even more in respect to estimates of revenue than to those of expenditure. "It is disheartening enough (wrote the Duke of Argyll) to find a work which had been begun in the belief that its cost would be only 30 lacs, costing more nearly 50 lacs by the time it is finished; but still more disappointing will it be to see the work, when completed, remaining for years unremunerative, because the cultivators, for whose benefit it has been designed, require to be gradually habituated, and as it were coaxed, to avail themselves of the water which they had been previously represented as most eager to use, and quite willing to pay for."

These remarks were communicated to subordinate authorities

as a "cautionary circular" by the Government of India, who, however, endeavoured (January, 1873) to convince the Secretary of State that the estimates of the Public Works Department had not been, as a rule, unreliable; and sent, in support of this opinion, a return for one year (1871-2) of the principal public works completed, showing an average excess of only two per cent. over the estimates. The Duke of Argyll was, however, anything but convinced; he pointed out that whatever the value of the return might be, his remarks regarding incorrect estimates of revenue derivable from irrigation works had not been at all met. The real value of the return has now been placed beyond doubt by Lord Salisbury, for the statement prepared by his order, and afterwards published, shows that during the ten years from 1862 to 1872 estimates were, in 291 cases, considerably exceeded, the average excess being more than fifty, instead of two per cent. In regard to one Bombay work shown in Lord Salisbury's return explanation would be interesting. On the Moody Bay Reclamations, estimated to cost 145,000*l.*, the sum of 459,000*l.* has been expended.

In this Moota Valley case, again, it is difficult to understand how the main errors committed could have been prevented by a Minister of Public Works, who must, in the first instance, have accepted the erroneous land valuation, although he certainly might not have been disposed, when the error at last came before him, to pass it over as "unaccountable." But neither the Government of India nor the Secretary of State were bound thus to pass it over. Again, in respect to the use of the water, everything depended on local inquiry which, accepted as it was by all the intermediate authorities, could hardly have been questioned by a minister at Calcutta.

Enlarging the Chembrumbaukum Tank.—This project was submitted by the Madras Government in 1867, at an estimated cost of 35,000*l.*; and it was stated that the annual return on this expenditure would not be less than nine, and probably as much as twenty per cent. The project was, wrote the Secretary of State in December, 1872, submitted "with all the parade of detailed elaboration, and of no less than twenty-three sheets of plans; and was, after an interval of three or four years, abandoned on account of its containing inherent defects that would inevitably cause the result of its continued prosecution to be, instead of high profit, heavy loss; yet, not abandoned without more than 11,000*l.* being expended subsequently to the detection of these glaring and fatal defects."

The defects were, (1) that no increased supply of water could be possible, as the only drainage basin available had not, during a long series of years, furnished water enough to fill the existing

tank, already, therefore, more than sufficiently large to hold all the water under any circumstances obtainable; and, (2) that even had it been possible to obtain more water, and fill the tank to the level proposed, the cost of doing so would have been at least double that stated, as land of the value of 35,000*l.*, not included in the estimate, must have been entirely submerged, and, therefore, paid for.

For these errors no one was made responsible, although there was clear proof of the culpable negligence owing to which that which did not exist, and the non-existence of which was easily ascertainable, had been stated as an ascertained fact, and had been accepted as such by intermediate authorities specially bound to require and examine the data which, so examined, must have been at once, as they were afterwards, rejected. When at last this was done, money continued to be thrown away, and even this was passed over without an attempt to fix the responsibility. Everything was thrown on the "system." The Duke of Argyll wrote (December, 1872):—

"I have no desire to press with special severity on Mr. Fraser; the proceedings of his under review are spoken of by the chief adviser on irrigation matters of the Madras Government, in terms rather of commendation than otherwise, and have not been visited with one word of censure by either that Government or the Government of India; presumably, then, they were characterized by no greater remissness than any officer of the Department might be guilty of, without thereby forfeiting his claim to have acquitted himself fairly well. It is apparently not so much himself, as the system that was to be blamed; but if so, no condemnation can be too severe for such a system."

The Duke went on to point out that the case was no exceptional one, as he had been called upon within a few months to censure similar heedlessness in connexion with three important irrigation projects, of which one had already proved, and the other two threatened to prove, and long to continue, signal financial failures; though in each of the three cases confident promises of signal financial success had been at first held out. "There must plainly be (said the Duke) something radically wrong in a system under which such results are of such frequent occurrence, and I must desire your Excellency's Government to give to the subject your immediate and most serious attention, with the view to the application of a proportionate radical remedy."

The reply of the Government of India was to the effect (February, 1873), that they would at once "circulate" the Duke's observations; that the subject had already engaged their attention "very largely;" that the greatest care would be in future

observed; that "a long period of slow growth of revenue from irrigation works could not be avoided" in the absence of the legal power to enforce a compulsory water rate which Lord Mayo's Government had anxiously desired; that no change of system in the submission and sanctioning of projects seemed called for; that it would be a mistake to impair the primary responsibility of the local Governments for the correctness of estimates; that "mistakes in carrying out a long series of operations must occur;" and that the Government of India could do no more than "enjoin caution and exercise the greatest care."

This reply held out very little prospect of the application of any radical remedy, and so it has probably appeared to Lord Salisbury. The whole despatch is remarkable for its omission to take any notice whatever of the only remedy all along wanting, or even to recognise the existence of the system at last so emphatically condemned by the Secretary of State. Failure to realize immediate returns on irrigation expenditure was evidently not the system, but merely one of its incidents. Culpably incorrect statements, defiance of authority, neglect of duty, and failure to enforce individual responsibility—these things made up the system to which the application of a radical remedy had become necessary, and the papers containing proof that this was the case had all passed through the hands of, or emanated from, the Government of India.

The Kanhan Bridge at Kamptee, Central Provinces.—This is the last of the cases made public by Lord Salisbury, who, when Lord Cranborne, censured (July, 1866) the "inefficiency and carelessness" of those in charge of the work. An accident afterwards occurred, and a revised project was submitted, without, however, a proper examination of the bed of the river, and Lord Cranborne was thus led to sanction a masonry in preference to an iron bridge, under the belief that the difference of expense between the two was not great. But this was far from being the case, and in 1869 the expenditure was found to be double the amount originally set down, but the work was not nearly complete. On its completion the last sanction was found to have been exceeded "by nearly the same amount as that by which the second estimate exceeded the one that preceded it." It is to be inferred from Lord Salisbury's remarks, that the local Controller of Public Works Accounts neglected his duty in failing to place before the Government of India information which would have enabled them to stop the "large irregular expenditure" incurred without authority.

Lord Salisbury, in March, 1874, conveyed to the Government of India his opinion that "the history of this undertaking reflects

but little credit upon any of the officers concerned," and expressed in the following terms his disapproval of the manner in which the case was disposed of by the Government of India:—

"Under all the circumstances I cannot but think it surprising that when in November last the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces reported the Kanhan Bridge to be finished, and open for traffic, the reply of your Government should have been limited to a simple expression of satisfaction at the successful completion of so important a work; and I must further express my opinion that unless some practical mark of your displeasure is inflicted upon those who are responsible for so grave a miscalculation, errors of this discreditable kind will continue to be committed."

The foregoing cases sufficiently illustrate the system to which Lord Salisbury has directed public attention. The India Councils Bill has become law, and a Minister of Public Works can now be added to the Viceroy's Council. It seems probable that much may be gained by this addition, but it seems more than probable that there will remain much more with which no Minister can deal independently, and which yet must be dealt with, and effectually dealt with, before any sound system can replace the one now justly condemned. How is a Minister of Public Works to deal with a defiant local Governor, to effect the abandonment of the recurring censure and "cautionary" circular system, and to enforce responsibility throughout all ranks of the public service? Will it be in the Minister's power to induce the Government of India to do much more than "enjoin caution, and exercise the greatest care," and to treat as something more than mere "mistakes" such proceedings as those to which the Duke of Argyll directed attention? Will he, in short, be able to insure the adoption of the remedy which was required when Sir H. Maine wrote in 1867, since when proof of the correctness of his views has accumulated, and the Public Works Department has, in spite of censure from and in every quarter, distributed broadcast, drifted into the state described by the Secretary of State. Very large amounts have been squandered, and undesirable expenditure so great that the Secretary of State alone could sanction it, has been possible without any such sanction, owing to culpable misrepresentation of cost in the first instance, followed by persistent disregard of rules and orders. To put an end to this, it is above all things necessary effectually to prevent the local governments from resorting to any one of the "hundred expedients" referred to by Sir H. Maine, and from placing the Government of India in the position of being "morally compelled to condone infraction of its own rules." Mr. Massey, formerly Finance Minister in India, during the late debate on the

Indian Budget, confirmed the story told in the Public Works papers laid before Parliament, and stated, as the result of his own experience in the Viceroy's Council, that one of the greatest difficulties of the Indian Government had been to enforce orders issued to the local governments, two of which "were in direct communication with the Secretary of State, and assumed in consequence airs of independence;" that the orders issued to these governments had been "almost systematically disregarded;" and that "if on a proper occasion the Secretary of State were to remove from his post a Governor or Administrator who had been guilty of this systematic disobedience, he would do a great deal to support the Government of India in enforcing economy."

When the details of Lord Salisbury's measure shall have been made known, it will be possible to judge in how far it is likely to be successful. Its main object was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be "the concentration of responsibility," but no amount of concentration can be of much value without enforcement; nor is it apparent how increased concentration of responsibility could have materially altered the objectionable features of the cases which have been published. Lord Salisbury appears to recognise this, and it is satisfactory to find public opinion one of general and unusual confidence in his ability to appreciate, and decision to grapple with, the difficulty. It seems probable that under his administration endeavours honestly made to draw attention to existing imperfections will be recognised and furthered, instead of being pooh-poohed by official optimism under cover of the more perfect information improperly used to divert attention from the real issue.

It was our intention to refer at greater length to Sir John Strachey's memorandum, and to notice some other matters having an important bearing on the question of Indian Public Works. Compulsory water rates for irrigation purposes; whether public works are to engage the attention of each member of the Viceroy's Council, or whether, henceforth, the Viceroy is to receive assistance and advice from the new Minister only; the retention of the governments of Madras and Bombay on their present footing; and the amount of control exercised, and assistance afforded by the Council of the Secretary of State—all these are questions which we are obliged to leave for discussion at another opportunity. Our present endeavour has been to show that whatever may be the advantages likely to be obtained by the creation of a Minister of Public Works, he must necessarily be unable to deal independently with important matters which can be disposed of only by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State; that in the cases published these matters might and ought to have been dealt with; and that as long as

they may continue to be, as they have been, insufficiently dealt with, so long must such cases occur.

To those who consider that this has been sufficiently shown, will probably occur the important question whether it can reasonably be believed that the defective system of administration proved to have prevailed in respect to Public Works, has had no existence in other branches of the service, the proceedings of which are not tested by the publicity to a great extent necessarily given to those of the Public Works Department.

ART. VII.—AMERICAN WOMEN: THEIR HEALTH AND EDUCATION.

1. *Sex in Education; or, a Fair Chance for Girls.* By EDWARD H. CLARKE, M.D. Boston. 1874.
2. *The Education of American Girls; considered in a Series of Essays.* Edited by ANNA C. BRACKETT. New York. 1874.

IN October, 1873, Dr. E. H. Clarke, of Boston, Massachusetts, a physician of the foremost rank, we believe, in that city, and formerly a Professor of Materia Medica in Harvard College, published a little book, the title of which is given above. The book is divided into five parts, named respectively:—(1) Introductory. (2) Chiefly Physiological. (3) Chiefly Clinical. (4) Co-Education. (5) The European Way.

In his Introductory chapter he says: "The delicate bloom, early but rapidly fading beauty, and singular pallor of American girls and women, have almost passed into a proverb. The first observation of a European that lands upon our shores is that our women are a feeble race; and if he is a physiological observer, he is sure to add, They will give birth to a feeble race, not of women only, but of men as well. 'I never saw before so many pretty girls together,' said Lady Amberley to the writer, after a visit to the public schools of Boston; and then added, 'They all looked sick.' Circumstances have repeatedly carried me to Europe, where I am always surprised by the red blood that fills and colours the faces of ladies and peasant girls, reminding one of the canvas of Rubens and Murillo; and am always equally surprised on my return by crowds of pale, bloodless, female faces, that suggest consumption, scrofula, anæmia, and neuralgia" (p. 22).

And in part 3, "Chiefly Clinical," he says: "Girls of bloodless skins and intelligent faces may be seen any day, by those who desire the spectacle, among the scholars of our higher and normal schools,—faces that crown, and skins that cover, curving spines, which should be straight, and neuralgic nerves that should know no pain. Later on, when marriage and maternity overtake these girls, and they live 'laborious days' in a sense not intended by Milton's line, they bend and break beneath the labor, like loaded grain before a storm, and bear little fruit again" (p. 113).

Dr. Clarke adduces the testimony of several other observers in confirmation of his own statement. Mrs. Beecher Stowe says: "The race of strong, hardy, cheerful girls, that used to grow up in country places, and made the bright, neat, New England kitchens of olden times,—the girls that could wash, iron, brew, bake, harness a horse and drive him, no less than braid, straw, embroider, draw, paint, and read innumerable books,—this race of women, pride of olden time, is daily lessening; and, in their stead, come the fragile, easy-fatigued, languid girls of a modern age, drilled in book-learning, ignorant of common things."

Dr. Weir Mitchell, whom Dr. Clarke justly designates as one of the most eminent American physiologists, writes in a similar strain: "To-day the American woman is, to speak plainly, physically unfit for her duties as woman, and is, perhaps, of all civilized females the least qualified to undertake those weightier tasks which tax so heavily the nervous system of man. She is not fairly up to what nature asks from her as wife and mother. How will she sustain herself under the pressure of those yet more exacting duties which now-a-days she is eager to share with the man?"

Another American physician, after remarking that "in the normal state Nature has made ample provision in the structure of the female for nursing her offspring," says: "Formerly such an organization was very generally possessed by American women, and they found but little difficulty in nursing their infants. It was only occasionally, in case of some defect in the organization, or where sickness of some kind had overtaken the mother, that it became necessary to resort to the wetnurse, or to feeding by hand. And the English, the Scotch, the German, the Canadian French, and the Irish women now living in this country, generally nurse their children; the exceptions are rare. But how is it with our American women who become mothers? To those who have never considered this subject, and even to medical men who have never carefully looked into it, the facts, when correctly and fully presented, will be surprising. It has been supposed by some that all, or nearly all our American women, could nurse

their offspring just as well as not; that the disposition only was wanting, and that they did not care about having the trouble or confinement necessarily attending it. But this is a great mistake. This very indifference or aversion shows something wrong in the organization as well as in the disposition: if the physical system were all right, the mind and natural instincts would generally be right also. While there may be here and there cases of this kind, such an indisposition is not always found. It is a fact, that large numbers of our women are anxious to nurse their offspring, and make the attempt; they persevere for awhile—perhaps for weeks or months—and then fail. . . . There is still another class that cannot nurse at all, *having neither the organs nor nourishment* requisite even to make a beginning. . . . Why should there be such a difference between our American women and those of foreign origin residing in the same locality, and surrounded by the same external influences? The explanation is simple: they have not the right kind of organization; there is a want of proper development of the lymphatic and sanguine temperaments—a marked deficiency in the organs of nutrition and secretion.*

It is stated by Dr. Toner of Washington, whom Dr. Clarke quotes, "that the proportion between the number of American children under fifteen years of age, and the number of American women between the child-bearing ages of fifteen and fifty, is steadily declining. In 1830 there were to every 1000 marriageable women 1952 children under fifteen years of age. Ten years later there were 1863, or 89 less children to every 1000 women than in 1830. In 1850 this number had declined to 1720; in 1860 to 1666; and 1870 to 1568. The total decline in the forty years was 384, or about 20 per cent. of the whole proportional number in 1830, a generation ago." Alluding to the supposed causes of the physical degeneracy in question, Dr. Clarke says: "If these causes should continue for the next half century, and increase in the same ratio as they have for the last fifty years, it requires no prophet to foretell that the wives who are to be mothers in our republic must be drawn from Transatlantic homes. The sons of the New World will have to re-act, on a magnificent scale, the old story of unwed Rome and the Sabines" (p. 63).

The evil described in the foregoing passages is certainly an evil of the very first magnitude; and though it is one which most deeply and most directly concerns the American people themselves, indirectly it affects generally, and that in a most

* "Physical Degeneracy." By Nathan Allen, M.D., *Journal of Psychological Medicine*, October, 1870, cited by Dr. Clarke.

serious degree, the great human family in England and continental Europe whose children the Americans are, and many thousands of whose offshoots leave the old home for the new every year. The question, what is the cause, or what are the causes of this degeneracy? is a question the importance of which cannot be over-stated—a question to which, in fact, if our author's statements be true, the great Sphinx, Nature herself, is demanding an answer from the people of the United States as the condition of their continuing to live.

The nature and extent of the deterioration of American women have nowhere, perhaps, been more fully and more clearly set forth than they are in Dr. Clarke's book; and therefore, whether his statement and appreciation of the causes of that deterioration be true, or untrue, or partially true, he deserves, in our opinion, the hearty thanks of the American people, and indeed of all interested in the permanent welfare of mankind, for having compelled public attention to the subject in the effective way he has.

Dr. Clarke has formed a very decided opinion concerning the causes of the generally admitted physical degeneracy of American women, and to give expression to that opinion, enforced with all the argumentative skill and admirable diction at his command, is the main object of his book. He says: "To a large extent, our present system of educating girls is the cause of this pallor and weakness;" and that the object of his book "is to call attention to the errors of physical training that have crept into, and twined themselves about, our ways of educating girls, both in public and private schools, and which now threaten to attain larger development, and inflict a consequently greater injury, by their introduction into colleges and large seminaries of learning, that have adopted, or are preparing to adopt, the co-education of the sexes" (p. 24). On the following page he adds: "Let the statement be emphasized and reiterated, until it is heeded, that woman's neglect of her own organization, though not the sole explanation and cause of her many weaknesses, more than any single cause adds to their number and intensifies their power."

While travelling in the East, some years ago, our author had the "fortune to be summoned as a physician into a harem," containing "nearly a dozen Syrian girls—a grave Turk's wifely crowd;" and as he "looked upon their well-developed forms, their brown skins, rich with the blood and sun of the East, and their unintelligent, sensuous faces," he "thought that if it were possible to marry the Oriental care of woman's organization to the Western liberty and culture of her brain, there would be a new birth and loftier type of womanly grace and force" (p. 30).

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The American woman's neglect of her own organization is the chief cause then, according to Dr. Clarke, of the evil in question, and by bestowing upon that organization the kind of care which Eastern women give to themselves, that cause would be removed. From the time when the catamenia first occur to the time when they finally cease—or throughout a period of nearly thirty-five years of each woman's life—every woman should be subject to "Oriental care." In other words, at each recurrence of the periodical function peculiar to women, or during one week out of every four, she ought, according to Dr. Clarke, to abstain from both physical and mental labour. Some women are actually unfit for work of any kind at those times, and those who are not so ought nevertheless, he says, to rest during every fourth week in order to preserve the health they possess.

The education of girls cannot be properly conducted unless in respect to them this rule be practically recognised; unless in fact their studies be intermitted during every fourth week. This system of intermittent study being the one which is alone consistent with the preservation of their health and strength, they cannot be either advantageously or safely educated along with boys whose studies are not intermittent but continuous. Therefore, though "appropriate education of the two sexes, carried as far as possible, is a consummation most devoutly to be desired, identical education of the two sexes is a crime before God and humanity, that physiology protests against, and that experience weeps over" (p. 127). The perpetration of this crime is commonly known in America as the system of "co-education," a system which is now extensively practised there, which, as Dr. Clarke affirms, "has produced the evils described in the clinical part of his book," and which, he says, "threatens to push the degeneration of the female sex still further on" (p. 123). The baneful influence which he believes is exerted by the educational system in question he characterizes still further in the following paragraph:—"If the nervous system is abnormally developed, every organ feels the *twist* in the nerves. The balance and co-ordination of movement and function are destroyed, and the ill percolates into an unhappy posterity. If the reproductive system is aborted, there may be no future generations to pay the penalty of the abortion, but what is left of the organism suffers sadly. When this sort of arrest of development occurs in a man, it takes the element of masculineness out of him, and replaces it with adipose effeminacy. When it occurs in a woman, it not only substitutes in her case a wiry and perhaps thin-bearded masculineness for distinctive feminine traits and power, making her an epicene, but it entails a variety of prolonged weaknesses, that dwarf her rightful power in almost every direction. The per-

sistent neglect and ignoring by women, and especially by girls, ignorantly more than wilfully, of that part of their organization which they hold in trust for the future of the race, has been fearfully punished in America, where, of all the world, they are least trammelled and should be the best, by all sorts of female troubles" (pp. 44, 45).

Dr. Clarke's vehement and indeed remarkably skilful and earnest denunciation of the co-educational system, and his prophetic warnings that if persisted in it will insidiously sap and ultimately destroy the very life of American women, at once arrested public attention and excited serious alarm. A second edition of the work was demanded "in little more than a week after the publication of the first," and already within the short space of a few months at least five editions of the book have been called for. The agitation which it has produced has traversed the Atlantic, and the doleful tones uttered by Dr. Clarke reverberate here through the voice of Dr. Maudsley, whose article in the *Fortnightly Review* repeats and re-enforces with but little variation the physiological facts and arguments advanced by Dr. Clarke. We shall however make room for the following sentences from Dr. Maudsley's paper:—"The healthy performance of her [woman's] special function renders it improbable she will succeed, and unwise for her to persevere in running over the same [educational] course at the same pace with him [man]. . . . There is sex in mind as distinctly as there is sex in body. . . . Mind is the sum of those functions of the brain which are commonly known as thought, feeling, and will. . . . Does it not appear that in order to assimilate the female to the male mind it would be necessary to undo the life history of mankind from its earliest commencement?"

The grave anxiety concerning the physical effects on women of identical or co-education of the sexes produced by the alarming intelligence diffused throughout the United States by the five editions of Dr. Clarke's book, and communicated to every reader of the *Fortnightly Review* by Dr. Maudsley, is however believed to be groundless by other medical authorities, who, though their professional eminence may not equal that of Drs. Clarke and Maudsley, have special knowledge of the subject in question, and, as it seems to us, a stronger claim therefore than those physicians to be heard respecting it. Doctress Putnam-Jacobi in New York, and Doctress Garrett-Anderson in London, have exerted themselves to allay the apprehensions which have been mainly excited by those gentlemen, and to calm the fears of that large number of persons who, while desirous of promoting the genuine education and permanent welfare of womankind, have no scientific or really firm basis for their opinions or feel-

ings on the matter, and who therefore are easily swayed hither and thither by the diverse arguments and opposite currents of doctrine concerning it which they may happen to encounter.

Two distinguished medical men, one on each side the Atlantic, proclaim with all the earnestness of believers in the message they deliver, and with all the authority attaching to their professional reputation, that the course of college education now being pursued by many young women of the upper and middle classes in the United States and already by a few of their English sisters, is certain to be fraught with evils of the first magnitude, not only for the individuals immediately concerned, but for the nation at large, if that course should be extensively adopted; and in support of their assertion both of them appeal to well-known physiological facts and pathological experience which, they affirm, afford decisive confirmation of it, and ample justification of the solemn warning which they have felt themselves called upon to publish. Two medical women, on the other hand, one on each side the Atlantic, bravely controvert the doctrine of these doctors and declare that the general development of woman's intelligence by a course of college training of the kind in question, including the adoption of a curriculum of study quite as comprehensive and severe as that adopted by male students, would be fraught with incalculably great blessings both to the female students themselves and to the community in general of which they were members.

It will probably be admitted that this is a more than usually interesting case, in which, as usual, doctors (or rather doctors and doctresses) differ. The question at issue, like most questions concerning which the faculty cannot agree, will no doubt be treated by laymen in various and widely different ways. The majority will of course regard it with profound indifference. A large number will be simply guided by their prejudices, partly inherited and partly originating in their own habits of life and personal environment; and many of these, looking on the physiological and pathological arguments just mentioned as transcending the powers of their non-professional understandings, will defer to the teaching of those whom they consider as the most authoritative guides and directors in a matter about which they feel incompetent to judge for themselves, and, being quite satisfied to reproduce the views of their chosen leaders as their own, will not seldom impart to their adopted ideas whatever additional importance is derivable from the process of stamping them with their own "effigy and superscription." But there are a few persons, unhappily very few as yet, who, while taking a deep interest in "the irrepressible woman question," investigate, think, and either decide for themselves or keep their judgment in suspense

on every question to which they give earnest attention ; who find physiologists and physicians, even in the domain of physiology and physic, as fallible as is the Pope himself in matters theological, and hence yield no allegiance to authorities, except provisionally, or until their credentials have been thoroughly verified ; who, while regarding and using hypotheses as valuable guides in research, distrust them as even temporary representatives of truth itself unless accordant with and explanatory of every fact connected with the problem under consideration ; and, in short, whose convictions are the product of rigorously logical reasoning from the only data legitimately available—careful observation and experiment.

To members of the first of the three classes just mentioned we have nothing to say—indeed we doubt if such persons ever honour us with their attention, and if they do they are probably beyond the reach of any argument, however easily intelligible, or of any appeal, however powerful, which might be addressed to them concerning the expediency of rendering accessible to women such an education as would enable them to compete successfully for academical degrees. To persons of the second class, who mainly defer to professional authorities, we shall venture to offer a few suggestions respecting the relative value of the authorities most likely to be appealed to for judgment on the question at issue ; and, having done so, we shall endeavour to accomplish the main object we have in view—viz., the presentation and arrangement of the materials now accessible for the consideration of those of our readers who think for themselves, and who will form their own opinions respecting the probable effects on the health and strength of women especially, and through them therefore on the nation generally, which would ensue were they to study systematically the various departments of science, literature, and art according to the methods now exacted of young men by our colleges and universities.

The chief medical writers who have addressed themselves to lay readers on this question are, as we have said, four in number—two male and two female. Dr. Clarke has, we believe, a large practice in Boston ; his professional status is thoroughly good, and considering his book on Sex and Education, the only book of his we happen to be acquainted with, we are assured that its author is a distinctively able man, possessing a good general, as well as professional, education, that he has carefully studied the subject on which he writes, that he feels strongly and earnestly about it, and that he has an admirable faculty of expressing lucidly and persuasively the opinions he maintains. It is needless for us to indicate the position and reputation of Dr. Mandsley, who has devoted himself to the study and treatment of

insanity ; who, by virtue of his writings concerning it and cognate topics, is recognised, not merely as an eminent alienist physician, but as a sound psychologist and vigorous scientific thinker, whose opinions on any subject he may choose to treat are sure to receive respectful attention. Doctress Putnam-Jacobi and Doctress Garrett-Anderson, who dissent from the views expressed concerning the college education of women by Dr. Clarke and Dr. Maudsley, are both graduates of the University of Paris ; and we must observe that the Paris degree of M.D., if not the very best, is certainly one of the best testimonials obtainable that the holder of it has received a first-class medical education. The professional ability of Doctress Garrett-Anderson has received genuine and cordial recognition from many of her professional brethren in the metropolis ; and that she is a cautious thinker, logical reasoner, and skilful advocate of the cause she espouses, will probably be admitted by all who have listened to her, or who are acquainted with her writings. Doctress Putnam-Jacobi is known to a few persons here ; but beyond this small circle her name has probably never been heard in England. We confidently assert, however, that no physician duly acquainted with the most recent researches in physiology and pathology—especially in the physiology and pathology of the nervous system—can rise from the perusal of her essay on “ Mental Action and Physical Health ” without being deeply impressed with the conviction that the essay possesses merits far beyond those of the great majority of medical essays by her male contemporaries. She displays a thorough knowledge of the question at issue in all its bearings ; admirable skill in the use of her materials ; vigorous reasoning, and, indeed, an originality both of view and treatment of her subject which prove her to be a woman not only of remarkable ability, but one whose intellectual training has been of a very superior order.

Those who are in the habit of settling for themselves every *questio verata* by an appeal to authorities will find, we fear, some little difficulty in determining which of the four authorities cited in the present case is most weighty, and entitled therefore to the most deference. If it be admitted that the opinion of any one of the four persons in question is likely to be as sound and reliable as that of each of the others, the reader will then ask whether a doctor or doctress is most likely to possess any special advantage in studying and judging on the subject derivable from the peculiar experiences and opportunities of observation attaching to each sex respectively ? We are constrained to admit that the doctresses certainly can appeal to specific personal experiences bearing directly on the question—experiences capable of outweighing a vast amount of the mere reasoning and information at second-

hand of their professional brethren ; moreover, the doctresses have facilities of intimate and confidential communications from and discussions with their own sex on the subject, yielding information likely to be more copious, more varied, and more exact than is the information obtainable by the doctors. And it must be added, that viewing this information in the light shed upon it by their own personal experience they are likely to appreciate it in all its bearings more accurately than men can do. It thus appears that, *ceteris paribus*, the opinions of Doctress Garrett-Anderson and of Doctress Putnam-Jacobi is likely precisely by virtue of their womanhood to be more correct, and therefore more reliable than the opinion of Drs. Clarke and Maudsley.

Considering the conflict of professional opinions represented by the writers we have mentioned, our readers will admit that lay students of the question at issue will be unable to reach any satisfactory conclusion concerning it by consulting those authorities, and that notwithstanding all which has been said or written about it, it can only be decisively settled by an appeal to experience—by assigning to that experience its real value, and by reasoning logically on the data which it yields, unbiassed by any foregone conclusion in favour of one side or the other. Unfortunately, experience of the kind desiderated is as yet small. We can appeal to ages of experience of the effects of giving girls and women a minimum amount of education of any kind, or none at all ; but experience of the effects of instructing them in the various subjects, and in the systematic manner in which boys and men are instructed, is comparatively very small indeed. But though, compared with the experience of the ancient system, it is relatively very small, absolutely it is already very considerable ; and by means of the inadequate and fragmentary materials at our command, we shall now endeavour to describe briefly both its extent and effects.

The publication of Dr. Clarke's book has provoked a great amount of controversy in the United States, and numerous efforts have been made to disprove the accuracy of his conclusions. In order to do this the more effectually, several American women—ardent defenders of the system of co-education—have combined their forces, the result being a considerable volume, the full title of which is given at the head of this article, on "The Education of American Girls." The work consists of eleven essays, by eleven different writers, together with a review of Dr. Clarke's book by the editor, Miss Brackett. Each essay deals, in a decidedly able manner, with the special aspect of the subject to which it is devoted, and all alike are informing, thoughtful, and earnest to a degree reflecting great credit on both writers and editor. We have already adverted to Doctress Putnam-Jacobi's

essay on "Mental Action and Physical Health." This forms one of the eleven. The others are, speaking generally, of about equal merit : but there is one, entitled, "A Mother's Thought," by Edna D. Cheney, which suggests the reflection that the children whose mother is inspired with the wisdom as well as with the refined noble feeling which pervades that essay are peculiarly fortunate.

Five of these papers relate respectively to five different educational institutions, and most of the others contain, scattered here and there, a considerable amount of information concerning the working and results of the educational system to which the superior classes of girls are now generally submitted in the United States. We believe that the information in question is thoroughly reliable. The essays on four of the institutions "come," says the able editress of the volume, "with the official sanction of the presiding officers of those institutions, who vouch for the correctness of the statements." The essay numbered "VII. is by a member of the present Senior Class of the University of Michigan, who has instituted very exact personal inquiries among the women students. The author of Essay VIII. is the librarian of Mount Holyoke Seminary. The writer of the report from Oberlin is a graduate, a teacher of wide experience, and has been for three or four years the principal of the Ladies' Department of the College."

It is to the writers of the several essays now mentioned that we are indebted for the authentic evidence we are about to present concerning the effects of the educational method, widely practised in the United States, on the health of those American women who have been subjected to it. The number of the institutions to which we shall refer is not great, and in two of these the experience does not extend over many years ; nevertheless, the sum of the experiences available as data for judgment on the question at issue is already considerable and very significant. Of course much more information might be collected ; and, indeed, much more must be collected, before the important controversy which has called forth Miss Brackett's interesting volume can be completely and finally settled. As she says, "There are many other institutions whose statistics would be equally valuable ; such, for instance, as the North-Western University of Illinois, which has not only opened its doors to girl-students, but has placed women on the board of trustees and in the faculty." Meanwhile, we content ourselves with the material at present within our reach, and offer it, in the condensed shape necessitated by the narrow limits of a review article, for the consideration of our readers.

The Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, near the Connecticut

River, but in the State of Massachusetts, was opened in 1837. It was established by the Calvinistic branch of the American Congregationalists, and has especially occupied itself in educating women for missionary work. "During the thirty-six years ending July 3rd, 1873, it has graduated 1455 young women. Its founder aimed to provide a permanent institution, where the best advantages should be offered at a moderate expense, and whose entire culture should tend to produce, not only thorough students and skilful teachers, but earnest, efficient, and Christian women. Accordingly its course of study has always given prominence to the solid rather than to the showy, omitting mostly what are termed ornamental branches, and devoting the more time to studies which give mental discipline. There is no preparatory department." No pupils under sixteen years of age are admitted, and all who enter must first pass a matriculation examination. No pupils under eighteen are admitted to the senior class; most of the members of it are considerably older. The average age of the pupils at the time of graduating is something over twenty-one years.

"The health of the pupils is under the care of the lady physician residing in the family. . . . Light gymnastics are practised by all except individuals who have been permanently excused by the physician. All are directed, however, to abstain from gymnastics at certain periods, as well as from long walks, or severe physical exertion of any kind. It has not been found that regular and moderate study at such times is injurious to girls in ordinary health.

"The following statistics show the comparative longevity of graduates from Mount Holyoke Seminary, and from a number of colleges for young men. In each case they include a period of thirty years, closing generally with 1867, or within a year or two of that date. The war mortality is excluded in every case where it was separately stated in the College Triennial, as indicated below."

Name of Institution.	Graduated.	Deceased.	Rate per cent.
Mount Holyoke	1,213	125	10.39
Amherst	1,199	*135	11.26
Bowdoin	1,012	*120	11.85
Brown	972	120	12.34
Dartmouth	1,639	276	16.83.
Harvard	2,326	*268	11.52
Williams	1,215	123	10.12
Yale	2,583	387	13.42

According to Doctress Belden-Taylor, formerly physician at

* Exclusive of war mortality.

Mount Holyoke Seminary, "It is not uncommon" for the peculiar function, the beginning of which in girls denotes the advent of puberty, "to be arrested by any great change of circumstances; as when a girl leaves home and goes to school, where there is almost an entire change of habits. Many cases came under my observation at the seminary, among the junior class (first year), of suppression or irregularity for three or six months, all then proceeding regularly without medical interference."

Again, we learn from Mrs. Arnold, of Milwaukie, "formerly Dr. Homer, physician at Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1860—64," that "A large number of cases of irregularity in the form of suppression, were always met with during the first year, especially the first months of that year. Often the health was not seriously affected, and the trouble would right itself, or readily yield to mild remedies. Had this derangement been caused by hard study in the pursuance of a regular course, it would have been most common among pupils in advanced classes. . . . As to the effect of regular brain-work upon those already suffering from diseases peculiar to the sex, I do not recall any cases where the mere matter of intellectual labour had any effect to increase the trouble. . . . A temperate application to study, even of the sterner kinds, by giving occupation to the mind, I consider highly beneficial."

Vassar College, on the Hudson River, at Poughkeepsie, in the State of New York, U.S.A., was founded by Mr. Vassar, and was opened for the reception of students in September, 1865. The founder, deeply impressed with the conviction that a sound education consists of a judicious combination of physical with mental training, and desirous of providing "a fair chance for the girls," established Vassar College in order to carry out his views. In the course of its brief existence of about nine years, the college has exerted an influence which, we are told, "is felt in all parts of the United States." Pupils usually enter at or after the age of eighteen; and every year about one hundred girls leave this institution to take their positions in life.

Respecting the influence of the studies at Vassar on the students, experience there thoroughly justifies the statement that, as a rule, their average health steadily improves from the time of their entrance in to the time of their leaving the college. For the purpose of facilitating inquiry concerning the health of the pupils, the classes of the last three years have each been divided into "good," "fair," and "delicate," according to the condition of health in which the individual students entered upon the college curriculum.

Class of 1874.—Entered in good health, 14; in fair health,

5; and in delicate health 2. Of the 14 "good" 13 graduated in as good health, and 1 in much deteriorated health. The 5 "fair," and 2 "delicate," all left improved.

Class of 1872.—Entered in good health, 18; in fair health, 9; and in delicate, 1. The 18 "good" all left in as good, or better health; the 9 "fair" all improved; and the 1 "delicate," having ceased to make that distinction necessary, was promoted to "fair."

Class of 1873.—Entered in good health, 19; in fair health, 14; and in delicate health, 12. Of the 19 "good," 15 left as well as they came; 2, having been too young when they began their studies, felt the undue strain in diminished general strength; and 2 deteriorated in health. Of the 14 "fair," 5 left in essentially the same condition, and 9 improved. Of the 12 "delicate," 5 left in the same condition, and 7 improved.

Oberlin College, in the State of Ohio, was, we believe, the first institution in the United States which adopted the practice of extending to women the advantages of a collegiate education. The system of co-education of the sexes has been worked at Oberlin during upwards of forty years. According to the last Triennial Catalogue, published by the College, in 1873, it had, up to that date, conferred degrees on 579 men and 620 women. These graduates were exclusive of "the 426 men from the Theological Seminary." At Oberlin there are two courses of study; one is called the "Men's Course," and the other the "Women's Course." Certain subjects included in the former are omitted from the latter, and the women have the option of pursuing which of the two they please. The majority choose the "Women's Course;" but of the 620 women-graduates 95 "graduated from the full classical course, and received the first degree in the arts." If 95 out of the 620 graduates obtained the diploma which denotes that they chose the course of study designed for men, and pursued it successfully, we may fairly conclude that they gave the best possible proof of their intellectual qualification for and title to a college education equal to that given to the male graduates, and that had their college sisters who chose the "Women's Course," resolved to adopt the one prescribed for the men, the majority of them would have shown themselves able to obtain the first-class degree.

Our main concern at present, however, is to ascertain, as far as may be, what effects on the health of the women students have been produced by the studies which they actually engaged in. Those effects certainly do not seem to have been very disastrous. In the Triennial Catalogue mentioned above a star is prefixed to the names of all the graduates who have died. Of these it

appears .59 were males, and 60 females. The percentage of deaths of the males was 10, and of the females 9.67. So far, then, the women have a slight advantage. But, it may be urged, that though college studies at Oberlin do not prove more fatal to women than to men, yet that they exert a grave deteriorating influence on the general health and strength of women, and thus conduce to render American women the "pallid, bloodless" creatures described by Dr. Clarke. Miss Adelia A. F. Johnson, to whose essay on Oberlin College we are mainly indebted for the statistical facts we have already mentioned, and who is one of the professors in the college, has taken the trouble to trace the "individual history" of the class of '56 — "not because there is anything peculiar in its history, but because," she says, "it is my own class, and I therefore know more about it." The class consisted of 19 pupils; of these two had died in the interval between 1856 and 1873. Of the 17 survivors, Miss Johnson gives such information as she was able to obtain. The reports, which from nearly all of them were of recent date, were wholly satisfactory. Several of them would, we imagine, be peculiarly so to those American philanthropists who, like Dr. Clarke, deplore the comparative sterility of American women. Four of the nineteen were pursuing the profession of teachers. One of these, who has recently read a most interesting paper before the State Teachers' Association, when asked what she thought of Dr. Clarke's book answered, laughingly, "Look at me." She had evidently a satisfactory consciousness that though she might not be a good illustration of the Doctor's book, she was not a bad example of American womanhood. Eight of the total number had married. One of these replying to the question, "What are you doing?" wrote, "Bringing up my boys." Another wrote, "I am in good health, and so are my six boys. The two oldest are almost ready for college. They will, of course, go where their mother went. I am daily thankful I studied at Oberlin." Another replied, "A troop of merry children, good health, and a happy home." And another, "Why do you ask if I am sorry that I studied at Oberlin? It is the subject over which my husband and I can grow enthusiastic at any time. My health impaired there? *No*. We hope to send our daughter soon."

If absence from school or college is to be considered a sign of ill-health it does not appear from the records that the health of the women was inferior to that of the men, except in a fractional degree so slight as to be of no practical importance. The writer just quoted says, "The excuse of sickness for an absence is never questioned. This is well known by every girl in the school; and yet we have never heard a professor in the college, or a teacher

in the preparatory department, complain that girls were oftener absent than boys. The professor of physiology has kindly sent me the following: 'An examination of my class-book, in all my recitations for the last five years, shows but a very slight difference in the average number of absences from recitations, for all causes, excused and unexcused, of women and men—viz., for each man, 35.31; for each woman, 36.76.' If we consider these figures along with the fact that "many of the girls who have completed a course of study at Oberlin have at the same time supported themselves," we must admit that the health of the women during their studies certainly seems to be very good indeed.

In an essay on "The Effects of Mental Growth," by Lucinda H. Stone, of Kalamazoo, Michigan, she says: "Dr. Mahan, who was the first, and for fifteen years, president of Oberlin College, has since been for nearly as long a period the president of Adrian College in Michigan. He says that during his connexion with Oberlin the proportion of young men to young women who entered upon the course and failed to complete it on account of failure of health under the strain of thought and study, was at least *two to one*. The proportion was not quite so great in Adrian; but many more young men than young women—and as far as he was acquainted with colleges everywhere—succumbed under the change from their former life to one of study.

"Dr. Mahan also says, that owing to the peculiar circumstances under which Oberlin College was established, he has through subsequent years maintained a far more familiar acquaintance with his former students than is common for old teachers to do; and that he can count many more broken-down men among his old graduates than broken-down women In the particular of health he has carefully observed the effect of close and continuous study, not only during the course, but in subsequent life, and he will risk his reputation for truthful statements, in saying that he believes—that he knows—the most careful statistics would show among the women who are college graduates, whom he has known, a higher standard of health than among the same number of women from any class of society—working women, fashionable women, or women of merely quiet domestic habits."

Antioch College, in the State of Ohio, was we believe, founded chiefly, if not exclusively, by Unitarians, and most of its students, we presume, hold Unitarian views. It has exemplified the system of educating young men and women together during about twenty-five years. A comparison of the death-rates of its male and female graduates certainly does not seem to show that the studies pursued by the latter have exerted an influence upon them tending to shorten life. "Of the men graduates 13½

per cent. have died ; of the women graduates, 9½ per cent. This, of course, does not include the war mortality or accidental deaths." Moreover the report of the state of health of the survivors is even more decisively in favour of the women : "Three of the men are confirmed invalids ; no woman graduate is such." We may add that the "blue-stocking" stigma seems to do no harm to the women graduates of Antioch : "Three-fourths of them are married, and four-fifths of those were two years ago mothers, the families varying from one to six children. Only one-half of the remaining fourth are graduates of longer standing than 1871. It is proposed," adds the report, "to make out statistics which shall show the comparative health of those women and men who have been here two years and upwards, as it has been suggested that possibly only the stronger could bear the strain of the whole college course, and that the weaker ones dropped out by the way. It is perfectly safe now to assert that this is not the case."

The authorities of the University of Michigan decided about five years ago to open its doors "to all students." Eager to avail themselves of the advantages thus offered, a number of women from different parts of the United States have since matriculated at the University, and have pursued their studies there in common with students of the male sex. The University consists of three departments, viz :—(1) Literature, Science, and the Arts ; (2) Medicine and Surgery ; and (3) Law. Since the date when women were first admitted as students twenty-eight of them have graduated—viz, three in the first department, twenty-one in the second, and four in the third ; and it appears that the number of female students steadily increases. In 1870-1 the number was 37 ; in 1871-2 it was 64 ; and in 1872-3 it was 88.

The President of the University, referring to the results of the experiment, so far as it has yet been tried, of educating young women precisely in the same manner as young men are educated thus expresses himself in his report for the year 1872 : "The young women have addressed themselves to their work with great zeal, and have shown themselves quite capable of meeting the demands of severe studies as successfully as their class-mates of the other sex. Their work, so far, does not evince less variety or less power of grappling even with higher mathematics than we find in the young men. They receive no favours and desire none. They are subjected to precisely the same tests as the men. Some of them, like the men, have stumbled at examinations ; but nearly all of them have maintained a most creditable reputation for scholarship in every branch of study which has awaited them in their course. Nor does their work seem to put a dan-

gerous strain upon their powers. They assure me that they never enjoyed better health, and their absences by reason of sickness do not proportionately exceed those of the men. Their presence has not called for the enactment of a single new law, or for the slightest change in our methods of government or grade of work."

The Report for 1873 affords ample confirmation of that for 1872. The President says: "The history of our work during the past year has only deepened the impression made during the two previous years of the entire practicability of imparting collegiate and professional education to the two sexes in the same schools. If any have cherished a fear that the admission of women would tend to reduce the standard of work in the University, their attention may be directed to the fact that during the last three years we have been steadily increasing the requirements for admission and broadening the range of studies. Now certainly the women experience no such difficulty in acquiring the studies assigned in the regular curriculum as to call for any modification of the course on their account. Their record is as creditable in all branches as that of their class-mates of the other sex. Nor do I see any evidence that their success in their intellectual pursuits is purchased at the expense of health. On the contrary, I doubt if an equal number of young women in any other pursuit in life have been in better health during the year. . . . None of the many objections which are still raised against the co-education of the sexes have thus been found in practice here to have any force."

These statements are thoroughly confirmed by a lady who signs herself "Sarah Dix Hamlin, Class of '74, University of Michigan." She has written an essay describing her experience and observations of the education of women there, and certainly her record affords strong proofs that the practice adopted there works well. She says: "The general impression is that the female students in the Law and Medical Departments have endured the work quite as well as the men; and it is a fact that a number of the women who entered the Medical Department, with four lectures per day to attend, and all the work of the laboratory and dissecting-room to perform, have steadily improved in health from the time of entering until leaving; while those who were well at the beginning of their college work have in no case suffered a deterioration of health from their intellectual labour. Of those who have graduated from the literary department, we have positive information that as yet they have suffered no 'penalties' from their 'severe and long-continued mental labour,' and that they were on graduating as well as on entering.

"In regard to those at present in the literary department, it is impossible to get any statistics as to excused absences which will show the average attendance of one sex as compared with that of the other, and from which inferences can be deduced in regard to the health of the women students; for the University authorities—not having dreamed that there was a 'new natural law' to be revealed, which should assert that the course of 'identical co-education' is conducive to health and usefulness for the one sex, and to premature decay and the hospital or cemetery for the other—have not preserved the record of excused absences. The professors assert that non-attendance upon recitations, on account of ill-health, has been no greater on the part of the young women than of the young men, and that in many cases the attendance of the former has been better than that of the latter.

"It is a fact that thus far the women of Michigan University have demonstrated a principle of Dr. Tappan's—a former president of the University—that brain-work is good for the health. If the seeds of future disease have been in some mysterious manner implanted in their systems, it is in no sense apparent except to the imaginations of those who are least acquainted with our girls."

In a leading article of a college newspaper, conducted entirely by the young men of the Michigan University, there occurs the following passage respecting the "College girls:" "They pertinaciously keep their health and strength in a way that is aggravating, and they persist in evincing a capability for close and continued mental labour, which, to the ordinary estimator of woman's brain-power, seems like pure wilfulness. They have, with a generally noticeable peculiarity of their sex, disappointed the most oracular prognostications."

The advocates of the proposal to give young women a first-rate college education, freely recognise that as the experiment at Michigan University has been carried on during about four years only, the results obtained may not justify a broad generalization that the co-equal education of the two sexes is both practicable and desirable; but those advocates do assert, and they seem to be justified in asserting, that the results in question tend exclusively in one direction—viz., that of the generalization just mentioned. Miss Hamlin rightly observes: "As far as Michigan University is concerned, educating a girl in a boy's way has thus far been proven to be better than any girl's way yet discovered, and there has appeared no reason why the good effects should not continue."

Kalamazoo College, in the State of Michigan, has during the last twenty years admitted women along with men to the full

curriculum of studies pursued there. Throughout that period the number of graduates of each sex has been about equal. "The young women have always averaged as good scholarship and health as the young men;" and the number of women who have given up their studies on account of ill-health is less than the number of men who have abandoned them for the same reason.

"During the period of my own connexion with this institution," says Lucinda H. Stone, "many young women pursued there an extended elective course of study 'who did not graduate. It was not their plan to do so when they entered the preparatory department. Many graduated from a course quite as extensive, and requiring as persistent study,' as that pursued by the men, though the two were not in all respects alike. The 'women did not usually study Greek, though some did, and were leaders of their classes. They did not pursue Latin quite so far' as the men did, but they 'more than made up for this in a far more thorough study of French and German, history and literature. There is scarcely a week in the year but I receive communications in some way from some of these old pupils. They are among my most enjoyable, intellectual, and literary correspondents. With few exceptions they are *growing* women. . . . A few, but very few of the large number are invalids, but there is not one whose case does not furnish me with abundant evidence of many more probable causes of invalidism than over-study. There is not one of whom I have heard whose case does not wear on the face of it decidedly other causes than 'persistent study.'"

We have given the evidence here adduced at considerable length, because we think that the question at issue is one of paramount importance, not to women only, but also to the men of every civilized community; and we venture to affirm that the more thoroughly and judicially this evidence is considered the stronger will become the conviction that, notwithstanding the gloomy forebodings of Drs. Clarke and Maudsley and the millions of social conservatives to whose dumb instincts they have given utterance, there is nothing in the bodily structure or physiological functions of women which precludes them as a class from entering on and passing successfully through the several branches of academical study which now constitute the best educational training of men at the different Universities in Europe and America.

Moreover, we affirm that the experience referred to proves conclusively, what indeed reasoning *a priori* had already foretold, that as a general rule the health of women who enter on an academical career at a proper age, and who steadily pursue it

during the usual period of about four years, instead of being impaired, is actually improved and strengthened by the systematic mental training and discipline to which they have been subjected. In fact, all that is known of the nature and extent of the power which is unconsciously wielded by the mind over the body—or, in other words, of the influence which the brain exerts on the other parts of the nervous system, and through them on the alimentary, assimilative, circulatory, respiratory, secretory, excretory, and reproductive systems of the organism—leads directly to the conclusion that an orderly development of the brain, by a wise and ample provision for its appropriate nourishment and activity, is the most effective method of insuring a thoroughly healthy body. An eminent teacher who was examined before the Royal Commission appointed some years ago to inquire into the state of education in this country, and who was asked whether there is not some danger of injuring the health of girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen by hard study, remarked: "I think study improves their health very much. I am sure great harm is often done by hasty recommendations to throw aside all study, when a temperate and wisely regulated mental diet is really required. They will not do nothing, but if they have not wholesome, and proper, and unexciting occupations, they will spend their time on sensational novels and things much more injurious to health. Where I have heard complaints about health as being injured by study, they have proceeded from those who have done least work at college. Indeed, I do not know of any case of a pupil who has really worked, and whose health has been injured. We have had complaints in a few cases where the girls have been decidedly not industrious."

A writer already quoted, and whose large experience as a teacher at Oberlin College entitles her opinion to great respect, says: "We believe that more girls are benefited than are injured by the regimen of a well-regulated school, and our belief is founded upon years of observation. The number is not small of girls, who have come to us pale, nervous, and labouring under many of the ills of which Dr. Clarke speaks, to whom the regularity which must be observed in a large school, but most of all the stimulus of systematic brain-work upon the body, has proved most sanitary."

Speaking from her experience of Vassar College, Doctress A. C. Avery says: "So far as I am able to judge, no one thing here has done more to counteract the hereditary or acquired tendency of many young women to disorders peculiar to their age and sex, than the opportunity for pursuing quietly and continuously, with a definite aim and certain purpose, well-arranged

courses of study. I can recall numbers of instances of girls who came to us weak, indifferent, listless, full of morbid whims and uncontrolled caprices of mind and body, who gained in this bracing atmosphere of happy, sustained industry, such an impetus toward real health that they forgot aches and discontent, and went home ready and eager to do their share in the world's work."

On the other hand, this judicious physician condemns most emphatically the practice of subjecting the young and tender organisms of girls only fifteen years old to the severe tax and strain inseparable from the systematically continued studies of college life. She says: "Again and again I have seen these young students, for of course they enter despite my protestations—everybody wants to see the folly of everything for himself—I have seen them succumb to the unwonted nervous tax within a few weeks; others bear up for months, many get through the year and go home to spend their summer vacation in bed—'Vassar victims' all, whose ghosts haunt the clinical records of doctors from Texas to Canada, from Maine to California, and whose influence makes, so far as it is felt, against woman's chances for liberal education; for these failures are counted as natural effects of study, of mental labour which the female organization cannot endure!" But results of this kind, though perhaps not so pronounced are precisely what we should expect and should certainly produce if we subjected boys of fifteen years of age to a like system.

"When," continues the writer just quoted, "women begin at eighteen or twenty the earnest business of a collegiate course, for which they have slowly and thoroughly prepared while their physical organization was maturing in happy freedom, and when they give to this higher intellectual labour the strength and enthusiasm that are at that age of life pre-eminent and most perfectly balanced, then we shall know what educated woman is, and learn her possible capacities in all that makes for the noblest of humanity."

We are bound to add, *per contra*, that Dr. Clarke adduces testimony respecting co-education of a kind precisely opposite to that presented in the preceding pages. He says: "A philanthropist and an intelligent observer, who has for a long time taken an active part in promoting the best education of the sexes, and who still holds a sort of official connexion with a college occupied with identical co-education, told the writer, a few months ago, that he had endeavoured to trace the post-college history of the female graduates of the institution he was interested in. His object was to ascertain how their physique behaved under the stress—the wear and tear of woman's work

in life. The conclusion that resulted from his inquiry he formulated in the statement that 'the co-education of the sexes is intellectually a success, physically a failure.' Another gentleman, more closely connected with a similar institution of education than the person just referred to, has arrived at a similar conclusion. Only a few female graduates of colleges have consulted the writer professionally. All sought his advice two, three, or more years after graduation; and, in all, the difficulties under which they laboured could be distinctly traced to their college order of life and study—that is, to identical co-education" (pp. 144-145). Dr. Clarke also adduces a number of medical "cases" in support of his doctrine. Now it behoves us to ascertain, if possible, the precise weight and import of the whole of this evidence; for, unless we do so, it will be impossible for us to arrive at a reliable conclusion concerning the question at issue.

We begin, then, with directing the attention of our readers to the fact, that the first witness cited by Dr. Clarke, though "a philanthropist and an intelligent observer," is anonymous, and that the "college occupied with identical co-education," with which "he still holds a sort of official connexion," is also anonymous. And, curiously enough, the other gentleman relied on as a witness, and the institution with which he is "more closely connected" are anonymous too. Now, considering the immense importance of arriving at a right decision concerning the system of co-education which Dr. Clarke accuses of perpetrating "a crime before God and humanity, that physiology protests against, and that experience weeps over," we think we are entitled to demand not only the names of Dr. Clarke's witnesses, but the names of the educational institutions with which they are connected, and in which they saw or learnt the dire physical effects of co-education to which they testify. We are the more emphatic in demanding these names because all the names of the witnesses on the other side are given, and because, if we knew who Dr. Clarke's witnesses are, and what educational institutions they are connected with, or to which of them they refer, we could sift and verify their evidence—a procedure absolutely necessary in order to render it admissible. With all due deference to Dr. Clarke, we are obliged to pronounce it, *as it is now presented*, simply worthless. Authenticated as it needs to be, it might be valuable; but we cannot help thinking that if it were capable of being rendered thus valuable, Dr. Clarke would have been eager to supply the means of its transformation, seeing that the witnesses in question are the only witnesses he calls, and that the evidence tendered by the other side is overwhelmingly strong. Bearing in mind how strong it is, and how feeble is that adduced by Dr. Clarke, we cannot be sur-

prised that he maintains that evidence of any kind now ad-ducible can have but little, if any value. He says: "Two or three generations, at least, of the female college graduates of this sort of co-education must come and go before any sufficient idea can be formed of the harvest it will yield" (p. 145).

Dr. Clarke says: "Only a few female graduates of colleges have consulted the writer professionally"—how few may be imagined by our readers themselves when they learn the nature of the "cases" adduced by Dr. Clarke in the third part of his book, "Chiefly Clinical." Considering that he brings forward only two witnesses, that they are both anonymous, and that the educa-tional institutions they refer to are anonymous, we expected to find that he supports his case mainly by striking evidence derivable from his clinical records, and that that evidence would consist of the medical histories of those of his patients who had become victims of the system of co-education. But when we came to read the reports of his cases we were as much surprised by their worthlessness as supporters of his argument as we were by the worthlessness of the testimony of his anonymous wit-nesses. He gives reports of seven cases; the outlines of these reports are as follows:—

1. Miss A——, a healthy, bright, intelligent girl, entered a female school in the State of New York, at the age of fifteen. She ignored the claims of her organization, and before the end of her second year of study she suffered from hæmorrhage, and from chorea (St. Vitus's dance). As she was not a victim of co-education, we need not pursue her history further.

2. Miss B—— was sent as a child upon the stage, by "the need of bread and butter," and "at fifteen she was an actress. . . . She worked in man's sustained way, ignoring all de-mands for special development," and her "method of work wrought out for her anæmia and epileptiform attacks."

3. "Miss C—— was a book-keeper in a mercantile house." She "believed in doing her work in a man's way, infected by the not uncommon notion that womanliness means manliness. When about twenty years of age" she applied to the Doctor for advice, in consequence of neuralgia, back-ache, and disorder of the generative system, and from her appearance at her last visit to him, he presumes "she has gone to a world where back-ache and male and female skeletons are unknown."

4. "Miss D—— entered Vassar College at the age of fourteen. Up to that age she had been a healthy girl, judged by the stan-dard of American girls." Making no "allowance for the periodi-city of her organization," she began to have fainting fits, and finally grave functional disorder of the reproductive system.

5. Miss E—"Had a literary training,—an intellectual, moral, and æsthetic half of education," under the supervision of her parents. "Her health did not seem to suffer at first. She studied, recited, walked, worked, stood, and the like, in the steady and sustained way that is normal to the male organization." At the age of twenty-one her periodical function began to decline, and, before long, ceased altogether. Then came on head symptoms, and, despite the Doctor's treatment of her, he was finally obliged to consign her to an asylum.

6. "Miss F— was about twenty years old when she completed her technical education," which she got through "without any sort of serious illness." But "with the ending of her school life . . . there commenced, without obvious cause, a long period of invalidism," and finally, "a sudden accident killed her."

7. "Miss G— worked her way through New England primary, grammar, and high-schools to a western college, which she entered with credit to herself, and from which she graduated, confessedly its first scholar, leading the male and female youth alike. . . . She worked as a student, continuously and perseveringly, through the years of her first critical epoch, and for a few years after it, without any sort of regard to the periodical type of her organization. . . . Not a great while after graduation, she began to show signs of failure, and, some years later, died under the writer's care." A post-mortem examination revealed, as the sole evidence of disease, "commencing degeneration" of the brain.

Such are the cases furnished by Dr. Clarke to justify his condemnation of co-education!

It does not appear from the reports that Miss B—, Miss C—, or Miss E—, ever went to a school at all. It seems certain that the actress did not. We presume the book-keeper received the sort of education fitting her to discharge her duties as a book-keeper; and we learn that Miss E. was educated under the "supervision" of her parents, who seem to have been peculiarly well qualified for the task. At any rate these three cases clearly cannot be adduced as examples of the evil effects of school-education of any kind, and may therefore be at once dismissed from consideration. Miss F—'s period of "invalidism" did not begin until she had completed her education. We are not told what kind of school she attended, but we may be sure that if it were one in which the sexes are educated together we should have been informed of the fact; and we learn that she "inherited a nervous diathesis" to begin with. Her case, then, has no bearing whatever on the subject of co-education, and very little on that of education of any kind.

Neither Miss A—— nor Miss D—— were submitted to the co-educational method. If Miss A—— illustrates the evil results of the system adopted at the "female school" in which she was educated, all we can say is, that the sooner that school comes to an end the better. Miss D—— was a pupil at Vassar, and as we have already given a fairly full account of the hygienic effects of that institution, we leave our readers to judge for themselves of the significance of the case of Miss D——, who was educated there.

And now, having duly scrutinized the whole of the seven cases in question,* we find that Dr. Clarke presents us with but one solitary case, the history of which he can point to as a warning example of the fearful physical effects likely to be experienced by women who, during their girlhood, have been exposed to the baneful influence of co-education. One solitary case! Dr. Clarke must indeed have spoken truly when he said, "*Only a few female graduates of colleges*" have consulted him professionally. And what is the import of this single case? The young lady passed through her whole course of study with distinction, and enjoyed good health meanwhile; but "not a great while after graduation she began to show signs of failure." Now in order to make this case really instructive, Dr. Clarke ought to state the precise meaning he attaches to the vague phrase "not a great while,"† the immediate antecedents of the onset of illness, and the constitutional tendencies as well as the family history of the patient. Without this information the case possesses no practical significance. Our conclusion, then, concerning Dr. Clarke's cases is the same as that we arrived at concerning his witnesses—viz., that as supports of his theory they are valueless, and that they cannot be fairly held to contravene in any respect the authentic evidence which we have cited in proof of the erroneousness of that theory, and of the positive beneficence of the system of co-education.

We have now, we believe, satisfactorily proved that whatever may be the nature and extent of the physical deterioration of American women, that deterioration is not due "to a large extent" to the present system of educating girls, whether in

* Dr. Clarke endeavours to strengthen his position by quoting from a Monograph on Insanity by Dr. Fisher three cases of girls who studied hard at the "Normal School," and who afterwards became insane. Of course *excessive* study may drive any one insane; but we need to know, before assigning any value to these cases, whether the patients had no hereditary predisposition to insanity, and what precisely was their own personal history—physical and mental.

† "Not a great while" must mean at least two years; for Dr. Clarke says concerning the few female graduates of colleges who have consulted him, "all sought his advice two, three, or more years after graduation."

institutions devoted exclusively to them, or in those in which the youth of both sexes are educated together. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that if even it could be shown that the health of all those young women who go through the course of study exacted at Mount Holyoke, Vassar, Oberlin, Antioch, the University of Michigan, and the other institutions in which the system of co-education has been adopted has been seriously impaired, the total number of those students is comparatively small, and the first establishment of even the oldest of the institutions at which they have studied is comparatively recent, and therefore that it is impossible that the alleged baneful influence of those institutions can already have become so widely spread as to have produced the *national* deterioration which Dr. Clarke describes and deplores.

Whether the hygienic state of American women is really so unsatisfactory as it is said to be by Dr. Clarke we do not presume to decide; if, however, it be admitted—and we fear it must be admitted—that as a general rule, liable, of course, to thousands of splendid exceptions, American women do not equal European women in respect to health and strength, and if Dr. Clarke's hypothesis as to the cause of the inferiority he signalizes is untenable, how does it originate?

In our opinion many and various causes, some of them probably so subtle as to evade apprehension, co-operate to produce the deterioration in question. We shall endeavour to indicate some of those causes, but shall make no attempt to assign to each its relative force as a deteriorative agent.

The most general, probably the most potent, and certainly the most persistently operative cause of the physical deterioration of American women is the American climate. But of course the influence of this cause is not restricted to the women; it extends to the men also. Nearly thirty years ago, when Sir Charles Lyell visited the United States for the second time, he was struck with the "careworn expression in the countenances of the New Englanders." One of them, referring to the poverty of the English and Irish lower classes, said to him, "We ought to be happier than the English, although we do not *look* so." Sir Charles remarks: "An Englishman is usually recognised at once in a party, by a more robust look, and greater clearness and ruddiness of complexion; *and it is surprising how distinguishable he is even from persons born of English parents in the United States.*" These words which we have put in italics imply that the modifying influence on the human constitution of the atmospheric conditions of the United States is both very powerful and very rapid in its action. "I suspect," says Sir

Charles, "that the principal cause of the different aspect of the Anglo-Saxon race in England is the climate. During both our tours through the United States my wife and I enjoyed excellent health, and were delighted with the clearness of the atmosphere, the bright sun, and the great number of cloudless days; *but we were told that if we stayed a second year we should feel less vigorous*. Many who have been born in America, of families who have settled there for several generations, find their health improved by a visit to England, just as if they had returned to their native air; and it may require several centuries before a race becomes thoroughly acclimatized. The great difference of the species of indigenous animals and plants in North America, those of the Middle and Southern States being almost all distinct from the European, points to a wide diversity of climate, the atmosphere being drier, and there being a much greater annual range of the thermometer than in corresponding latitudes on the eastern side of the Atlantic. Even so cosmopolite a being as man may demand more than two centuries and a quarter before he can accommodate his constitution to such altered circumstances, and before the successive generations of parents can acquire themselves, and transmit to their offspring, the new and requisite physiological peculiarities."*

It seems to us that the constitutional modification which is taking place in the American white man is essentially the same as that which is taking place in the American white woman—a modification which is probably in the direction of an approximation to the physical type of the North American Indian. Certain it is that the typical characteristics of John Bull and of his brother Jonathan are now widely divergent, and that the divergence has been effected almost wholly, if not exclusively, by changes wrought in the physical and psychological nature of Jonathan alone. History gives no appreciable indication of constitutional change in the essential characteristics of the English people during recent centuries; but within the comparatively short period which has elapsed since white men first made themselves a home on the western side of the Atlantic, a new national physiognomy has been developed, and the descendants of Englishmen, Dutchmen, and Germans, to whom the epithet "burly" is almost alike applicable as a national designation, have become transformed into the slim, wiry "American," whose skin is often seemingly corrugated for lack of that full supply of adipose cellular tissue which fills up the interstices and rounds-off the form of the typical John Bull.

* "A Second Visit to the United States of North America." By Sir Charles Lyell, F.R.S. Vol. i. pp. 154-5.

Observant American gentlemen, of whom Dr. Clarke may be cited as an example, are struck, when travelling in Europe, with the fulness and roundness of form of European women, and contrast their rich physical development with the meagre and pallid forms of their sisters, wives, and daughters whom they have left at home. But these gentlemen do not seem to remember that when American ladies, not less observant than themselves, visit Europe, they also make comparisons between the men of the United States and those of England and the continent, and draw conclusions precisely similar in kind to those which Dr. Clarke has published in his work on "Sex and Education." Now, if the conclusions of the female and male observers are equally valid, it is obvious that the cause which is operating to produce a physical condition in the men of America which arrests the attention of their women, and also produces a like condition in the women equally striking to the men, must be a cause of a kind far more general and constantly operative than is the one described by Dr. Clarke. This cause we believe to consist, as we have intimated, in the peculiarities of the North American climate. Now, the physiological conditions which this cause produces become hereditary, are transmitted from parents to children, and the American girl, at her very birth, is thus impressed with the physical characteristics ascribed by Dr. Clarke to the educational influences to which she is afterwards subject.

The air of the American Continent is, according to the general testimony of residents in the United States, peculiarly dry, exhilarating, and exciting ; and as the nervous system of women is, as a rule, more impressionable and excitable than that of men, American girls who have already acquired, by hereditary transmission, the characteristics just mentioned, are brought so much nearer than men are to the border-land between health and disease by the exciting influence in question, and very easily pass over that region, and find themselves where diseases of the nervous system prevail. Again, in the Northern States there is not only great cold in winter, and great heat in summer, but the alternations of heat and cold are often extreme. The more delicate the organizations are which are subject to these climatic conditions, the more injurious will be their effects, and hence the girls and women suffer from them most. Moreover, the climate of the Northern States being so severe as it is, the people of those States find it almost, if not wholly impossible to maintain the temperature of their houses sufficiently high to be comfortable in winter, without resorting to the use of closed furnaces, by means of which the air of the apartments throughout the houses is generally kept at a higher temperature

than is wholesome—often at 80 degrees Fahrenheit, and often also at the expense of notably defective ventilation. The women of the Northern States of America restrict themselves to these hot and close rooms much more generally and continuously than the men do; and when they go out visiting, or to balls, soirées, theatres, the opera, &c., they expose themselves suddenly to a very low temperature, and thus incur greater risks than men do of inducing, not only pulmonary, but other physical disorders.

Moreover, we understand that American ladies indulge much more in the extravagances of dress than even their English sisters do; and that, considering the inclemency of the American climate, they are reprehensibly careless in guarding against taking cold, owing to the alternations of temperature to which they expose themselves when going out and in of their too generally heated rooms.

Again, the severity of the climate, and not infrequently the unsatisfactory nature of the roads tend to discourage adequate physical exercise, the want of which must contribute in large measure to produce the delicacy and pallor of American girls. "I am amazed," writes an American lady, "when I see it stated that 'length of time cannot transform the German Fräulein into the fragile American girl.' The influence of climate does this in one generation for our Irish and German population. Standing in the mills at Lawrence, any competent observer may note in the pale faces and constant cough of the operatives an attestation of these words. During the past three years I have parted with three satisfactory Irish servants, who were in the incipient stages of consumption. I dismissed them because no influence of mine could persuade them to retire early, and to wear waterproof shoes, thick or warm clothing."*

Sir Charles Lyell seems to think that when in the course of time the Anglo-Saxon has acquired the "physiological peculiarities" requisite to adapt him to the climate of the United States, all will be well with him in physiological and hygienical respects; we are sorry to say, however, that we are unable to concur in this opinion. We fear that the process of acclimatization is a process of physical deterioration. It is believed by competent observers that Englishmen can scarcely continue two, and certainly not three, generations in India, unless the children spend several years in the mother country; and though, as we know, the conditions of living on the western side of the Atlantic, which are imposed on the Anglo-Saxon, are not so hard as these, we believe them to be, physiologically speaking, very hard. And, of

* "The Education of Girls in America," p. 153.

course, in accordance with the rule that the weakest suffer most, the American climate tells even more injuriously on the women than on the men.

The exuberant wealth, and the peculiar social life, in large measure a consequence of it, which are notable in American cities, must also operate unfavourably on the physical and mental health of their inhabitants. "I believe," says the lady just quoted, "that in no country, in any age, was life ever so reckless, and so carelessly dissipated as it is in America to-day. In Sybaris itself, in Corinth, and in Paris, only a few wealthy people could indulge in the irregular lives which the unexampled prosperity of this country opens to the great bulk of the population."* The influence on growing hyper-sensitive girls of living in a social atmosphere of this kind is not likely to be a healthy one; and there are influences of a similar nature, but worse in kind, which many American girls are exposed to, and the results of which assume, not infrequently, a constitutional form. "From fathers, fevered with restless mercantile speculation, or tossed between 'bulls and bears' in Wall Street, or who allow themselves to indulge in practices which their daughters are supposed never to know, girls inherit an 'abnormal development of the nervous system,' and every fibre in their bodies feels the 'twist in the nerves.'"† In short, American society seems to be especially distinguished by an absence of mental repose, by a spirit of unrest, which dominates alike both sexes and all classes. "In Massachusetts the mortality from diseases of the brain and nervous system is eleven per cent. In Nova Scotia it is only eight per cent."‡ The causes productive of these results exert their baneful influences most potently, of course, on those whose nervous systems are already most impressionable, and therefore most injuriously of all on young women, whose nervous systems becoming more or less disordered, quickly tell of the morbid effects wrought upon them by producing diseases in the body generally, and, more especially, by originating functional derangements of the newly-developed reproductive system.

Besides the deteriorating influences of a general kind just adverted to, there are others which, in their origin, are connected with the political constitution of the country. The Republican feeling which expresses itself in the declaration that all men are equal, has so rapidly extended itself that not only are the women asserting their political equality with the men, but even each child

* "The Education of Girls in America," p. 153. † *Ibid.*, p. 156.

‡ "Bits of Talk." By H. H., quoted by Dr. Clarke, p. 167.

of the great republic considers itself a young sovereign. Young America, male and female alike, manifests little or no respect for its mother, or, indeed, for its father either. In Europe cases are by no means unknown in which children rule the house ; but in the United States the rising generation is so wonderfully in the ascendant that the juvenile *régime* has become a custom of the country—parents and grandparents assuming towards their children and grandchildren respectively quite a deferential attitude. In the social gatherings of transatlantic homes, European observers are often struck by the fact that the young ladies and gentlemen are the most important figures, the parents, seemingly conscious of their inferiority, occupying the background, or most retired parts of the rooms. When, after a ball or evening party, young gentlemen call the following morning to pay their respects to the young ladies who may have danced with them on the previous evening, the visitors are entertained in the drawing-room by the young ladies alone, it being considered, we believe, that the presence of their mothers on these occasions would be felt to be an undue interference with the individuality and liberty of their daughters. In fact, elderly ladies are, or used to be, looked upon, to a great extent, as incumbrances. Some years ago we asked a very intelligent person of this class, who was then in London, but whose life had been chiefly passed in New York, which country she liked best—America or England? She expressed a preference for the latter; and on being asked the reason of her preference, she said, significantly, “Well, sir, in England an old woman hasn’t to apologize for her existence.” Such being the attitude of young America towards its parents it will be readily understood that parental discipline, as generally exercised over the young in European families, is practised in a very much feebler degree in the United States.

The hygienic consequences of the remarkable abdication of parental duties just indicated may be better imagined than described. Children are allowed, in a large proportion of cases, to eat and drink almost everything they please ; and they please to take very many things which are anything but conducive to health. They do this at home ; and when they go to school fond parents, reckless of their children’s health, too often minister to their unhealthy appetites. Dr. Clarke admits that “an immense loss of female power may be fairly charged to irrational cooking and indigestible diet. We live,” he says, “in the zone of perpetual pie and dough ; and our girls revel in those unassimilable abominations” (p. 23). A lady writing concerning Mount Holyoke Seminary, says : “Another fruitful source of evil for which parents are largely responsible

is the supplying of schoolgirls with quantities of pastry, cakes and sweetmeats, which are eaten, of course, between meals, and often just before going to bed. In one instance, a young lady, previously in perfect health, in the course of two years made herself a confirmed dyspeptic, simply by indulging night after night in the indigestible dainties with which she was constantly supplied from home. This is her own view of the matter in looking back.*

The American citizens of both sexes, of the class which in due time will receive a college education, claim admission to "society," and assist at evening parties at an age when their peers on the European side of the Atlantic are, as a general rule, restricted to the nursery, and are put to bed at seven o'clock each night, except on those special and important occasions when they are allowed to appear in the dining-room during the dessert. Moreover, the dress displayed by juvenile America at its very interesting soirées and conversaziones is, we understand, of the most elaborate and *recherché* character, very far surpassing anything of the same kind ever attempted in England. Referring to the comparative health of German and American girls, a German lady, resident in New York, says: "One cause of the German girl being better able to work with impunity than her American sister during the years of development, which in South Germany begin at the age of fourteen, may be found in the simpler and much more sensible way in which she is brought up while still in early childhood. A German mother does not bedeck her little daughter of four or eight years with flounces and sashes half as heavy herself, and then show her off in a parlour full of admiring friends; nor send her to a children's ball, where, with a young prodigy of the other sex, she imitates her elders in flirtation. Instead of coaxing the wilful darling into obedience by the promise of candy, utterly disregarding of future dyspepsia, she brings her to reason by more efficient, if less agreeable expedients. The child is encouraged to play with her dolls, and to find pleasure in flowers and childlike amusements as long as possible. Thus she grows up with simple tastes, although a little awkward and shy."†

Of course as the bloom is but an expansion of the bud, so the life of American youth is but a continuation and development of American childhood. Girls carefully initiated during the second five years of life into all the mysteries and allurements of extravagant personal adornment, exciting juvenile parties, and juvenile flirtations are not likely during their second ten years to forget the lessons taught them, but, on the contrary, are sure

* "The Education of American Girls," p. 325. † *Ibid.*, p. 365-6.

to better the instruction; and that, in fact, they do so is only too well attested by experience. Some twenty years ago the senseless extravagance in dress of "the upper ten thousand" of American young ladies, which far exceeded the folly in this respect of their English sisters (and that is saying a good deal), was strikingly depicted by an American satirist in the admirable lines—"Nothing to wear." Since that time the wondrous mania, instead of abating has so increased that a chorus of voices—from social reformers, educationalists, and medical men—is loudly protesting against the costly and health-destroying slavery to dress to which, in a pre-eminent degree, transatlantic young ladies of the present day wilfully condemn themselves. "It cannot be denied that the heavily-weighted skirts now in vogue are uncleanly and unwholesome, even when worn short; and while schoolgirls elaborate, friz, powder, and puff their hair like their elders, and trim their dresses to such excess, it will be impossible for them to find time for consecutive study. Every separate curl, lace, or fold becomes a separate cause of worry; and 'worry' lies at the bottom of American degeneracy male and female."* Referring to the causes of the "weaknesses" of American women, Dr. Clarke says: "Much also may be credited to artificial deformities strapped to the spine, or piled on the head, much to corsets and skirts, and as much to the omission of clothing where it is needed as to excess where the body does not require it" (p. 23). We have been recently informed of a case of a young American lady who was resolutely intent on lacing herself so tightly as to injure her health, and who, in spite of the prolonged resistance of her mother, at last did so. In due time she began to suffer from pulmonary disease, and being away from home, begged her mother to go to her, when she confessed her fault, abandoned the dangerous practice which had made her an invalid, became obedient to her physician, and fortunately for herself recovered. But probably the proportion of young ladies who have mothers as sensible as the one just mentioned is small, and therefore the number of those American ladies who practise tight-lacing without being repeatedly warned of its danger is probably very great. Indeed we are expressly informed by an American writer of their own sex, that "girls do not know that they dress too tightly. They will repel indignantly the idea that they 'lace,' and yet, if they be asked to take a full inhalation it becomes perfectly evident that the outside resistance is a very positive element. To prove this it is only necessary for them to put on their corsets laced as above described, and then try to button the dress. It will, in nine

* *Education of American Girls*, "p. 153.

hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand, be found, I think, that the dress, which before came together without the slightest difficulty, will no longer meet."* Ladies generally are prone to wear shoes, the soles of which are much thinner than they ought to be. Of course in a climate so extremely cold as that of the North American States is during each winter, carelessness respecting the temperature of the feet, especially the feet of young women, is likely to be attended with more serious consequences to the health than is apt to be the case in more temperate climates.

Another point deserving of mention is the fact, well known to Americans generally, that American rooms are usually kept much darker than is consistent with the good health of those who live in them. We presume that the American belles, anxious to preserve, what we hope we shall be forgiven for designating the *morbid* delicacy of their complexions, shrink from the life-giving light as if it were an enemy to be avoided.

Among the numerous hindrances which American young women encounter in the course of their educational race with their brothers, the greatest, perhaps, is the irresistible necessity which dominates them to frequent the large number of parties, balls, and fashionable resorts of various kinds which constitute a great and seemingly essential part of American social life. As children's parties, on a grand scale, are characteristic of juvenile existence in the United States, so American young ladies at an age when their English sisters would be considered "not yet out" and would accordingly be still secluded within the family circle, are already in the whirl of society, and are sacrificing a large portion of their health at its shrine. Of course American young gentlemen go into society too, and perhaps as much as the young ladies—otherwise, we presume, the latter would care little about it, and therefore in this respect they are on equal terms; but while in the important article of dress the young gentleman simply gives his order for each article required and then dismisses the business from his mind, the young lady in the majority of instances is seriously exercised in spirit as to what she shall wear at each party or ball, and spends much time, not only in anxious consultations with her milliner, but often in assisting in the laborious preparation of her own dresses. "So long as girls require from one hour and a half to three hours a day, to be, or to develop themselves into the conventional girl, and boys require only about one-third of that time to get themselves up into the conventional pattern for a boy, girls must either be superior to boys to begin with, or they must economize their power better, if they are able to

* "Education of American Girls," p. 41.

do as much school-work in a year as boys ; that is, if girls must consume power in all the ways that constitute the approved specialities of girls, they cannot do the whole work of boys without doing* much more than boys do.* Now, assuming the working power of boys and girls having good constitutions to be equal, and that their school studies are equally laborious, it is clear that if the boys are fairly worked up to their strength the girls must be overworked. We believe that, in a large majority of cases, they are overworked ; and, of course, this means that their health is proportionately impaired. But many causes, some of which we have indicated, co-operate to lessen the health and strength of the girls ; so that, in fact, their overwork tells much more injuriously on them even than it otherwise would do. The remarks just made refer especially to girls of the rank of "the upper ten thousand ;" but in addition to the school-lessons, girls of all ranks do much more than boys. The girls give much time to the care of the younger children, and, beside a good deal of general help, sewing of some sort, more or less, is always expected of them.

Girls who overwork themselves must abridge the time which they would otherwise give either to their amusements or to rest. It is not difficult to divine which they most willingly sacrifice : of course many of them are busy at their lessons when they ought to be asleep ; and thus, besides the inducement to late hours in the shape of parties, balls, theatres, operas, &c., which influence both sexes alike, several special causes co-operate to prevent girls from obtaining that full amount of sleep which is an indispensable condition of perfect health and vigour.

From all that we have said respecting the causes of the physical deterioration of American women our readers will probably infer that the evils of premature education are generally observable in the United States, and especially in New England. In a society in which the young of both sexes are advanced from the nursery to the drawing-room, and from thence to soirées, balls, and operas, in the frequent and systematic manner which obtains in America, it may confidently be expected that girlhood will merge into womanhood much earlier than is usually the case in Europe. In America the great mass of English books are reprinted without any payment to their authors, and are therefore amazingly cheap ; and as little or no control is exercised over the reading of either girls or boys, the girls as well as the boys read almost anything they please, and a large number of them indulge in reading sentimental and sensational novels in which the relations of the sexes, and sexual questions gene-

* "Education of American Girls," p. 247.

rally are treated of in a manner especially calculated to create a morbid consciousness of sex, and to develop in a premature, unhealthy way, and to an excessive extent, that emotional nature which in truly healthy young women remains latent to a much later period. "How large a proportion of mothers and guardians exercise anything which can be called watchful care as to what books and papers the children shall read? and yet the book-sellers' shelves groan under the weight of the most dissipating, weakening, and insidious books that can possibly be imagined; and newspapers which ought never to enter any decent house, lie on the table of many a family sitting-room. Any one who will take the trouble to examine the records of any large circulating library will be astounded at the immense demand which there is for the average novels. And in our parlours and chambers to-day, myriads of little girls are curled up in corners, poring over such reading—stories of complicated modern society, the very worst kind of reading for a child—stories 'whose exciting pages delight in painting the love of the sexes for each other, and its sensual phases.' And the mothers do not know what they are reading; and the children answer, when asked what they read, 'Oh, anything that comes along.'"^{*} Another American lady writes: "If in idle moments the children of this generation take up a book, it is no longer a simple Bible story, or a calm classic of the English tongue, but the novels of Miss Braddon, Mrs. Southworth, or Mrs. Wood wake them into a premature life of the imagination and the senses. Before they are six years old they hold weddings for their dolls, and act love-scenes, tableaux, or go to theatrical exhibitions as stimulating as the 'Black Crook,' if less offensive to the taste."[†]

It will, we think, be conceded by every competent observer of the life of American girls of the upper classes of society at the present time that many causes are constantly co-operating to injure their general health, and especially to produce numerous and grave disorders of the nervous system—disorders which express themselves differently in different sufferers, according to their constitutional idiosyncrasies, but which in young women tell especially on the reproductive system. In our opinion the causes we have enumerated are amply sufficient to produce all the baneful effects which Dr. Clarke ascribes to co-education. If the causes in question are adequate to produce the widespread enfeeblement, and physical degeneracy of American women, there is no occasion to search for additional causes of those effects, and a strong *à priori* reason for disbelieving in Dr. Clarke's theory that they are mainly due to the system of

^{*} "Education of American Girls," p. 645.

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

collegiate education, and especially to that of co-education of the sexes, as now practised in the United States.

One of the most important facts mentioned by Dr. Clarke in proof of the physical degeneracy of American women is the steady decline in the number of American children under fifteen years of age as compared with the number of American women between the child-bearing ages of fifteen and fifty. Now, while fully admitting, as we do, that the fertility of the most intellectual classes of society is less than that of the classes below them, we wholly disbelieve that during the last forty years intellectual development in the United States has proceeded to so great an extent as to account for the rapid decline in fertility which has taken place, and which, we presume, is continuing there; and we are quite certain that whatever may be the main cause or causes of that decline, the school or college education hitherto given to American girls has not co-operated to the extent of an appreciable fraction in effecting it. But we do believe that the practice of wilfully restricting the number of children born, either by inducing abortion speedily after conception has occurred, or by preventing its occurrence, is more generally prevalent in the United States than in any other civilized country, France excepted; and if it be so, we have in that fact an adequate explanation of the steady decline of fertility of American women. Assuming the existence and frequency of the practice in question, Dr. Clarke appreciates the adequacy of the explanations here given; but being so intent as he is in proving "identical co-education" guilty on every count of his formidable indictment, he tries to discredit the general and strongly held belief in the prevalence of that practice. He says: "It has been asserted that the chief reason why the higher and educated classes have smaller families than the lower and uneducated is, that the former criminally prevent or destroy increase. The pulpit, as well as the medical press, has cried out against this enormity. That a disposition to do this thing exists, and is often carried into effect is not to be denied, and cannot be too strongly condemned. On the other hand, it should be proclaimed, to the credit and honour of our cultivated women, and as a reproach to the identical education of the sexes, that many of them bear in silence the accusation of self-tampering, who are denied the oft-prayed-for trial, blessing, and responsibility of offspring. As a matter of personal experience my advice has been much more frequently and earnestly sought by those of our best classes who desired to know how to obtain, than by those who wished to escape, the offices of maternity" (pp. 140-1).

The practice in question is one which occupants of the pulpit must, we imagine, be very reluctant to touch upon at all; hence,

if it is already denounced from the pulpit, as well as by the medical press, it seems certain that it prevails very extensively indeed. And Dr. Clarke states explicitly that "a disposition to do this thing exists, and is often carried into effect." In fact, we understand that there are persons in America who profess the art of destroying "the increase," and who practise it almost openly with impunity. Dr. Clarke himself admits being applied to "by those who wished to escape the offices of maternity." Now to our minds this admission has great significance. In England a physician having a professional status similar to that of Dr. Clarke in Boston would be thus applied to, we venture to say, scarcely once in a life-time; and the fact that one of the chief physicians of precisely that American city which is reported to stand pre eminent as the example of all that is the most intellectual, most refined, and most moral in the Union, can be frequently applied to "by those who wish to escape the offices of maternity," speaks volumes in evidence that the voice of the public conscience of even the upper classes in America is far less troublesome there than it still is in England respecting the practice in question. We may add that we know from the testimony of thoroughly respectable residents, both male and female, in the United States, that that practice not only prevails extensively, but that its expediency is openly insisted on. We maintain, then, that the acknowledged prevalence of that practice, and not "identical co-education," is the sufficient and efficient cause of the decline of fertility now observable in America; and we must now add, that whatever may be the effects on the physical health of women of preventing conception, the practice of inducing abortion, however early in the stage of pregnancy, is, as a general rule, destructive of health in a pre-eminent degree; and that to whatever extent this practice prevails in the United States it constitutes to that extent one of the most potent of all the causes of the physical degeneracy of American women.

While gladly paying our tribute of admiration for the skilful manner with which Dr. Clarke deals with his subject, for his lucid style and general earnestness of tone, we are constrained to confess to a profound distrust of the soundness of several of the most important fundamental positions upon which the main structure of his work is reared. For example, we think he exaggerates enormously the essential nature of the physiological differences between girls and boys and men and women. In respect to strength, endurance, and capacity of systematic labour, the differences observable between men and women are, we do not hesitate to affirm, mainly the conjoint products of a vicious civilization and a false ideal of physical and mental womanhood.

Experience presents an amount of evidence so great as to be logically irresistible that woman may be so trained as to develop both her muscular and her nervous system to an extent rendering them a fair counterpart of those of man. We have only to consider how generally throughout Europe the lowest classes of women are engaged in all kinds of hard work, and how efficiently they discharge their tasks to be assured of their capacity to undergo severe and prolonged physical labour. The fishwomen on various parts of the coasts of the United Kingdom and of the Continent evidence the great muscular strength which woman is capable of acquiring; and the large stature which many women attain is an assurance of the possibility that the size and strength of women generally will, under favourable conditions, approximate to that of men.*

Again, we think that Dr. Clarke emphasizes unduly the essential distinction between the nature of puberty in the two sexes. At that critical period the transformation of the youth into the young man is associated with experiences of physical and emotional tumult which are easily capable of lapsing into disorder, and even into disease, and which, though not so obvious as expressions of developmental change as is the function newly established in the girl at the epoch of her arrival at womanhood, are nevertheless, in our opinion, an adequate counterpart of the changes which she undergoes. And there are grounds for believing that if the life, education, and occupations of young women were governed by only the same amount even of reason and common sense as is displayed in the government of the life, education, and occupations of young men, the general health of the former would be so improved that the crisis of puberty in them would disturb the even tenor of their life and development little or no more than the corresponding crisis disturbs the life and development of young men. We may add, what indeed is well known to physiologists, physicians, and women, that the periodic function of really robust and healthy women is performed with regularity and without pain or constitutional disturbance, and hence that their ordinary work or occupation is neither interrupted nor even interfered with meanwhile.

Without adducing any proof of the truth of his assertion, Dr. Clarke states that "the reproductive apparatus of woman uses the blood as one of its agents of ~~ex~~haustion of effete and used

* "In the University of Michigan, pursuing her studies equally with the young men, is a young woman from Kentucky, who measures six feet two inches in height, and is well proportioned. She has a younger sister there who is already five feet eight inches high, and growing very fast."—"Education of American Girls," pp. 124-5.

material." Throughout the period during which woman is capable of conceiving and bearing children her system habitually produces an amount of blood adequate not only for her own nourishment but for the nourishment of her child during both gestation and lactation; but if the supplementary amount of blood is not called for either for the development of the fœtus or for the suckling of the infant, it would, if retained in the system of the woman, necessarily cause either an excessive plethora or active disease. These evils are averted by the wonderful arrangement, consisting of a spontaneous periodical depletion simultaneously with the regularly recurring phenomenon of ovulation. But we maintain that this spontaneous depletion has nothing in common with the nature of true secretion, and that Dr. Clarke's statement that it operates as an elimination of effete and used material is wholly unsupported by sound physiology—his own assertion on the subject, like that of many other medical writers, notwithstanding.

We doubt the truth of Dr. Clarke's doctrine that girls need more sleep than boys; and if his statement that "the system never does two things well at the same time" be credible—we do not think it is—it is certain that he piles on each of these assumptions an amount of argument which they are wholly unable to support.

Referring to the growth of the female reproductive organs, he tells us that it "occurs during the few years of a girl's educational life;" and he then says: "No such extraordinary task, calling for such rapid expenditure of force, building up such a delicate and extensive mechanism within the organism—a house within a house, an engine within an engine—is imposed upon the male physique at the same epoch" (p. 37). Now, with all due respect to Dr. Clarke's physiology, we are of opinion that this short passage contains two errors, and suggests an erroneous inference. In saying that the growth in question occurs during the few years of a girl's educational life, he virtually says that it does not occur either previously or afterwards. But he knows quite well that the organs in question exist, at all events, from the time of the complete formation of the child at birth, and that they grow with its growth until the girl's educational life begins as well as during that life and often afterwards. His assertion that the "rapid expenditure of force" effecting that growth has no parallel in the development of the male organism is merely an assertion: it is unproven, and until it is proved, we shall hold it unprovable. But assuming for the moment that the great and rapid expenditure of force described by Dr. Clarke does actually take place as the efficient cause of the "growth"

in question, we should doubt altogether the desirableness and even the healthiness of such an expenditure "during the few years of a girl's educational life," and believe that for the sake of girls themselves and of humanity generally, every possible effort ought to be made in order to lessen that expenditure during those years by spreading it over several subsequent years of womanhood.

The several propositions or assertions by Dr. Clarke which we have just passed in review are all designed to lead up to the one conclusion which he is intent on establishing—namely, that the task imposed on the female organization during the few years in question in developing the reproductive system is so great and momentous, that every other object in the life of girlhood should be subordinated to its achievement, and that at all events her life should be so ordered, and her education should be so conducted, that she may be able to give up one week out of every four to rest, in order that her reproductive system may be completely developed, and that the periodical function of it may be perfectly performed. Having propounded this doctrine, Dr. Clarke must of necessity, as indeed he does, denounce in the most emphatic manner those systems of female education which practically ignore the need of that systematic monthly rest which he deems essential, and especially does he denounce the practice of co-education of the sexes which now widely obtains and is rapidly extending in the United States.

"The regimen of intermittence, periodicity of exercise and rest, *work three-fourths of each month, and remission, if not abstinence, the other fourth*, physiological interchange of the erect and reclining posture, care of the reproductive system, that is the cradle of the race" (p. 128), is the regimen which he insists on as absolutely necessary for girls during the few years of their educational life, in order to "toughen" and make women of them; and this prescription sums up at once both the whole of his advice as to their management, and all the practical wisdom of his book.

Distrusting as we do the main principles on which Dr. Clarke's conclusion and consequent advice are founded, we also distrust the wisdom of the advice itself. We have shown by means of a large amount of evidence, the validity of which cannot be impugned, that the "pallor and weakness" of American girls and women are not due to the causes to which he ascribes them; that their real causes are patent and manifold, and are mainly those we have enumerated; that they all co-operate to effect one and the same result—the physical precocity of American youth of both sexes, but most especially of girls; and

we affirm that the devotion of so much attention, thought, and time, as Dr. Clarke advises to be given to the performance of the periodical function incident to the dawn and complete development of womanhood, is not only not essential in order to insure the adequate and perfect growth of the womanly organization, but would actually conduce to augment and intensify the very evils it is designed to remedy.

If we accepted the dogma of Michelet, that "semi-invalidism" is "the natural, inevitable, and charming condition of women," we should think it expedient to adopt Dr. Clarke's prescription for their treatment; but it is precisely this dogma which we repudiate. We confidently appeal to the experience and common sense of the most healthy and the most enlightened women, both of this country and of the United States, in justification of that repudiation; and we assert, no less confidently, that they will confirm our condemnation of the practice of Dr. Clarke's plan as being at once unnecessary, a serious and often costly interruption of young women's studies or occupations, a vexatious waste of precious time, and as, on the whole, far more injurious than beneficial.

We should concur with Dr. Clarke in prescribing rest, to whatever extent might be necessary, in every case of suffering associated with the catamenial function, as well as in every case in which that function may, in any respect, be abnormal. But we protest against setting up the rules and practices wisely applicable to suffering or unhealthy women as the standard according to which the lives of the healthy are to be governed. We maintain that for the due regulation of the physical life of the latter those rational and ordinary rules of health, the observance of which is incumbent on human beings generally, will amply suffice; and that the less the attention of healthy women of all ages is concentrated on their sexual system the more completely will their health, both physical and mental, be preserved. A woman whose wisdom in this matter transcends, as it seems to us, the wisdom of Drs. Clarke and Maudsley, has truly said: "All functions will be best regulated by a full, harmonious normal development of all. And in physiology, as in religion, the grand paradox holds true, 'that he who loveth his life shall lose it, and he that hateth it for My sake shall find it.'"

Further, we maintain that in a large proportion of those cases in which there is actual disorder of the nervous system, expressing itself in derangements of the function in question, a salutary influence on that disorder may be exerted by withdrawing the patient's attention from it as much as possible, and

directing it to objects which have no relation to the emotions, but which immediately, at all events, interest the intellect alone.

Finally, we entertain a confident opinion, the reasons for which we hope to lay before our readers on a future occasion, that among the agencies immediately available for counteracting the precocious physical development of American youth generally, and of American girls especially, or, in other words, for retarding the dawn of manhood and womanhood, now notably premature in the New England States, and thus increasing the health and strength of the American people, there is no one so capable of proving effective as systematic culture and discipline of the intellect, conjoined with abundant and regular muscular exercise; and that such activity of the mind and body as is here intended can be best secured in its healthiest form by a wisely devised system of co-education wisely administered.



INDEPENDENT SECTION.

[Under the above title a limited portion of the *Westminster Review* is occasionally set apart for the reception of able articles, which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the work, contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it may advocate. The object of the Editor, in introducing this department, is to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture, who, while they are zealous friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editor and from each other.]

ART. VIII.—THE BEST FOOD FOR MAN.

1. *Fruits and Farinacea the Proper Food of Man.* By JOHN SMITH. With Notes by R. T. TRALL, M.D. Sam. Wells, 389, Broadway, New York: 1872.
2. *The Primitive Diet of Man.* By Dr. F. R. LEES.
3. *The Scientific Basis of Vegetarianism.* By R. T. TRALL, M.D.
4. *Lectures and Addresses.* By Professor F. W. NEWMAN.
5. *Vegetarian Cookery.* By a LADY. London: F. PITMAN.

WHAT is the best food for man; or what diet do science and experience point out as best calculated to promote human health, happiness, and longevity?

This is a brief statement of the chief problem dealt with in the books before us; a problem, the discussion of which is calculated to arouse the greatest possible interest among all classes of thoughtful readers. Considering the question first from the scientific point of view, we find ourselves irresistibly pushed to the conclusion, that the kind of food likely to prove most valuable to man is that best suited to the present condition of his masticatory and digestive organs. We are inclined to emphasize the word "present" in the foregoing sentence, because our authors all appear to attach undue importance to the anatomical structure of our race in this age of the world, as affording evidence of Nature's original design in respect to human dietetics. But in the face of modern views concerning the development of species, it is at least unwise to support any particular system of diet, on the ground of a supposed divine intention. The real question which we have to meet must be

answered by means of comparing the anatomy of man as he now is, with that of flesh-eating and of fruit-eating creatures; suffering ourselves to be guided in our conclusions, not by rabbinical or oriental tradition, but by honest and painstaking investigation.

First then, we must inquire whether a fruit and farinaceous diet, such as that advocated by vegetarians, possesses the qualities necessary to the human economy; and secondly, whether such food is preferable to a flesh or mixed diet for the purpose of sustaining our vital processes in the greatest perfection and for the longest period.

Starting with the evidence afforded by the present physiological condition of man, we find him placed by Linnæus at the head of the Primates, or first order of the class of Mammalia. In general structure of body the genus *Homo* is very strongly allied to that of the *Simiæ*, which comprehends the whole race of apes, baboons, and monkeys, and of which the oran-outan may be regarded as most nearly approximating to the characteristics of humanity. On comparing the jaws of this frugivorous creature with those of man, we find the cuspids, or eye-teeth of the former, superior in size and length to those of the human subject. This difference seems to mark the oran-outan as the less distinctly frugivorous creature of the two. There is not the slightest resemblance between the cuspids of man and those of the carnivorous animals; nor in the human jaw does any space exist between the opposite teeth for receiving the cuspids, as in the jaws of flesh-eating creatures. Professor Lawrence observes in his "*Lectures on Physiology*": "The masticatory organs of the orang are so closely similar to the human that they might be easily mistaken for them, were not the canines (eye-teeth) relatively longer and more pointed, and the elevations on the grinding surfaces of the molars more prominent, by which characteristics the orang approaches nearer to the *carnivora* than man." The articulation of the lower jaw, the shape of the stomach, the comparative length of the intestines, the capacity of the cæcum, and the cellular arrangement of the colon in the oran-outan pretty closely correspond to those of the human subject; and in whatever part a difference is observable, it is invariably one which denotes man as the farther removed in his present condition from the carnivorous races. For instance, the zygoma is smaller, and the temporal muscles less powerful in man than in the orang; while the human parotid, submaxillary and sublingual glands for secreting saliva, are more highly developed. With regard to the proportions of the alimentary canal, the length of it in man, as in the ape, is between the two extremes of the lion on the one hand, and of the sheep on the

other. Man is neither herbivorous, as the sheep and horse, nor carnivorous as the lion, but he is frugivorous, as the genus *Simiadae*. The position thus assumed for humanity is worthy the attention of those superficial critics who betray their ignorance of the true nature of the theory which they attack by seizing on the notion that, because vegetarians deprecate the classification of man with the simple-stomached lion, they must of necessity place him in the same category as the sheep. The digestion and assimilation of such coarse and rough diet as that on which the ruminants subsist—grass, leaves, and herbage—demand a complicated machinery. The wildest vegetarian would take alarm at the idea of sending men out to graze in the meadows, after the example of king Nebuchadnezzar. The real approximation of organization is claimed to exist, not between man and the ruminants, but between man and the frugivora.

In this country, however, where flesh-eating is a habit of long standing, there is a very prevalent opinion that fruit and farinacea do not contain the elements of so much muscular power and energy as their equivalent weight of a mixed diet; while, as corollary, it is also frequently asserted that the peculiar development of brain in man, and the use which he, alone of all animals, makes of the mental faculties, fully justify him in adding to a vegetable diet such amount of flesh-food as he finds most productive of psychic force. We may dispose of the latter part of this argument by replying, that whatever food best nourishes the body, and is best adapted to its organization, is also best for the brain. The brain, of course, is dependent on the stomach, and has no digestive apparatus peculiar to itself. We thus reduce the objection to its first clause—*e.g.*, that a vegetable diet is less strengthening than mixed food.

There is in all fruit produce a peculiar substance, which, though differing in appearance and form according to its special source, is found to be in composition invariably the same throughout the vegetable kingdom. It has received the name of gluten or albumen, and is identical in its nature with the albumen obtained from the white of an egg. Chemists have discovered that this body never varies in composition; that it is precisely the same in corn, in beans, and in every other plant-produce. And not only so, but it is also found to correspond with the flesh and blood of animals. It consists, like the latter, of carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen; and in the very same proportion in every hundred parts. By identity of composition we do not mean a mere similarity, but an absolute sameness; so that if you were to place in a chemist's hand some gluten obtained from wheat-flour, some dry albumen procured from the white of an egg, a fragment of the flesh of an ox or of

a man, or some of their dried blood, and ask him to tell you the difference between these various substances, he would answer, strange as it may appear, that they are all exactly the same, and that he could detect no essential difference between any two of them.*

The recent researches of Macaire and Marcet have also assisted to establish the fact, that both the chyle and the blood of vegetable-feeding and of carnivorous quadrupeds are identical in their chemical composition, inasmuch as their ultimate analysis is concerned. These gentlemen reported to the Société de Physique et d'Histoire Naturelle de Genève, that they found the same proportion of nitrogen in the chyle, whatever kind of food the animal under investigation had habitually consumed.

"In fact," observes Dr. Lankester,† "animal food is composed of the same materials as vegetable food. It is formed of the same elements, and presents the same proximate principles." In grain and other nutritious vegetables we find not only starch, sugar, and gum, but fibrine, albumen, and caseine, the elements from which the animal body is developed. Vegetable fibrine and albumen hardly differ even in form from animal fibrine and albumen. Vegetables produce the blood matter of all animals; for the carnivora, in consuming the blood and flesh of the graminivora, consume, strictly speaking, only the vegetable principles which have served for the nutrition of the latter.‡ This being the state of the case, it may next be asked,—“Why, if the principles contained in animal and vegetable substances be thus identical, are we to prefer a fruit to a flesh diet?” To this question also the vegetarian has his ready answer. Having already demonstrated that the dental system and the abdominal viscera of the human being are better adapted to the reception and assimilation of nutritive substance under its primary, rather than under its secondary form, he is now prepared to show, on the authority of Baron Liebig, Dr. Lyon Playfair, and Boussingault, that the various articles comprised in a vegetarian diet are more readily digestible, by man, than a corresponding average from the flesh of animals. And that with respect to the *proportion* of nutritive matter discovered relatively in equal weights of animal and vegetable substance, it has been ascertained, by these and by other chemists, that one pound of bread, oatmeal, rice, or sago contains more nourishment than three pounds of flesh; and that a pound of potatoes contains as much as does a pound of beef. Flesh-meat averages in nutritious matter about twenty-five per cent., according to Liebig; while rice, peas,

* Dr. Lyon Playfair.

† “Guide to the Food Collection,” p. 79.

‡ Liebig.

wheat, and beans average from eighty-two to ninety-two per cent. How is it then that, in spite of these hard scientific statistics, we sometimes hear people, who for a time have been deprived of flesh-meat, complain of weakness and of indisposition to exercise of mind or body? "It is," says Dr. Trall, "because the flesh of animals is exceedingly *stimulative*." Not so a vegetable diet. The former, like fermented liquor, excites the nervous energy of the physical system, quickens the circulation, produces rapid transformations of the tissues, and, so doing, increases for a time the muscular power. Hence, of course, when persons habituated to flesh-eating substitute for their ordinary diet a food less stimulating, but more nutritive, a depression in tone and in action generally ensues. This depression varies in duration, and in intensity, according to the temperament of the individual experimenting, and to the suddenness of the change made. But if the experimenter—undeceived by this seeming weakness—will have courage and sense enough to persevere in vegetarian habits, he will, before long, be amply rewarded by finding himself improved alike in mind and in body; his sensuous enjoyments will be keener, his perceptions clearer, his brain stronger, his whole person lighter, purer, and more healthful.

The arguments adduced by our authors to prove the superiority of vegetable diet in the production of muscular strength, are based, of course, on observation and experience. Referring to the statistics collected by means of a series of experiments instituted and conducted some years since by Dr. Forbes of Edinburgh, we find that a number of English, Scotch, and Irish labourers, of the age of twenty-five, being submitted to trial in relation to average height, weight, and strength, the superiority in all three qualifications was adjudged to the Irishmen, the Scotchmen occupying the next place, and the Englishmen coming last in the category. It was then ascertained that the latter had been accustomed to a mixed diet of flesh and bread, the Scotchmen principally to oatmeal porridge, and the Irishmen to an exclusively potato diet.

Sir Francis Head informs us that immense loads are carried by the South American miners, who feed entirely on grain and pulse. He says:—

"It is usual for the copper-miners of Central Chili to carry loads of ore of two hundred pounds weight up eighty perpendicular yards twelve times a day. When they reach the mouth of the pit they are in a state of apparently fearful exhaustion, covered with perspiration, and with panting sides; yet, after briefly resting, they descend again. Their diet is entirely vegetable; for breakfast they eat figs and bread, for dinner boiled beans, and for supper roasted wheat-grain."

"The boatmen of the Nile," writes Mr. Catherwood, "are mostly strong, muscular men. Their diet, however, is very meagre, consisting chiefly of lentils. The Egyptian cultivators of the soil, who live on coarse bread and Indian meal, are among the finest people I have ever seen."

Mr. Twining and Dr. Capell Brooke report thus of the Norwegians:—

"Their general food is rye-bread, milk, and cheese. A common treat on holidays consists of a thick hasty-pudding of rye-meal, seasoned by two or three fish. In no part of the world, in proportion to its population, are there so many instances of extreme longevity as in Norway. . . . The activity of the peasants is so great that they can with ease keep up by the side of a carriage going at full speed for a distance of ten miles."

Lord Heathfield, who defended the fortress of Gibraltar with consummate skill and persevering courage, was well known for his hardy dietetic habits. He neither ate animal food nor drank wine; his constant diet being bread and vegetables.*

"The Laplanders," says Dr. Lambe, "are of a dwarfish stature. It may be thought that this is the effect of their polar cold. But we find interspersed among them, and inhabiting the same bleak latitudes, numerous families of industrious Finns, who cultivate the earth and live on such meagre produce as it affords. The Laplanders subsist on animal oil and flesh, and as a result are stunted and diminutive alike in body and in intelligence."

The Greeks of old days are associated in our minds with all that the world holds best of valour and of strength. These splendid heroes—the defenders of Thermopylæ, the champions of Salamis and Marathon—were, from infancy, nourished on the plainest vegetable fare. The athletes who took part in the muscular games of Greece were also trained entirely on grain and vegetable food. At the Gymnasia, where this training was undergone, the regimen was very severe. The only aliments allowed were dried figs, nuts, cheese, and a coarse bread called *μαζα*. Later on, when the reign of luxury had corrupted these simple habits, a portion of flesh was introduced into the bill of fare permitted to the athletæ. But it was soon found that the free use of this kind of aliment made them abnormally stupid and senseless.† The diet of the soldiers of the Roman Republic, in its palmy and manliest days, was also almost exclusively vegetarian.‡

We may appropriately close this section of our subject by a

* "Fruits and Farinacea," p. 187. † Rollin's "Ancient History," vol. i.

‡ Graham's "Lectures," vol. ii. p. 188.

quotation from an article, by Dr. S. Brown, in a former number of the *Westminster Review*.

"We are ready to admit that vegetarian writers have triumphantly proved a physical, horse-like strength to be not only compatible with, but also favoured by, a well-chosen diet from the vegetable kingdom; and likewise, that such a diet is conducive to length of days."

Turning now to the less vital aspects of vegetarianism, we find that our authors have much to say for themselves with regard to economical considerations.

"With the progress of population," says Professor Newman, "vegetarianism must necessarily increase. I do not say which is cause and which is effect; they react on each other. When more food is wanted, and the price of corn rises, there is motive to break up new land. Pasture is diminished."

It is presumable that this enunciation of Professor Newman's is—with regard to the United Kingdom at least—the expression of his personal wish rather than a summary of facts. We shall have occasion to show later on, that Government statistics demonstrate the exact reverse of the above statement. Not the less, however, are we for this reason disposed to applaud the spirit of the Professor's observation. As *advice* for general application, it appears to us to contain promise for the solution of a great national difficulty.

The old saying, "Where God sends mouths he sends food" is no mere superstitious pretext for recklessness. For "God" read "Nature," and it becomes clear that by obeying her dictates and leading natural lives, we shall find nature yielding in abundance all we require for the sustenance of our offspring. Each child means not only a life to be supported, but also a pair of hands to till the ground, and each pair of hands can produce in grain more than is needed for the owner's support. It is thus that in a better distribution of the soil rather than in the practice of "Malthusianism," the desired reformation ought to be sought. So far from siding with the chilling and sordid doctrines advocated under this name, we find something noble in that faith in nature's capacity which prompts our race to increase and multiply upon the earth, trusting to the response which that earth is ready to yield to industrious toil. The essential selfishness of Malthusianism is one of the strongest objections that can be urged against its practice. By restricting the production of offspring in the most highly developed races, or in the most highly cultivated families of any race, the future of the world is virtually abandoned to the lowest types, and these would thus be enabled before long completely to outnumber and suppress the

higher. The energy which prompts us to multiply without stint is but part of the same *vis viva* which leads us to appropriate and colonize every available spot of the earth's surface. Had the so-called doctrines of Malthus been adopted by Britons during the last three centuries, the whole continent of America might at this moment have been in the hands of a people such as that now occupying its central states, a people which must be reckoned among the most degraded of mankind.

Mr. W. R. Greg, author of "The Enigmas of Life," has presented us with a paper upon population and the prospects of the world in view of the ever-rapidly increasing tide of human life. In the course of this essay he observes:—

"There is one mode in which the amount of human existence sustainable on a given area, and therefore throughout the chief portion of the habitable globe, may be almost indefinitely increased—*i.e.*, by a substitution of vegetable for animal food. A given acreage of wheat will feed at least ten times as many men as the same acreage employed in growing mutton. It is usually calculated that the consumption of wheat by an adult is about one quarter per annum, and we know that good land produces four quarters. But let us assume that a man living on grain would require two quarters a year; still one acre would support two men. But a man living on meat would need three pounds a day, and it is considered a liberal calculation if an acre spent in grazing sheep and cattle will yield in mutton or beef more than fifty pounds on an average—the best farmer in Norfolk having averaged ninety pounds; but a great majority of farms in Great Britain only reach twenty pounds. On these data, it would require twenty-two acres of pasture land to sustain one adult person living on meat. It is obvious, that in view of the adoption of vegetable diet, there lies the indication of a vast possible increase in the population sustainable on a given area."

Side by side with this statement on the economizing of *land*, we will place one made by Dr. Lyon Playfair on the economizing of *cost*:—

"At London prices, a man can lay a pound of flesh on his body with milk at three shillings and ninepence; with potatoes, carrots, and butcher's meat, free from bone and fat, at two shillings; with oatmeal at one shilling; with bread-flour and barley-meal at one shilling and twopence; and with beans and peas at less than sixpence."

Reviewing this computation, we find that an equal amount of nutritious matter can be obtained from one description of food at less than one-fourth the cost of another, and that by so much, a purely vegetable diet excels in economy the ordinary mixture of flesh-meat and greens. Four people may therefore be supported as vegetarians for the same cost as that at which one eater of flesh may be fed.

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Here, then, are two results of these investigations. First—That any given portion of land devoted to the cultivation of grain will support a far larger population than the same portion devoted to grazing cattle. Secondly—That a vegetable and farinaceous diet is vastly cheaper in money value than a mixed diet. In a paper read before the Manchester Statistical Society by Mr. W. Hoyle, the waste caused by the prevailing dietary habits of our population was thus mentioned :—

“There is not only much loss and waste by defective agriculture, and by the waste of our sewage, but also by an injudicious and luxurious use of food, especially of animal food. Chemistry and Physiology have demonstrated the fact that vegetables—that is, the cereals—contain all the elements that there are in animal food, and further, that an excessive use of animal food is not only useless but pernicious. Many among the working classes, and most of the members of the other classes of society, err on the side of excess in this respect. Now, it is proved that a shilling's worth of flour or oatmeal, as well as fruit and other vegetable goods, will give as much nourishment as five shillings' worth of flesh, and therefore an extensive use of animal food must greatly enhance the cost of living. It would be prudent economy, in many families, to diminish their consumption of animal food; they would thereby improve their health and lessen their expenses. And, if we assume that, on the average, the six million families of the United Kingdom reduced their consumption of animal food by only one pound per week, it would give a saving of ten or twelve million pounds sterling per annum.”

Having duly studied these few facts, our readers are invited to attend to the following extracts from the Government “blue book,” of the Agricultural Returns of Great Britain, for the year 1873. On page 6 of this report we read :—

“The increase in permanent pasture, especially in the last year when less arable land was returned, is to be attributed to changes from arable to grass cultivation, owing to the recent rise in wages, and to the rearing of more cattle and sheep. In Ireland also more pasture land was returned in 1873, and Mr. Donnelly, the Registrar-General, states this increase to be caused by the keeping of a greater number of live stock.”

And on page 12 :—

“The total number of cattle in Great Britain in 1873 was above what it was in 1872 by 339,000; and by 627,000 (or nearly twelve per cent.) what it was in 1871.” Notwithstanding this increase, “the butchers' meat stock was overtaken by the demands of the markets, and was in 1873 about 2000 head below what it was in 1872. The stock of cattle has also increased in Ireland, the total number of cattle in Ireland in 1873 being larger by 94,000 than in 1872, and by 178,000, or four and a half per cent., than in 1871.”

Reference is subsequently made on page 13 to “the greater

popularity of butcher's meat among the labouring classes." With regard to the comparison of acreage under corn crops in 1873 and previous years, the report observes :—

"The total acreage under wheat in the United Kingdom was smaller in 1873 than in 1872 by 169,000 acres. The decrease in Great Britain amounted to 108,000, or about three per cent. In Ireland the falling off was 59,000 acres, as much as twenty-six per cent., or one-fourth of the total acreage under wheat in 1872. The acreage of the wheat crop in Great Britain in 1873, although not very much below what it was in 1872, is the lowest acreage returned for wheat in the six years from 1868 until now. The acreage under oats is also steadily decreasing in the three kingdoms, less land annually being devoted to this kind of grain."

These statistics make it pretty clear that the luxury which has so long enervated our higher circles of society is extending rapidly to the lower classes, causing the Irishman to forsake his potatoes, and the Scotchman his porridge, for indulgence in the less wholesome and less strength-giving diet of flesh. Moreover, that in consequence of this corruption, land which formerly yielded support for forty-four men, is now capable of supporting only one man—an estimate made in regard to grain and not to potatoes, which yield in weight vastly more per acre. And this in the face of a population that doubles its numbers every fifty-six years.

There is a branch of farming which, in this country, does not receive half the attention it deserves. We refer to the cultivation of orchards and fruit-gardens. If the land in England were cultivated more like a garden, our population would be fully and profitably employed, and we should want but little emigration and foreign supplies. Many clay soils which are not remunerative under a corn crop, would be useful to their owners, and valuable to the country, if planted with apple, pear or plum trees. And with regard to the cost of building pits and forcing houses for the rearing of less hardy fruits—a proceeding which the exigences of our climate would necessitate—we submit that the original outlay requisite on such structures would not exceed, if indeed it would equal, the sums of money risked annually upon the purchase and breeding of live stock, which are constantly subject to all manner of epidemics and diseases. Moreover, it may not be generally known, that, on the plea of assisting Food Supply, Parliament has been pleased to help private individuals at the public expense. In 1861 inspectors were appointed to aid in the promotion and extension of the Scotch salmon fisheries, and this aid, originally enacted for three years, has been annually renewed to the fishery owners by successive Governments. Why should not Parliament be equally benevolent to fruit

growers or market gardeners on the like grounds of concern for the national food supply?

Lastly, we come to the *moral* aspects of vegetarianism—by which term we mean to indicate all such considerations as affect the refinement and civilization of the human heart and mind.

Within the last few decades of European history, that special attribute of our nature which we dignify by the distinctive name of humanity, seems to have made itself peculiarly and widely felt. Its popular results are the institution of a vast number of associations and enactments against various forms of cruelty and oppression, and the promotion of schemes in many places, home and continental, for the organization of international Arbitration, as a substitute for the horrors of warfare. Now, all these efforts are so many evidences of the process of *spiritualization*, which is gaining ground among us. It does not seem too much to assert that all these attempts, and these protests, have their completion and logical sequence in Vegetarianism. All the objects which the spiritualized creature longs to attain—all the conditions which he most desires to realize in himself, achieve their highest development in the life of the abstainer from flesh. A writer in the *Westminster Review** forcibly remarks:—"The practice of feeding upon the flesh of animals, entombing their bodies within our own, has something in it repugnant to refinement." Indeed the very sight of dead flesh is offensive to the senses of mankind, and it is thus, that all who are undepraved by custom, dislike to handle meat, unjustly condemning the butcher and the cook to do that which is repulsive to themselves. It is absurd to suppose that a sentiment so popularly and widely recognised, could have existence if it were suitable to men to subsist upon carnage. The races of the true carnivora exhibit no manner of distaste at the sight and odour of freshly killed carcases. If every man and woman among us were compelled for but one week to dispense with the offices of the paid slaughterer, it would soon be discovered that the instincts of human nature at the present day are not carnivorous. Can we picture with complacency our sweethearts or our friends going out to the cattle-shed, armed with pole-axe or knife, to slaughter victims for the next day's repast? But with what different feelings we recall the bright memories of some beautiful orchard or garden, in which we have seen a group of merry youths and maidens gathering ripe clusters of sweet-smelling fruit; or the picture of a winding procession of laden waggons bearing the harvest produce home in the red glow of the autumn sunset?

* Article on "Human Progress," No. 102, p. 10.

A certain subject has lately arisen to vex the columns of our newspapers and magazines, which bears a close ethical relation to flesh-eating. We allude to Vivisection. Dr. Michael Foster, F.R.S., observes in an article under this head, in the pages of *Macmillan's Magazine* for last February :—

"It is of no use to tell that large class—the eaters of meat—that the pain which physiology has caused since the time of Galen is far less than that which in any one week is caused in butcher's shambles in providing flesh to fill the mouths of the people of London."

And again :—

"When any one declaims against vivisection, it may be worth while to remind him of some of the agonies of 'sport,' of the scenes which accompany a battue or a pigeon match; of wounded birds dragging their maimed bodies to some hidden covert, there to die a lingering death; of the piercing and pathetic cry of the hunted hare; to ask him how often a living object of sport is, by some humanely sudden blow, killed to put it out of its misery; and to suggest that, had we any means for the measurement of pain, we should find that all the suffering physiologists have caused since their science began, is less than that which the animal creation has endured in the field from the hands of the two Houses of Parliament since the inauguration of the last Ministry till now."

The writer then proceeds with his subject, with the view, not of justifying cruelty either in the laboratory or elsewhere, but of pointing out the anomalous position of those persons who, while sustaining themselves from day to day by the painful deaths of innumerable creatures, are shameless enough to assume a show of virtuous indignation against the votaries of science, on the score of inhuman conduct.

Mr. Edward A. Freeman also contributes to the *Fortnightly Review* for May last, a paper entitled—"Field Sports and Vivisection," in the course of which he remarks :—

"I should be inclined to put the vivisector, in his best shape, on the same moral level as the butcher. As I am not a vegetarian I must hold [mark the *must*] that the butcher follows a perfectly lawful craft, and that, provided he puts his beasts to death in the least painful way that he knows of, there is nothing to be said against him. Yet one would think that there was something not altogether attractive about a man who, if perfectly free to choose among all trades, should select butchering as the one which he liked best in itself. One thinks that the chances are the tailor or the baker will be a more humane man than the butcher."

Words such as these, coming spontaneously from the pens of two such men, are well worth serious reflection. It is curious

that the discussion of vivisection seems always to invite, if not to necessitate, a comparison between the employment of the vivisector and that of the butcher. This fact alone shows how naturally repugnant to a high type of humanity is the *very notion of the butcher's existence!* And here, in view of the widely spreading Liberalism of the day with regard to the inherent right of all classes of men to a participation in the privileges of mental culture, a curious question presents itself. Have we, in fact, any sort of right to retain a whole class of our fellow men in the daily practice of an occupation which we regard as degrading and loathsome, and from which we ourselves shrink with feelings of disgust? To get rid of the necessity of shedding blood with our own hands we employ persons of coarser education—men who are the helots of our modern world, and whose very name we constantly apply as a term of vituperation and of reproach. In the accounts of the Tichborne trial a certain metropolitan butcher was called to witness to the Claimant's identity. In the course of this man's examination it was elicited that butchers, while employed in the slaughter-house, are compelled to walk about on clogs to prevent their feet from being soaked in blood. The floor of the slaughter-house is a great red pool of coagulating blood! Can anything be conceived more repulsive than such a sight? Imagine what manner of men these unfortunate slaughterers must become after years of constant familiarity with scenes and odours of this character, in which it devolves upon them to enact the chief horrible part. What chance have they of being gentle, refined, or noble-hearted men, with lofty aspirations or high ideals, such as ought to be placed within the reach of every human soul? And so long as a certain number—and that too a very considerable part of our population—is thus sacrificed to the debased mode of diet affected by a third of our race, must we not admit that its boasted civilization is incomplete?

Here is a very pithy and piquantly written extract on the subject of flesh-eating from the pages of a popular novel :*—

"Men are creatures who write stanzas of 'gush' on Maternity; and tear the little bleating calf from its mother to bleed to death in a long, slow agony. Men devour the livers of a dozen miserable geese in one pâté, they have lobsters boiled alive, they kill the young creature in its tender age that they may eat dainty sweetbreads, they slay scores of animals to furnish one day's meal; all the time talking softly of risôlé and mayonnaise, of consommé and entremet, of croquette and côtelette, and thanking God for his good gifts thereof! Cookery can turn a horrible fact into a poetic idealization; can twine the butcher's

* "Puck," by Ouida.

knife with lilies and hide a carcass under roses! . . . I have heard a very great many men and women call vultures carrion birds, and jackals carrion beasts, with an infinite deal of fine horror, but I never yet heard any one of them admit their own appetite for the rotten corpse of a pheasant, or the putrid haunch of a deer, to be anything else than the choice taste of an epicure."

At this stage of our inquiry we may suitably refer to the complaints and protests recently elicited by the passing of the new Act for the regulation of London slaughter-houses. Six letters on this subject appeared in the *Times* between the 11th and the 22nd of last July. The writer of one of these, Mr. Samuel A. Barnett, says:—

"It is impossible for any but those who live and work near here to understand all the suffering which the Whitechapel and Aldgate slaughter-houses entail. To reach these houses the cattle have to be driven along a street crowded with trams, omnibuses, and general traffic. The drivers are almost of necessity cruel as they hasten the brutes through such a thoroughfare; the animals, excited by shouts and blows, frequently make frantic rushes, and endanger the lives of the foot-passengers. From these slaughter-houses, too, the blood flows across the pavement, and there arises a close smell which seems to thicken the air and make breathing a pain. . . . We know that life here is not vigorous, the air has no refreshing power, and we are well able to understand why so many resort to drink. Dr. Liddle, our medical officer, has spoken and written strongly on the harm done to the health of our neighbourhood by means of these houses. The medical officers of the Health Association have, I think, agreed unanimously on the injurious effect of the trade. . . . Those who crowd our courts, the passers through our streets, the little children who see the cruelty, the cattle who suffer, all want a voice to tell their needs. It is out of my power to do more than ask your help. By your means the House of Lords may learn the meaning of an Act which establishes slaughter-houses in the city. I trust we may not have a law directly injurious to health passed by a Government whose motto is *Sanitas sanitatum*."

Mr. Brooke Lambert, late Vicar of St. Mark's, Whitechapel, followed up the preceding letter with these corroborative statements:—

"If any one wishes to know whether the nuisance be real, let him turn out of the Whitechapel Road, at the entrance to the London and North Western goods station, and pass down the streets leading thence to Mansell Street. He will then know what the smell of blood is. And yet, he will probably often boldly encounter the smell of blood in preference to the worse sights he will risk in Whitechapel Road. The carts laden with fresh skins, the pails full of blood, and brains, are sights to which a long experience does not harden one."

Another correspondent, with a dash of keener insight than the others, writes :—

"I am quite convinced that all these disgusting sights and sounds, from which no care can secure our poor children, *are inseparable from the thing itself.*"

With this last opinion all acute and logically-minded persons must coincide. In whatever locality the slaughter-house may be established, there the noxious odours, the cruelty, the degradation, the unwholesome atmosphere, the revolting spectacles, and all the detailed accumulation of horrors will assuredly flourish. Nor have men of culture and refinement any right to raise an outcry against the legitimate conduct of a trade, while daily sustaining themselves on its produce. Picture the writer of any one of the foregoing protests, after having despatched his letter to the *Times*' office, sitting down complacently to enjoy his slice of sirloin or of saddle of mutton !

In conclusion, we will venture to remind our readers, that it is to the thinking men and women of to-day that the Church of the future will owe its development. All of us who have in any particular forsaken the beaten track of conventionality, are employed, according to our several lights, in building up a new system for a new day. Do not let us fall into the ancient error of resting practice upon dogma, and, by consequence, of accepting, as beyond question, certain precepts and habits which we have imbibed from the lore or the example of our ancestors. It is by questioning all things, and "proving all things," that the divinity of which human nature at its highest is capable, will be evolved. Our revelation must be from within ourselves. Making the laws of physical health the basis of our moral and religious life, and gradually eliminating false ideas, which have no warranty for support save in the prejudices of weak minds, we shall pave the way to the inauguration of a better and more golden age than that which Ovid sang, an age of higher types and nobler modes of life, whose advent our Laureate has long since foreseen and hailed with invocations and counsels such as these :—

"Rise, human soul ! arise and fly
The reeling faun, the sensual feast ;
Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the wolf and tiger die !"

NINON KINGSFORD.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

IT is perhaps slightly presumptuous to criticise a work which, according to our copy, has already reached a seventh edition,¹ but popularity is not an infallible test of merit. Those who buy this book on the supposition that it is what we ordinarily mean by a "Life" will be bitterly disappointed. This is said in no unkindly or contemptuous spirit. The author passes judgment on himself in the preface in the following terms:—

"It is perhaps yet more important to add that this 'Life of Christ' is avowedly and unconditionally the work of a believer. Those who expect to find in it new theories about the divine personality of Jesus, or brilliant combinations of mythic cloud, tinged by the sunset imagination of some decadent belief, will look in vain. It has not been written with any *direct* and *special* reference to the attacks of sceptical criticism. It is not even intended to deal, otherwise than indirectly, with the serious doubts of those who, almost against their own will, think themselves forced to lapse into a state of honest disbelief. I may indeed venture to hope that such readers, if they follow me with no unkindly spirit through these pages, may here and there find considerations of real weight and importance, which will solve imaginary difficulties and supply an answer to real objections. Although this book is not mainly controversial, and would, had it been intended as a contribution to polemical literature, have been written in a very different manner, I do not believe that it will prove wholly valueless to any honest doubter who reads it in a candid and uncontentious spirit. Hundreds of critics, for instance, have impugned the authority of the Gospels on the score of the real or supposed contradictions to be found in them. I am, of course, familiar with such objections, which may be found in all sorts of books, from Strauss's 'Leben Jesu,' and Renan's 'Vie de Jésus,' down to Sir R. Hanson's 'Jesus of History,' and the English 'Life of Jesus,' by Mr. Thomas Scott. But while I have never consciously craved a distinct and formidable difficulty, I have constantly endeavoured to show by the mere silent course of the narrative itself that many of these objections are by no means insuperable, and that many more are unfairly captious or altogether fantastic." (Preface, pp. viii—x.)

It will be at once clear to a critical reader that Dr. Farrar is not prepared to treat the four Gospels "like any other books;" he is "avowedly and unconditionally" a "believer," and in this connexion a "believer" means one who systematically sets at naught the ordinary laws of historical criticism. It is true that, as Dr. Farrar tells us, he has read a great many books, and every page in these volumes bears testimony to the width and accuracy of his information. He has read

¹ "The Life of Christ." By Frederic W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S.; late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Master of Marlborough College, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. *Manet Immota Fides*. In Two Volumes. Seventh Edition. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin: London, Paris, and New York.

a great many books, but he has only understood those upon one side, that is, the orthodox. He says he is "familiar" with the latest "sceptical" writers; but he deceives himself, he is only on a bowing acquaintance with one of the best of them, who has attained a continental reputation from which he himself is only too secure—Sir Richard Hanson; otherwise he would certainly never have used the offensive expression, "down to Sir R. Hanson's 'Jesus of History,' and the English 'Life of Jesus,' by Mr. Thomas Scott" (preface, p. ix.). It is perhaps not to be wondered at, for the sobriety and freedom from preconceived ideas which distinguish that eminent judge and theologian, are as far as possible removed from the gushing rhetoric and ostentatious partiality of the Master of Marlborough College. It is painful to speak thus severely of a work which, regarded from some points of view is not without merit, and of an author whose tone is, with this single exception, so genial and so dignified. But the very eminence of the writer compels us to throw as bright a light as possible on his faults. Dr. Farrar has had a reputation as a liberal theologian. In words, which we quoted sympathetically last April, he declared to the assembled Church Congress that "so far from being the badges of intellectual servitude, we look upon the Orders we have taken as the highest pledge of honesty, and the strongest incentive to the fearless search for truth." A fearless search indeed, when in less than a year the explorer has found out that his search was needless, for—see the motto on the titlepage—*Manet immota fides*, and we are bidden to hand ourselves over to that very intellectual servitude "which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear." It is almost unnecessary to add that Dr. Farrar approaches the four Gospels with the foregone conclusion that Jesus was different in his nature from other men. He tells us in his usual rhetorical style:—

"The greatest of modern philosophers said that there were two things which overwhelmed his soul with awe and astonishment, 'the starry heavens above, and the moral law within;' but to these has been added a third reality no less majestic—the fulfilment of the moral law *without* us in the person of Jesus Christ. That fulfilment makes us believe that He was indeed Divine; and if He were Divine we have no further astonishment left when we are *taught* [the italics are our own] that He did on earth that which can be done by the Power of God alone" (pp. 170, 171).

But what right have you to approach a historical document with such a stupendous assumption? Until you have proved that the ordinary methods of criticism are inadequate to explain and account for the phenomena of the Gospels, you have no right to resort to a hypothesis, which can neither be proved by historical evidence nor by the immediate testimony of the human consciousness. It was only to be expected that Dr. Farrar would "accept unhesitatingly the genuineness of St. John's Gospel." He admits that the external evidence is "less decisive than we could have desired" (!), but thinks with Mr. Sanday, (whom however we do not wish to merge in the same condemnation with Dr. Farrar) that the internal evidence, derived not only from its

entire scope, but also from numberless minute and incidental particulars, is simply overwhelming" (vol. i. p. 141, note). This is about on a par with his remark (vol. ii. p. 29, note), on "the many inimitably graphic touches of truthfulness and simplicity—touches never yet found in any 'myth' since the world began:" a remark which implies a depth of ignorance respecting the development of myths and legends which no plummet can fathom. It is useless to argue with a man who so confounds poetry and history. But when he adds (vol. i. p. 142, note), "No one can easily make light of evidence which has satisfied such a philologist as Ewald, and for twelve editions of his book satisfied even such a critic as Renan," some reply is necessary. With regard then to Ewald, it may be said that he accepts, or rather persists in his acceptance of the Johannine authorship, simply because he hates Baur and Strauss, as he takes good care to inform his readers in each successive preface to his works. And with regard to Renan, that he accepted the Johannine theory till his thirteenth edition simply because he had originally composed his "*Vie de Jésus*" without an adequate study of Baur. And it was his acceptance of this theory which led to that supposition of a pious fraud in the miracle of Lazarus which so justly shocked the moral sense of Englishmen. The literary execution of the work is unequal. There is a marked difference between the calm and sober style of the notes and appendices, which appeal to classically educated readers, and that of the text. In the latter the author seems to be oppressed by a solemn consciousness that he is a teacher as well as a biographer; that he has not only to describe facts, but to "encourage the toiler, console the sorrowful, point the weak to the one true source of moral strength." Hence a great part of the book is mere rhetoric—sometimes better, sometimes worse—which more befits the pulpit than the study. Take the following as an example:—

"And now mark, for one moment, the revenges of History. Has not His blood been on them, and on their children? Has it not fallen most of all on those most nearly concerned in that deep tragedy? Before the dread sacrifice was consummated, Judas died in the horrors of a loathsome suicide. Caiaphas was deposed the year following. Herod died in infamy and exile. Stripped of his Procuratorship very shortly afterwards, on the very charges he had tried by a wicked concession to avoid, Pilate, wearied out with misfortunes, died in suicide and banishment, leaving behind him an execrated name. . . . Since that day Jerusalem and its environs, with their 'ever-extending miles of grave-stones, and ever-lengthening pavement of tombs and sepulchres,' have become little more than one vast cemetery—an *Aceldama*, a field of blood, a potter's field to bury strangers in. Like the mark of Cain upon the forehead of their race, the guilt of that blood has seemed to cling to them, as it ever must, until that same blood effaceth it. For, by God's mercy, that blood was shed for them also who made it flow; the voice which they strove to quench in death was uplifted in its last prayer for pity on His murderers. May that blood be efficacious! may that prayer be heard!" (vol. ii. pp. 389-391).

The work displays an extensive knowledge of modern literature, which however will be lost upon many readers, owing to the paucity of references to the quotations. We must protest however against the application common to Dr. Farrar (vol. ii. p. 162), with a North

British reviewer, of Dante's *gran rifiuto* ("Inferno," iii. 60) to the young ruler who went away sorrowful because he had great possessions. Whoever the shade thus branded with infamy may have been (and the reference to Vieri de' Cerehi, the chief of the party called Bianchi with whom Dante was connected seems most probable), he was certainly no personage of the Old or New Testament. We have said that from some points of view the book is not without merit. It is no doubt worthless for the "higher criticism." But for another kind of investigation, which promises to become more and more popular, that of the ethical contents of the Gospel narratives taken as they stand, the book is of real value, as exhibiting the character of Jesus in its most attractive form. Dr. Farrar is fully persuaded of Christ's absolute perfection, and is a not unskilful advocate. He is also—and this is his greatest excellence—wonderfully accurate in points of history and archæology. He knows nearly all the most recent works in these departments, and has been aided by friendly communications from several eminent scholars. A few very trifling oversights do not impair the value of the work as a repository of illustrations. In this, and in the vividness of its descriptions, heightened by personal experience of the East, it reminds us to some extent of the works of Dean Stanley, which have also perhaps done some harm by distracting the attention from those critical questions on which the significance of the Old Testament so largely depends. Dean Stanley, however, does not deny the methods of historical criticism: he only puts them out of sight. We wish we could say the same of Dr. Farrar.

One might be disposed to wonder that a Protestant pastor should give the best years of his life to the *Imitatio Christi*, as Dr. Karl Hirsche appears to have done.² But after all, the book is worth it. M. Michelet has said that it is "le plus beau livre chrétien après l'Evangile." It is the property of all nations and all religions. Even Buddhists Eastern and Western might enjoy many a page describing the bliss of self-renouncement and the thirst of the soul for the infinite Ideal. Of orthodox dogma there is little, and that little as vague as can be. Not a word against heretics, but much against too zealous defenders of orthodoxy; not a word of confession nor of vicarious atonement, but much of love and self-renouncement and trustful obedience. We cannot write such books now; all the more reason for bathing our spirit in whatever is high and noble in these masterpieces of the past. Dr. Hirsche has given us the first critical, we are tempted to say the first really enjoyable, edition of the "Imitation." He has for the first time shown it in its true light as a work of art, as a sacred poem. He has also been the first to establish, as it would seem beyond the reach of contradiction, the authorship of Thomas

² "Prolegomena zu einer neuen Ausgabe der *Imitatio Christi* nach dem Autograph des Thomas von Kempen." Von Karl Hirsche. Erster Band. Berlin: Lüderitz. 1873.—"Thomas Kempensis De Imitatione Christi." Libri Quatuor. Textum ex Autographo Thomæ nunc primum accuratissime reddidit, &c., Carolus Hirsche. Bero ini: sumptus fecit libraria Lüderitziana.

à Kempis. His discovery depends on the system of punctuation used in the MS. of the "Imitation," written by Thomas himself, and preserved in the Library at Brussels. This system is not so much grammatical as rhetorical, and among other signs there is one which is peculiar to the manuscripts of Thomas. On reading the text of the "Imitation" with reference to this system of punctuation, treating, that is, the stops as pauses for the voice rather than as indications of syntax, we at once remark that it is not ordinary prose. This is not only a poetical rhythm, but rhyme, sometimes at the end, sometimes in the middle of the line, and in such abundance, according to Dr. Hirsche, that we can only explain it from the definite intention of the author to rhyme. Proofs of this are given in the *Prolegomena*, as also of the great variety of rhymes which the author had at his disposal. Dr. Hirsche also shows that the very same phenomena occur in the acknowledged works of Thomas à Kempis; *i.e.*, the punctuation (according to the extant autographs of Thomas), the rhyme, and the rhythm. Gerson is out of the question, because he never indulges in rhyme; Gersen is mythical. Dr. Hirsche does not mention Walter Hilton, the English Carthusian—for M. Michelet (ap. M. Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, p. vi.) is in error in supposing that no one has ever dreamed of ascribing the "Imitation" to an Englishman. But probably it is equally true of the work, if any exist, of Hilton. The punctuation alone won't seem to settle the question. There are some readers to whom Dr. Hirsche will seem rather lax in his admission of rhymes, but this may be due to their inexperience. On the whole his work appeals strongly, not only to all who are interested in the "Imitation," but specially to students of mediæval literature. The full and particular investigation into mediæval rhyme is especially deserving of attention. The second part will contain a copious anthology from the acknowledged genuine works of Thomas, to enable the student to compare them in punctuation, rhyme, and rhythm, with the specimens of the "Imitation" critically edited in the first part. The edition of the text is in all respects to be recommended. It is an exact reproduction of the supposed autograph of Thomas; the lines being separated with regard to the peculiar punctuation. A more elaborate edition with exegetical notes is to follow, and also a "Lexicon Thomanum!"

Dr. Böhlinger's "*Church History in Biographies*" is well adapted to make its way in England. The German is easy; there is no scholastic terminology, nor any of that professorial pedantry which so often repels the student. It is derived entirely from the original authorities, the substance of which is given in its purity, without being discoloured by modern points of view. A work of this kind supplies a useful supplement to the more abstract Church histories of Baur and his school. It will not satisfy the critic, but will be of service to ordinary readers. In the present volume Athanasius

³ "Athanasius und Arius, oder der erste grosse Kampf der Orthodoxie und Heterodoxie. Nebst-zwei ergänzenden Zugaben: 1. Das Christenthum und die Kaiser Diokletian und Konstantin; 2. Antonius, der Patriarch des Mönchthums." Durch Friedrich Böhlinger. Stuttgart: Meyer und Zeller. 1874.

and Arius are handled at great length; no more interesting subjects could have been chosen at the present time, which, with its sharply defined parties, so strongly resembles the times of Athanasius. The author takes credit to himself for having represented Arius in a more favourable light than previous historians. It was usual to lay stress on those elements in his doctrine which were not, for him, of primary importance, and in which he merely accommodated himself to the prevalent modes of thought. His most characteristic feature is his ethical, purely human conception of Christ and Christianity; and here he will certainly carry the sympathies of the modern world with him. There is also an excellent account of the character of Athanasius, who is compared with Gregory VII. and Calvin. The author points out among other things the remarkable similarity between the apologetics of Athanasius and those of our modern evidence-writers. Dr. Böhlinger is not a brilliant writer. Dean Stanley's chapters on the subject remain and are likely to remain unsurpassed. But they are but sketches, while Dr. Böhlinger offers us a history.

Dr. J. M. Arnold has brought out a new edition of his work on "Islam," a hand-book to the history and character of Mohammedanism, with special reference to Christian missions. Considerable learning is expended on the easy task of showing the imperfections of the Koran, and the weakness of the "evidences" in favour of Mohammedanism. The author fully believes that the incredulity of the followers of the Prophet will give way, and sees a foreshadowing of this great revolution in the appearance of the "Angel of Jehovah" to Hagar in the Book of Genesis! He thinks the small results of previous missions have been partly owing to the isolation of the missionaries, and contends first of all for the absolute necessity of our importing the principle of Missionary Brotherhoods, by which alone we can expect to cope with the caravans and settlements of Arab slave-dealers in the interior of Africa; and next for the establishment of a Christian colony, as an auxiliary to the mission work, consisting of lay teachers, medical men, practical engineers, merchants, agriculturists, and others skilled in the most necessary trades. This coincides with the advice already given by Sir Bartle Frere, in a little volume of "Letters" noticed in our last number. Should this thoughtful and judicious proposal be adopted by the Societies, it will certainly mark an epoch in Protestant missions, and, what to us is more important, in the civilization of the inferior races. Dr. Arnold's book is not designed for the drawing-room, but students of Islam will derive much curious information from its pages, the accuracy of which is substantiated by references. Whether arguments of this kind will bring many converts to Christianity seems, to say the least, doubtful. The Mohammedans are acute enough to see that the positive evidence for ecclesiastical Christianity is not so very much stronger than that for their own religion. There exists a very able attack on Christianity, called "Izhar el Hakk," by

⁴ "Islam: its History, Character, and Relation to Christianity." By John Murchison Arnold, D.D., Honorary Secretary of the Moslem Missionary Society. Third Edition. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1874.

a learned Mohammedan, in which the works of the most recent Biblical critics from Griesbach and Horne to Lightfoot and Westcott are used as an arsenal of anti-Christian arguments. It is a pity that this remarkable work should be so little known to Christian apologists. An analysis of it, by the competent hand of Mr. E. H. Palmer, will be found in the *Cambridge University Gazette*, for November 17th and 24th, 1869. Perhaps "the Theological Faculty of Cambridge, under the leadership of the Regius Professor, Dr. Westcott," which, as Dr. Arnold informs us (preface, p. v.), is preparing to enter the lists against Mohammedanism, may be induced to compare the respective works of the Moslem and the Christian apologist. The result would perhaps be not quite satisfactory to Dr. Arnold.

Mr. de Bunsen² is well known by his love of free inquiry, and the splendid audacity with which he launches theories on the most abstruse and difficult subjects. We content ourselves with the general account of the book given by Mr. A. H. Sayce, the Oxford Assyriologist, in the preface.

"This scheme, it will be seen, is a complete whole, the several parts of which hang together like the stones of an arch. A correct interpretation of the facts of Jewish, Egyptian and Babylonian history, is shown to result in a perfect harmony, and a series of remarkable synchronisms. The author begins with an original theory of his, subsequently confirmed by Professor Müller, of Basel, that Shemites were a compound of Japhethites and Hamites, or Aryans and non-Aryans; and submits a new confirmation of it in the thesis, that what in Genesis is called the birth of Shem refers to, or at all events is directly connected with, the capture of Babylon, by the Medes of Berosus, in 2458 B.C. . . . Now, the unhistorical character of the 1656 years between the Creation and the Deluge seems placed beyond all dispute; and if the period of 592 years from the Exodus to the building of the Temple can really be proved, St. Paul and Josephus must have derived their information upon this point from some unpublished source. Here then we are referred to the hidden wisdom, the verbal tradition of the uninitiated, which has already formed the subject of a special investigation by Mr. de Bunsen, and is the real centre of his present researches" (Preface, p. vii.).

Thus far Mr. Sayce, who expresses himself, however, in so guarded a manner that it is difficult to discover how far he is really at one with Mr. de Bunsen. It certainly appears to us that any theory based upon "hidden wisdom," or the semi-Aryan character of the Semites, places itself outside the pale of criticism. And yet we should be sorry to deny that some grains of wheat—like the one singled out by Mr. Sayce in the preface—may reward a diligent search through the present essay, uninviting as the prospect may appear. And we look forward with interest to the appearance of Mr. de Bunsen's promised work on "The Pleiades," which he thinks gave rise, and not the planets, to the sacredness of the number seven. This is a plausible idea, the credit of which appears to be due to Mr. R. G. Halyburton, of Nova Scotia. In a second edition of the present work the author

² "The Chronology of the Bible connected with Contemporaneous Events in the History of Babylonians, Assyrians, and Egyptians." By Ernest de Bunsen. With a Preface by A. H. Sayce, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1874.

will do well to consult Heinrich Brandes' attempt at a biblical chronology on the combined basis of the Books of Kings and the Assyrian inscriptions (Leipzig, 1873), which seems to have escaped his notice.

We turned with some eagerness to Mr. Strange's new work on "The Legends of the Old Testament," not that we expected to find a settlement of many of the great questions involved, but a collection of a few of the most trustworthy facts seemed not too much to ask for. Instead of this we find a crude, undigested compilation from authorities of very unequal value, the bad largely preponderating. It is enough to mention the names of Dupuis, Bryant, Faber, Parkhurst, Lempriere, Higgins, Anthon, Inman, to show that Mr. Strange is not the proper person to undertake the fascinating but perilous study of myths and legends. Cuneiform researches are as good as ignored, though it is from this quarter that light is already breaking.

Mr. Stanley Leathes' seems to be always publishing lectures of some kind or other. Here is another attractively got up volume, of which the contents are not worth the paper and print. Mr. Leathes wishes to be fair and candid, but has no adequate idea of the problems involved in the origin of Christianity. The words of M. Renan, in the preface to his thirteenth edition of the "Vie de Jésus," are exactly applicable to him. "L'histoire des origines religieuses nous transporte dans un monde de femmes, d'enfants, de têtes ardents ou égarées. Placez ces faits dans un milieu d'esprits positifs, ils sont absurdes, inintelligibles, et voilà pourquoi les pays lourdement raisonnables comme l'Angleterre sont dans l'impossibilité d'y rien comprendre." Mr. Leathes' lectures are four in number. The first is entitled "The Want implied by the present aspect of the Church." The preacher does not wish to repress the movement of free inquiry, but to correct the popular notion of Christianity, which does not so much consist in a body of doctrines as in certain "central facts." We need not inform the reader what those facts are; he will find them described fully in the second lecture. Mr. Leathes then describes the effects of the "primitive Gospel." He repeats the old dilemma, that either the first disciples were duped, or they duped others; failing, of course, entirely to see the complexity of the problem. In lecture four he describes the regenerative power of the Gospel, which becomes an argument for its historical truth. A great subject, but unworthily treated. The argument in favour of orthodox Christianity drawn from religious experience is nowhere so fully and ably set forth as in M. Félix Pécaut's "Christ et la Conscience" (Paris, 1863), where the reader will also find a candid and satisfactory answer to it.

Mr. Leech⁵ thinks he has settled the difficult question as to the

⁶ "The Legends of the Old Testament, traced to their apparent primitive sources." By Thomas Lumisden Strange, late a Judge of the High Court of Madras. London: Trübner and Co. 1874.

⁷ "The Gospel its own Witness." The Hulsean Lectures for 1873. By the Rev. Stanley Leathes, M.A. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

⁸ "The Épistle to the Hebrews. A Justification of its National Title and Character, &c." The Donellan Lectures, preached before the University of Dublin, in the years 1871 and 1872. By John Leech, M.A., T.C.D. London: Rivingtons. 1874.

object of the Epistle to the Hebrews. While preparing many years ago to take Orders, he felt dissatisfied with the current explanations of Heb. xiii. 10-17, and framed a new one, the principle of which he has here extended to the Epistle itself. That principle is, that the Epistle (to whomsoever sent) was designed for the benefit of the Hebrew people, and not for any portion of the Christian Church. The view is, as it seems to us, improbable; but not to do the author an injustice, we extract his paraphrase of Heb. xiii. 10, &c. :—

"It is a good thing that the heart be established with grace, not with meats, in which they who walked (the whole people of God under the Old Testament dispensation) were not profited. We have this truth beneath the surface of the law. From the day that Moses raised the tabernacle, 'we have an altar of which our priests have no right to eat' (the sacrifice of the great day of atonement, whose benefits must be of grace, and not of meats, or eating), for the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the Holies by the High Priest, are burned outside the camp; wherefore Jesus, that (in fulfilment of that type) he might sanctify the people with his blood, suffered outside the gate. Let us, therefore (not eat our sin-offering, but accept by faith its benefits of grace, and) go forth to him without the camp, bearing his reproach, &c." (page 118).

Those who have not access to larger and more critical works will form some idea of that liberalized Christianity in which many behold the religion of the future from Dr. Vance Smith's little book, entitled "The Spirit and the Word of Christ." Christianity to him is the religion of Jesus Christ.⁹ The late Bishop Wilberforce's "Speeches on Missions" are thoughtful and eloquent.¹⁰ The little book called "Hints to Church Workers" is almost entirely free from objectionable phraseology, and the spirit is excellent.¹¹ For "almost entirely free from" read "full of," and for "excellent" read "narrow," and a fair idea will be obtained of the religious instruction provided for pupil teachers by Mr. Canon Norris.¹²

It is historically remarkable that a sermon¹³ in favour of priestly absolution in the Church of England should have been preached in the University church at Oxford as long ago as 1793. That sermon is now reprinted by the preacher's son, with autobiographical and other notes, which agreeably illustrate the state of England,

⁹ "The Spirit and the Word of Christ, and their Permanent Lessons." By G. Vance Smith, B.A., Philos. et Theol. Doct. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

¹⁰ "Speeches on Missions." By the Right Reverend Samuel Wilberforce, D.D., late Bishop of Winchester. Edited by the Rev. Henry Rowley. London: William Wells Gardiner. 1874.

¹¹ "Hints to Church Workers." Published under the direction of the London Diocesan Lay Helpers' Association. London: W. Wells Gardiner. 1874.

¹² "Manuals of Religious Instruction for Pupil Teachers." Edited by John Pilkington Norris, M.A., Canon of Bristol. The Old Testament: Five Parts. The New Testament: Five Parts. The Prayer Book: Five Parts. London: Rivingtons. 1874.

¹³ "A Sermon on Priestly Absolution, preached before the University of Oxford, in St. Mary's Church, on Sunday, Nov. 24th, 1793." By the Rev. Henry Digby Beste, M.A., Fellow of St. Mary Magdalene College, Oxford. Third Edition. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1874.

and particularly of Oxford, in religious matters. Mr. Beste afterwards became a Roman Catholic.

Mr. Seebohm¹⁴ sends us an admirable handbook of "The Era of the Protestant Revolution," in Messrs. Longman's series of "Epochs of History." From a theological point of view it is somewhat deficient, as the title itself indicates. The sympathies of the writer are with his old friends "the Oxford Reformers" rather than with Luther, with the humanistic and political side of the great movement rather than with the religious. But the external aspect of the Reformation was never better or more clearly described to young students than in this pleasing little work. A number of small maps, mostly printed on the pages themselves, add greatly to the usefulness of the book.

Dr. Oscar Schneider¹⁵ is the author of "Contributions to the Knowledge of the Greek Orthodox Church of Egypt." At the end is a catalogue (imperfect) of the manuscripts in the library of the Patriarch at Cairo.

Holtzendorff's series of "German Contemporary Questions"¹⁶ contains a lecture by Wilibald Grimm on the history of Luther's Bible and its recent revision, which has been conducted on more conservative principles than would find favour in England.

Altogether unreadable, and utterly useless, in any conceivable intellectual stage, is Mr. Daniel Reid's¹⁷ work on "Natural Science, Religious Creeds, and Scripture Truth." We commend to the author the passage in the address of Professor Tyndall at the British Association, beginning "All religious theories, schemes, and systems which embrace notions of cosmogony."

To Mr. Gibson, the author of "Philosophy, Science, and Revelation,"¹⁸ we would venture also to recommend a seclusion of ten years before he again offers an opinion about Greek Philosophy or the Old Testament. Probably he has never heard of the existence of Zeller and Kalisch, otherwise we should have been spared the trouble of cutting open his book.

"The Philosophy of Revelation"¹⁹ is a posthumous and unfinished work. It is called "a new theory of ethics;" but we have failed to grasp its distinguishing peculiarity. The Moral Sense, we are told, creates a Moral Obligation; Moral Sense and Moral Obligation create an infinitely exacting Moral Law. Conformity to an infinite law is

¹⁴ "The Era of the Protestant Revolution." By Frederic Seebohm. With numerous maps. London: Longman, Green & Co. 1874.

¹⁵ "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche Aegyptens." Von Oscar Schneider. Dresden: Verein der Erbkunde. 1874.

¹⁶ "Die Lutherbild und Ihre Textes-Revision." Von Dr. Wilibald Grimm. Berlin: Lüdertitz. 1874.

¹⁷ "Natural Science, Religious Creeds, and Scripture Truth: What they Teach concerning the Mystery of God." By Daniel Reid. Two Parts. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1870—1874.

¹⁸ "Philosophy, Science, and Revelation." By the Rev. C. B. Gibson, M.R.I.A. Second Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

¹⁹ "The Philosophy of Revelation; or, the Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion." A Fragment. By the late Thomas Frewen, Esq., of Brickwall, Sussex. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1873.

plainly impossible, &c. &c., bringing us back to the old doctrine of Atonement through an "Infinite Compound Being."

Those who are interested in speculative theology may be able to make something out of Dr. Bushnell's "Forgiveness and Law,"²⁰ which is intended as a substitute for the last half of his former treatise, entitled "The Vicarious Sacrifice." Dr. Bushnell, a well-known American divine, is a man of ability and intellectual courage, and writes in a vigorous though ungraceful style. He thinks he has made a discovery, or rather an "occurrence;" for he observes, "how can that be called a discovery which the Master's words have been plainly teaching for 1800 years, and which we, his disciples, by some unaccountable dullness, missed, even down to a particular day of accident within the last six months?" The "occurrence" so modestly announced relates to John xvi. 7-15, the promise of the Paraclete, or, as Dr. Bushnell would explain it, "the Near-caller, the Bringer-in, for salvation" (!)

The Rev. B. W. Savile is entitled to thanks for his handy collection²¹ of stories about apparitions, from those of the Crusaders, William de Longespee, father and son, to that of Captain Wheatcroft during the Indian Mutiny.

Mr. Gardiner's "Life of Christ"²² is thoroughly adapted to its purpose, that of enabling young students to obtain a chronological view of the life of Christ; but it has one great fault, the indiscriminate use of the Fourth Gospel. Whatever view we may take of the date and character of that book, nothing can justify its use as an authority of equal value with the Synoptic Gospels, from which it is separated by such broad and palpable differences. It should be remembered, however, that the work is based entirely on Bishop Ellicott's Hulsean Lectures on "The Life of our Lord."

Mr. Hole sends us a summary of religious morality,²³ according to the Bible, called "The Young Christian Armed," but we are unable to speak highly of it.

Mr. Thomas Scott²⁴ has sent us several striking popular tracts, among which we may mention Mr. Kirkman's clever, well-informed, and amusing "Orthodoxy from the Hebrew Point of View," and Mr. Bray's "The Reign of Law in Mind as in Matter," which presents one side of a very important question with great cogency.

²⁰ "Forgiveness and Law, Grounded in Principles interpreted by Human Analogies." By Horace Bushnell, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1874.

²¹ "Apparitions: a Narrative of Facts." By the Rev. Bouchier Wrey Savile, M.A. London: Longmans & Co. 1874.

²² "The Life of Christ. Selections from the Gospels Chronologically Arranged, with supplementary Notices from Parallel Passages." By the Rev. Robert R. Gardiner, M.A., Assistant Master in the Upper School, Dulwich College. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

²³ "The Young Christian Armed; or, the Duty he Owes to God." London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

²⁴ "Orthodoxy from the Hebrew Point of View." Parts I. and II. By the Rev. Thos. P. Kirkman, M.A., F.R.S. Thomas Scott, 11, The Terrace, Farquhar Road, Upper Norwood.—"The Reign of Law in Mind as in Matter, and its Bearing upon Christian Dogma and Moral Responsibility." Thomas Scott.

We are also happy to mention with praise an able sermon on the theistic side by Professor John Dowden.²⁵

In "The Philosophy of History in France and Germany,"²⁶ Professor Flint, of St. Andrews, gives us the first instalment of a most important work. To trace the history of efforts which have been made to construct a Philosophy of History is a task which, so far as we know, no one has yet undertaken: it is one which requires qualifications not often united in a single person: unwearyed industry, sound and unfettered judgment, an adequate acquaintance with the course of philosophy in general, and a patient survey of a special range of speculation, of which none but those who have examined it at all realize the extent. All these qualifications Professor Flint seems to possess in an eminent degree, and if the completion of his task fulfils the promise of his first instalment, he will have produced a work which cannot fail to mark an epoch in English philosophical literature. Of his industry, to judge only by what he has already achieved, there can be no doubt whatever. He has practically gone through the writings, not merely of those philosophers and publicists whose names and speculations are familiar to all who care for such subjects, but of a great many others who have not been without their influence on the course of thought, though their fame has been eclipsed by that of their greater contemporaries. And this has been done, so far as we can judge, with equal patience and exactitude in all cases alike. Professor Flint has not been content merely to write out the tables of contents of the works of the less-known philosophers whom he mentions; he gives a conscientious estimate of the merits of their speculations based upon careful study. It needs no ordinary courage to attack and master the terrible jargon of Krause, whose German even Zeller pronounces as hard as Sanscrit, or to wade through the dreamy mysticism of Fourier, who thought that the ocean would shortly be changed into lemonade. Still Professor Flint has not shrunk from the task, and the result is that his volume contains an authentic account of some of the strangest speculations that ever passed for philosophy in the history of human thought. Though the criticism is too late to be effective, we cannot refrain from questioning the wisdom of Professor Flint's geographical arrangement of his subject; this cannot fail as he advances with his task to embarrass him in various ways, and to compel him to go more than once over the same ground. Surely in any history of speculation the only adequate arrangement is the chronological. The main lines of speculation are not so entirely independent in different countries that they can be profitably treated apart, and we have only to think of the confusion and misconception that would be caused by a geographical

²⁵ "The Knowledge of God a Spiritual Knowledge." A Sermon preached before the University of Dublin. By John Dowden, B.D. Dublin: Hodges. London: Rivingtons. 1874.

²⁶ "The Philosophy of History in Europe." By Robert Flint, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, University of St. Andrews. Vol. I. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1874.

treatment of the history of philosophy in general to see that a similar treatment of the philosophy of history is in almost every respect equally unsatisfactory. Even in his present volume, owing to the geographical treatment, Professor Flint is compelled to apply to the speculations of Cousin criticism which would have been far more effective, as well as appropriate, if applied to the theory of Hegel, which Cousin avowedly followed; and when he comes, in the prosecution of his work, to deal with the course of historical speculation in England and Italy, it will probably be found that he has already gone over much of the ground, and will either have to repeat himself considerably or to mar the integrity of his work. It would be premature to ask Professor Flint for an exposition of his own theory of the Philosophy of History at the present stage of his enterprise; indeed, his view is that such a theory must follow and cannot precede a survey such as that he is at present engaged on. We cannot help suspecting that there is considerable misconception here. If history is or can be made a science, as it is manifest from many passages (pp. 176, 213, 241, 296, &c.) our author would maintain, the science of history can only be based, like all other science, on the facts or data which experience presents to its cognizance; but the various theories which ingenious philosophers have constructed on the subject, do not necessarily throw any light on the future science. They belong, many of them, to what may be called the pre-scientific stage of speculation, and are rather interesting as history than as philosophy or science. To judge from Professor Flint's careful researches, much that goes by the name of the Philosophy of History has very little to do with philosophy at all, if philosophy is to be considered with Grote, and the late Professor Ferrier, as "reasoned truth." The fact is, as it seems to us, that no science of history can be constructed until the law of history, or in other words, of human nature has been determined; and as the determination of this law depends on the solution of the vexed question of freedom and necessity, it is clear that the true science of history cannot be said to have yet even begun to exist. There are not wanting indications that Professor Flint proposes before his task is concluded to attempt the synthesis which the science of history demands, and there are several passages (as for instance, on pp. 84, 115, 309, and 438) where he foreshadows his own theory. There is much in his criticism of Comte with which all candid students must agree; but he scarcely, we think, gives him credit enough for having at least seen the true conditions of the problem. It is easy to make fun of Comte's extravagances, indeed it is difficult for any one with the smallest sense of humour to refrain from doing so; yet for all that, Comte did more to establish the science of history on its true basis than many philosophers of far greater speculative profundity. We regret that we have not space to deal with the merits of Professor Flint's very valuable work in greater detail; but we can at least cordially recommend it to all serious students of philosophy. For industry, candour, and discretion it leaves little to be desired: some of its discussions seem to us to be irrelevant, and some of its judgments to be unsound;

and, as life is short, we would counsel Professor Flint to use greater compression in his treatment of speculations of inferior importance. These, however, are but slight blemishes, and we heartily congratulate Scotland on the production of a work which unmistakably shows that the philosophical traditions of Adam Smith and Sir W. Hamilton have not forsaken the land of their birth.

The demand for works on the History of Philosophy in Germany must be unlimited; at least the supply seems to be inexhaustible. We fail precisely to detect the *raison d'être* of Herr Poetter's "*Geschichte der Philosophie im Grundriss*,"⁷⁷ unless it be produced to meet a special and local demand. The History of Philosophy is a subject which it is difficult and perhaps unprofitable to treat within the limits of a handbook; and Herr Poetter does not seem to have been particularly successful in striking the mean between a mere outline and a more detailed and exhaustive treatment. Such a work as Ernst Kuhn's "*Memorial und Repetitorium zur Geschichte der Philosophie*" supplies a well defined want, and on the whole supplies it well, while the monumental work of Zeller is simply indispensable to serious students. If between these two extremes something intermediate is required, the valuable work of Ueberweg would seem to supply it, and with Ueberweg's treatment of the subject that of Herr Poetter cannot be compared for a moment. Its references to original authorities are ludicrously inadequate, while its general treatment is too meagre to be of service. Herr Poetter must be aware that the best critics are agreed that the treatise "*De Melisso, Zenone, et Gorgia*" is spurious, yet in quoting it (i. 17), he ascribes it to Aristotle. It needs a bold man to deal with the question of the "*Exoteric Discourses*" in a sentence, and Herr Poetter's boldness is certainly not justified by success: "*Einen Unterschied zwischen esoterischen und exoterischen Schriften, so dass man erst erforschen mülste, welche zur ersteren Klasse gehörten, hat der Philosoph nicht gemacht. Es lässt sich nur behaupten, dass er je nach Bedürfniss beim Lehren und Schreiben sich neben der streng wissenschaftlichen, auch der populären, gemeinverständlichen Form bedient habe*" (i. 69). To say that Bacon described his method as one rather "*pro temporis parte habenda quam pro parte ingenii*" (ii. 67), is either a misprint or a blunder.

Mr. William A. Leonard sends us a "*Summary of Mr. Herbert Spencer's First Principles*,"⁷⁸ which he has made "*for the use of the Higher Classes in Schools, &c.*" Whatever be the merits of the summary, we cannot sympathize with its purpose. The works of original thinkers must be studied as they stand, or not at all, and we do not think that original works on philosophy can with advantage be introduced into schools. That Mr. Spencer's speculations are of pro-

⁷⁷ "*Die Geschichte der Philosophie im Grundriss.*" Ein übersichtlicher Blick in den Verlauf ihrer Entwicklung, von Friedrich Christoph Poetter. Erste Hälfte: Die Griechische Philosophie. Zweite Hälfte: Die vor- und nachkantische Philosophie. Elberfeld: R. L. Friderichs. 1874.

⁷⁸ "*A Summary of Mr. Herbert Spencer's First Principles.*" (For the use of the Higher Classes in Schools, &c.) By William A. Leonard. London: F. Pitman.

found importance, we should be the last to deny ; but that is a very different thing from saying that they can be profitably taught to schoolboys. There is too great a tendency in the present day to stuff schoolboys with compressed food, and we tremble to think what the next generation will be like, if it is to be brought up on summaries of Mr. Herbert Spencer and on Mr. Freeman's "Historical Courses."

Dr. F. A. Hartsen's "*Principles of Psychology*"²⁰ seems to have originally appeared in French, a circumstance to which the singular lucidity of exposition which distinguishes the book is possibly due. The ground traversed is familiar enough to English students, Dr. Hartsen having made good use of the chief works of the physiological school of Psychology : to Mr. Herbert Spencer he is under special obligation, though dissenting from him on a variety of more or less important points. The popular character and purpose of the book may perhaps account to some extent for what we regard as the chief defect in the author's treatment of his subject, a certain indefiniteness and irresolution in the conclusions formulated.

In his "*Psychologie vom Empirischen Standpunkte*,"²¹ Dr. Franz Brentano breaks ground in a direction with which perhaps English philosophers are more familiar than those of Germany. He has evidently studied with much care the writings of Mill, Herbert Spencer, Bain, and other English philosophers of the Empirical School, though he consistently maintains an independent position. Only the first volume is at present published, but the second is promised in the course of the present year. We shall look with interest for the completion of the work, and shall hope to give it a more detailed notice than our space at present permits.

We scarcely know what to say to Dr. Scheve's "*Phrenologische Bilder*,"²² for we seriously doubt whether it is entitled to a place in the Philosophical section. Phrenology is surely not Philosophy : it is either science or nothing, and we fancy most men of science, in this country at least, are pretty well agreed as to which alternative to adopt. Dr. Scheve, whose work was originally published in 1850 and is now in its third edition, congratulates himself on the progress which Anthropology and Comparative Craniology have made in the interval, and he claims as his allies the students of those sciences. But if Phrenology be Craniology, it were better to take its name and adopt its method, which would be tantamount to admitting that Phrenology is a failure. Of course Dr. Scheve claims to add to Craniology "*Gehirnslehre*," a science for which we have no special name in English, but which Dr. Ferrier and others have pursued with

²⁰ "*Grundzüge der Psychologie*." Von F. A. Hartsen. Mit 4 lithographirten Tafeln. Berlin : Carl Duncker's Verlag. 1874.

²¹ "*Psychologie vom Empirischen Standpunkte*." Von Dr. Franz Brentano, Professor der Philosophie an der K. K. Universität zu Wien. Erster Band. Leipzig : Duncker & Humblot. 1874.

²² "*Phrenologische Bilder. Zur Naturlehre des Menschlichen Geistes und deren Aufwendung auf das Leben. Auch zur Verständigung zwischen Phrenologie und Anthropologie*." Von Gustav Scheve. Dritte, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig : Verlag von J. J. Weber. 1874.

considerable success. But Craniology and "Gehirnslehre" together are not Phrenology; they have definite methods and objects, and are not hampered as Phrenology is with a foregone psychological theory. The opponents of Phrenology do not deny that a correlation exists between mental characteristics and aptitudes and the conformation of the brain and skull; they affirm that Phrenology has not determined that correlation in detail, and that its scheme of mental characteristics and aptitudes is crude and totally unscientific. Of course the fundamental thesis of all Empirical Psychology is that no mental operation can be performed without some correlated change within the organism; but its method is one of patient observation, and its instruments have not yet been invented. It may be that some day it will succeed in developing a rational Phrenology, but it will not be by the aid of a foregone conclusion, and the crude mechanism of phrenological heads and portraits of celebrated criminals and other distinguished personages. We may however so far do homage to Phrenology as to say that the excellent portrait which Dr. Schewe gives of himself at the beginning of the volume shows him to be a man of energy and intelligence.

Herr Koerner's "Natur-Ethik"²² is an attempt to construct a system of practical ethics without the aid of the religious sanction. In his preface (which we observe is dated from New York), he explains his motive in writing the book. A popular work of this description is a pressing want in an age like the present, when the advance of knowledge is overthrowing belief even among the uneducated, thus leaving morality without the spiritual basis on which it has hitherto rested. We sincerely trust that the work will attract the attention of the readers for whom it is intended, but we must own that we have considerable doubts as to whether it will.

Mr. Olmstead's tract, "De l'Autorité ou La Philosophie du Personnalisme"²³ seems to be the product of a controversy maintained by the author with a Romish priest on the subject of "Authority." To the assertion of the Infallibility of the Church, Mr. Olmstead replies first by denying, quite unnecessarily and irrelevantly it seems to us, the doctrine of common sense, and then by maintaining the independence and absolute authority of the ego. The well-known formula of Descartes he would amend as follows: *Cogito ergo ego*—an amendment for which the philosophical reasons must be very strong in order to outweigh the obvious objection to it on the score of grammar. Mr. Olmstead seems to have studied philosophy to some extent, but he writes on it very incoherently. Perhaps he has suffered at his translator's hands.

²² "Natur-Ethik." Von Hermann Jos. Al. Koerner. Hamburg: Otto Meissner. 1873.

²³ "De l'Autorité ou La Philosophie du Personnalisme." Lettre adressée au Rév. Père F. J. Hecker, suivie d'une Appendice sur la Souveraineté du Peuple. Par Dwight H. Olmstead. Traduction approuvée par l'Auteur. Genève: Taponnier et Studer. 1874.

If proof were wanting of the success of Hartmann's great work,³⁴ it might be found in the lively dispute which just now divides the German speculative world as to the merits of the "Philosophy of the Unconscious." The book certainly presented materials for a very pretty quarrel, for it shocked the most cherished prejudices of the old parties, philosophical and religious, and even ventured on ground which physical science had begun to regard as its own exclusive possession. In his "Elucidations to the Metaphysic of the Unconscious" (a pamphlet of more than eighty closely printed pages) Hartmann comes forward with an elaborate reply to a critic who, judging the new philosophy by an Hegelian standard, conceived its chief service to be the very subordinate one of mediating between Schopenhauer and Hegel so as to prepare the way for the latter. It was but natural that Hartmann should resent this view of the speculative position and seize the opportunity of restating with increased emphasis the main points of difference between himself and the "Panlogism" of his critic. His own theory, which, while asserting the substantial identity of *das Logische* and *das Unlogische*, maintains at the same time their "attributive or functional opposition," he declares to be utterly irreconcilable with the Hegelian equation of Thought and Being: a philosophy which proclaims the *Begriff* to be the substance of things, and sees in the cruel process of disintegration and destruction in nature only the opposition of the moments in the *Begriff*; is a "superstition which could hardly have found many adherents except in a nation so sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought as the German." Hartmann, indeed, as a professed pessimist, even goes so far as to make it a special reproach against Hegelianism that it cannot assimilate or explain "the pessimism which is becoming a prominent characteristic of the spirit of the age." A summary or final survey of the weak points in Hegel brings this most effective piece of polemical writing to a conclusion.

A work of a very different stamp is the volume published by Dr. Moritz Venetianer, under the title of "*Der Allgeist*,"³⁵ with Heine's saying, "Panthéism is the secret religion of Germany," prefixed as his motto. The author restates Hartmann's theory with certain differences of form and detail, giving it in its new shape what we cannot but think the very barbarous designation of "Panpsychism." The decidedly militant character of the book enables us to form some idea of the present state of the great Hartmann question. Pretty nearly every one who has happened to utter or imply an opinion adverse to the Theory of the Unconscious comes under Dr. Venetianer's lash in turn: evidently no respecter of persons, he assails Haym, Schleicher, Häckel, Strauss, Geiger (to say nothing of minor offenders), with an impartial acrimony and rabid recklessness rare in civilized

³⁴ "Erläuterungen zur Metaphysik des Unbewussten mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den Panlogismus." Von Eduard von Hartmann. Berlin: Carl Duncker's Verlag. 1874.

³⁵ "Der Allgeist. Grundzüge des Panpsychismus im Anschluss an die Philosophie des Unbewussten." Von Moritz Venetianer. Berlin: Carl Duncker's Verlag. 1874.

literature, except, perhaps, in religious newspapers. Whether Dr. Venetianer's alliance is likely to win converts to the Philosophy of the Unconscious, we cannot say, but we may fairly congratulate him on having shown himself a consummate master of a peculiar style of controversial writing. If his aim has been to make a philosophy popular, we are quite prepared to admit that he has at least succeeded in making the language of philosophy vulgar.

The recent revival in Germany of a dogmatic interest in Kantism, pure and simple, is a significant phenomenon; much more significant, indeed, than the corresponding movement in this country, where we are daily accustomed to see abstract theories advanced or maintained with an ill-disguised *arrière pensée*. The German intellect, on the contrary, has hitherto been distinguished for disinterestedness; and, whatever its faults, it cannot be said to have shown itself deficient in courage and desire for progress. Explain it as we will, however, the fact is assuredly a most remarkable one, that at the present moment Kant's meaning should be discussed in Germany with an animation reminding one of schoolmen disputing over the infallible text of Aristotle. This reactionary zeal, nevertheless, can hardly be deemed fruitless, if it results, as must sometimes be the case, in a truer appreciation of Kant as he really was. We are glad therefore to be able to draw attention to an interesting and well-written monograph³⁸ on a little-understood portion of Kant's system, his Teleology. The author, Dr. August Stadler, gives a very complete analysis of the "Critique of Judgment," a work unduly neglected even by serious students, who lightly assume that it does not stand in any organic connexion with the "Critique of Pure Reason." Dr. Stadler shows the error of this view, and likewise traces the relation between the "Critique of Judgment" and Kant's other works. We may perhaps express a regret that he writes so entirely for those within the Kantist circle. He gives us an incidental refutation of Mill's theory as to the empirical origin of our idea of Uniformity; but beyond this it is hard to find any consciousness of the difficulties which outsiders find in Kantism. As for the refutation referred to, it is enough to say that it is not very novel, and that it will probably commend itself only to those who are already convinced.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

OWENS College, Manchester, was founded under the will of the late John Owens, of Manchester, in 1851. It was reconstituted and incorporated by Act of Parliament on September 1st, 1871, and its new buildings were formally opened on October 7th, 1873, by the

³⁸ "Kant's Teleologie und ihre erkenntniss theoretische Bedeutung." Eine Untersuchung von August Stadler. Berlin: Ferd. Dümmlers Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1874.

Duke of Devonshire, the President of the College. In commemoration of this event, a volume of essays¹ has been published, the authors being the President, whose opening address stands at the head of the collection, and the professors and lecturers of the College. The subjects of the essays have nothing in common, except, perhaps, the joint educational and scientific spirit in which they are conceived. The subjects are such as, "The Relations of Culture to Practical Life," "Solar Physics," "The Use of Steam," "Science and Medicine," "The Talmud," "The New Judicature Act," "Railways and the State," and "The Peace of Europe." The last essay, by Professor A. W. Ward, is perhaps of the most general interest. It displays a large-minded and acute view of recent European history, though perhaps the mind of the writer seems somewhat overpowered by its own erudition, and, on that ground, a little loth to contemplate and sympathize with growing radical changes in the spirit of international politics which, there is reason to believe, will work quite independently of the lines marked out by diplomatic history.

Mr. G. Shaw Lefevre² has published an useful pamphlet on the Game Laws. He notices that the group of statutes which constitute the present Game Law of England dates no further back than the year 1831, when, with one exception, all previous enactments relating to game were repealed, and the right to take or sell game was based on a new principle. The pamphlet contains an exceedingly valuable résumé of all the past legislation on the subject, and of the present condition of the law. Mr. Lefevre recommends that the severance of the right of sporting from the occupation of land be confined to winged game; that the penalties under the recent Poaching Act be reduced; that the recent Poaching Prevention Act be repealed; and that the police be prohibited from acting in any way as game preservers. The whole pamphlet deserves careful study, and it may be hoped that its circulation will be wide.

It is interesting to find already in a new country like New Zealand, a cry making itself heard for a nationalization of the land. The author of an "Agrarian Law for New Zealand"³ describes the very evils as beginning to show themselves there which are so transparent in this country; and he advocates for the colony a cure similar to that now loudly being called for here. "Unless," says he, "we restrain the unlimited acquisition of the soil, we shall inevitably see a large portion of the country converted into huge estates supporting tens of human beings where thousands might dwell in comfort, and our unhappy people, instead of enjoying modest independence, slaving in factories at the will of vulgar plutocrats."

It is a hopeful sign, in view of the facilitation of the intercourse between States and also of the improved standard of legal erudition in

¹ "Essays and Addresses by Professors and Lecturers of the Owens College, Manchester." London: Macmillan. 1874.

² "The Game Laws" By G. Shaw Lefevre, M.P. London: Ridgway. 1874.

³ "An Agrarian Law for New Zealand." By Charles W. Purnell. Wellington; 1874.

this country, that "International Law" is now one of the recognised and indispensable subjects of the higher legal training for the English Bar. Professor Sheldon Amos⁴ has published a course of lectures on this subject, delivered last year to the students of the Inns of Court under the auspices of the Council of Legal Education. The lectures were taken down by a shorthand reporter, and are of a strictly elementary character, though they travel over all the main topics with which the Law is concerned. The first two lectures are on the "Nature and Sources of International Law," and on the "History of International Law" respectively. The Professor defends "International Law" against the several fallacies that it is to be identified with "International Morality;" that it is a fiction altogether; and that it is far more cogent than in fact it is. One of the lectures gives an exhaustive account of Courts of Prize, and another treats of most of the topics usually gathered up under the head of "Private International Law." The whole is prefaced by a scheme of study recommended to students, according as the course is a preparatory, an intermediate, or an advanced one.

An extremely useful chapter of International Law is contributed by Mr. William Edward Hall,⁵ in his work on "The Rights and Duties of Neutrals." The book is in every respect a good one. The subject is conveniently and logically distributed; the references and authorities cited are numerous and well chosen; the mode of treatment is clear and independent without being eccentric or crotchety. We hope Mr. Hall will persist in his study of the subject, and not be daunted—as so many promising writers have been—by the limited demand for such books in this country. Some interesting documents are contained in the appendix.

Mr. Sutherland Edwards reproduces from the *Times* a series of communications relative to the conduct of the Germans in the invasion of France.⁶ The work contains an examination of the actual method and conduct of the invasion; of the relations between invaders and invaded; and of the modern usages of war. Though very compact in size it travels over a vast deal of ground, in which observation of fact—sometimes of rather a minute and gossiping sort—is mingled with occasional expressions of opinion of rather an argumentative character in favour of the Prussians. Mr. Edwards is of opinion that the Prussian laws of war would not bear much modification, but that it is much to be desired that the great military governments would simply make known the laws of war by which, individually or collectively, they propose to abide. We know that the attempt to

⁴ "Lectures on International Law delivered in the Middle Temple Hall to the Students of the Inns of Court." By Sheldon Amos, M.A. London: Stevens. 1874.

⁵ "The Rights and Duties of Neutrals." By William Edward Hall, M.A. London: Longmans. 1874.

⁶ "The Germans in France." By H. Sutherland Edwards. London: E. Stanford. 1872.

reach any united plan of action in these matters recently made at Brussels has not been of a very encouraging sort. The truth is that International Law must grow upwards from moral pressure brought to bear upon governments, and not downwards from military governments, each intent on its special policy and surrounded by its special accidents and complications.

Through the publication of Dr. Congreve's⁷ collected Essays, the world has the best opportunity hitherto presented it of forming an opinion upon the political value of the system of "Positive Politics" as advocated by the small and compact body of its adherents in this country. The system is of course largely implicated with the peculiar characteristics of Dr. Congreve's own mind, as, in its original form, it is almost inseparable from the peculiar mental diathesis of Auguste Comte. Nevertheless the various aspects in which it is presented, and the subjects to which it is applied in the course of these essays, suffice to display, in the clearest manner, the true lineaments of the complete system on its purely political side. These essays mostly formed lectures delivered on the first day of the year, the "Festival of Humanity;" and the purport of them was to refresh the spirit of believers, and win over half-believers by a general review of the most pressing problems of English politics; and a demonstration of the capacity—and the exclusive capacity—of the Positive system of politics to find an adequate and final solution for them. There is much that is highly attractive in the Positive scheme, and with which no other political programme so much as comes into competition. In the first place, the Positive system is comprehensive and exhaustive. The reader need only study the essay on "Systematic Policy" to appreciate how wide is the sweep that the scheme advocated by Dr. Congreve takes. The student is supplied with a master-key with which he can unlock all the riddles that present themselves either at home or abroad, whether industrial, educational, or social. Not indeed that this key is any empirical process of thought, or rough and ready reckoner. It is rather an attitude of mind, a sensitiveness of the intellect, a delicate balance of the judgment to be attained by long study and preparation, and represented perhaps at its best in the instance of Dr. Congreve himself. Positive politics are indeed the exact antipodes of the scrambling, haphazard, disjointed political habit which is now so dominant in England, and which would almost seem to be a fatal but necessary concomitant of free parliamentary institutions, especially where minorities are not represented, and therefore where the government of the country is being constantly passed on—like a shuttlecock—from one extreme political party to another. In the second place, the Positive politician has never the slightest doubt of what he wants next and of what he wants in the long run. If Dr. Congreve advocates the surrender of Gibraltar, and the non-retention of India, he admits that these are fragments of a far larger

⁷ "Essays, Political, Social, and Religious." By Richard Congreve. London: Longmans.

scheme of political reconstruction; and that even these essential steps in a right-minded policy may demand some preliminary steps to precede them. Dr. Congreve, too, while never leaving his readers in doubt as to what is ultimately and what is immediately best, always holds that the first object of all is to secure a right attitude of mind in respect of the present and the future, to see and to treat all things in their true relations, and to be at all times tolerant, patient, and free from unreasoning and unreasoned prejudice. These lessons are about as valuable as any that could be given to English politicians. The defects of the system are too manifest on the face of it, and too constantly exaggerated, to need much comment here. There are insufficient safeguards for personal liberty. An undue weight of responsibility is cast upon what is called the "spiritual power." The motives for right action are of doubtful force. The possibility and advisability of superseding all the constitutional machinery which a State has, in the course of ages, gathered to itself, and introducing entirely new machinery in its place are rated too highly.

We have previously had occasion to describe in some detail the earlier editions of Mr. W. F. Rae's⁸ excellent description of his journey to San Francisco and his visit to the Mormons. A small and cheap edition of the work is now issued, which will convey to a vastly increased audience the truthful and sobering lessons with which Mr. Rae's work is full. The new readers of the work will do well to give heed to Mr. Rae's introductory caution against American bubble companies. "Every mischance confirms the propriety of the warning against trusting to the representations of those who, on the baseless pretext that capital cannot be found in the United States to work undertakings which will yield enormous profits, apply to British capitalists for the necessary funds."

We have had forwarded to us some extremely interesting and important volumes of statistics of the kingdom of Italy, and also a special report, issued under the direction of the Minister for "Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce," of the proceedings in the months of June and July in the year 1873 of the Central Statistical Society.⁹ This Society conducted its business under the presidency of the Minister, and therefore its proceedings were, in some way, of a public and national kind. Every day's business is described in detail in this report, and the bulky volumes of statistics which accompany it, and which supply the topics of the discussion, must be treated as illustrative appendices. The topics with which these volumes deal are of great variety, and, taken together, they afford most valuable materials for estimating the present economical, social, and industrial situation of the kingdom of Italy and of its constituent portions.

⁸ "Westward by Rail: a Journey to San Francisco and Back, and a Visit to the Mormons." By W. F. Rae. Third and Cheaper Edition. London: Isbister. 1874.

⁹ "Annali del Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio Statistica." Roma: 1873.

These topics are such as the census of births, deaths, and marriages, electoral or political statistics,¹⁰ shipping statistics,¹¹ accounts of provincial and communal revenue¹² and expenditure,¹³ enumeration and summary description of provident societies and savings-banks,¹⁴ lists (enormously voluminous) of pious and charitable institutions,¹⁵ ¹⁶ and a register of Italians living abroad.¹⁷

Mr. Thomas Twining, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society of Arts, has published a very elaborate and comprehensive treatise on "Technical Training."¹⁸ Mr. Twining complains that, "while many brilliant ideas have been expressed on the subject, and books and pamphlets have been published in advocacy of industrial instruction, containing highly acceptable information concerning what exists abroad, and valuable indications as to what ought to exist at home, and several exceedingly useful institutions are in course of development; on the other hand, no endeavour has apparently been made to select and fit together the most appropriate among these various materials, to supply suggestively whatever connecting links might be necessary for uniting them in a national scheme of industrial progress, and to add whatever practical details might be required for making the various parts of so complex a machinery work smoothly and harmoniously." This passage explains the purport of the present work, the somewhat ambitious object of which is to satisfy the want above indicated. The whole work is a good specimen of the junction of theoretical and practical treatment. The general purpose and central idea are never lost sight of, and yet the suggestions are made to relate to the minutest detail. The plan of a Central Technical University will be studied with especial interest, as also will the analysis of the educational requirements of the various industries. Mr. Twining imparts a belief in his having long and thoroughly studied the subject with which his work deals.

The first part of Herr Samuel Oppenheim's work on "The Nature of Capital and Credit,"¹⁹ was published in the year 1868. The second part is published in the present year. The new part deals with the more complicated phenomena of money and credit. It discusses or expounds all the problems relating to paper money and negociable

¹⁰ "Statistica del Regno d' Italia. Movimento dello Stato Civile. Nell' Anno 1870." Milano: 1872.

¹¹ "Navigazione nei Porti del Regno. Anno 1870." Milano: 1871.

¹² "Amministrazione Pubblica Bilanci Provinciali. Anno 1871—1872." Roma: 1873.

¹³ "Amministrazione Pubblica Bilanci Communalì. Anno 1870." Milano: 1871.

¹⁴ "Istituti di Previdenza. Cassi di Risparmio. Anno 1869." Roma: 1873.

¹⁵ "Le opere pie nel 1861. Compartimento della Campania." Milano: 1871.

¹⁶ "Le opere pie nel 1861. Compartimento della Toscana." Firenze: 1873.

¹⁷ "Le opere pie nel 1861. Compartimento della Sicilia." Firenze: 1873.

¹⁸ "Censimento degli Italiani all' Estero, 1871." Roma: 1874.

¹⁹ "Technical Training. Being a Suggestive Sketch of a National System of Industrial Instruction." By Thomas Twining. London: Macmillan. 1874.

²⁰ "Die Natur des Capitals und des Credits." Von Samuel Oppenheim. Mainz: 1874.

investments, and treats with minute care the subject of monetary crises. The subject-matter of the treatise is conveniently and logically arranged, and the whole is elaborated with care and attention to all the facts of the case as presented in different countries. There are many points in which the treatise contrasts favourably with most English treatises on the same class of topics.

The general analysis of political constitutions, with a view to evolving the best conceivable constitution, is not a favourite topic with English writers or readers. There is no place in which such speculations flourish more luxuriantly than in Switzerland, and especially in Geneva; and M. James Fazy's course of lectures on constitutional legislation²¹ afford a good specimen of them at their best. M. James Fazy claims especial attention to the method he pursues, which is that of first estimating what are the real governmental necessities for the conduct of human society, and then examining how far these necessities are or are not provided for by the most characteristic State constitutions of modern times. This mode of treatment introduces useful dissertations on the Swiss, the American, the German, and the English constitutions. M. James Fazy advocates the claims of what he calls the "radical" school, as opposed to those of the "doctrinaire school of kings and aristocrats" and the "socialistic school of permanent revolution."

It is, perhaps, one of the most remarkable features of modern political speculation that an extraordinary, and, in some cases, an undue value is placed on reasoning based on nothing else than statistical information. The late Mr. Buckle created the first surprise among the English public by a few startling results obtained in this way to which he called attention. If results based upon statistics be properly obtained, rigidly tested, and carefully compared with results obtained by processes less singularly decisive, there is no doubt that the value of the method is of the highest kind. Professor von A. Oettingen²² in his work on Moral Statistics, of which the second edition is now published, has applied the method of purely statistical inquiry to almost all the facts, including some of the most complex ones, of social life. The results, of course, even if not infallible, are full of curious interest. One large section of the work is devoted to prostitution statistics, another to poor-law, a third to criminal, and a fourth to religious statistics. The whole work, while based on facts drawn from the most varied and voluminous sources, is no hard and dry calculating machine, but betokens, at all points, the hand and brain of a sensitive, large-minded, and truly philosophical thinker.

We are glad to find the practice making way of republishing in a cheap form, capable of being used as a class-book, the best English

²¹ "Cours de Législation Constitutionnelle." Donné par M. James Fazy. Genève : 1873.

²² "Die Moral Statistik in ihrer Bedeutung für eine Christliche Social Ethik." Von Alexander von Oettingen. Zweite, neu bearbeitete Auflage. Erlangen : 1874.

classics such as Burke's Works,²³ Wordsworth's and Thomson's Poems,²⁴ and the various works of the highest character selected from in the "Sixth Reader" of the Public School Series.²⁵ Each of these treatises is prefaced by an introduction, brief and clear, describing the main characteristics of the author, and the points to be attended to by the student. Mr. Payne's introduction to Burke's Select Works is extremely elaborate, and may well be read for its own sake as a description and criticism of the peculiarity of Burke's style and mental qualities.

It needs very little introduction to recommend the merits of a handbook of travel by Mr. Cook.²⁶ Mr. Cook's "Tourist's Handbook to Switzerland" is a good specimen of what such a book should be, and a useful rival of Murray's Guide. It might be expected from Mr. Cook's peculiar experience, that all purely practical matter, such as luggage, money, passports, postage and hotels, would receive their fair share of attention. The maps are numerous, clear, and accurate, and the whole book is concise, conveniently printed and portable.

The chief fact about the new and sixth edition of "Joshua Davidson"²⁷ is that the authoress, Mrs. E. Lynn Linton, has at last broken the veil of her incognito, and disclosed her true name. She says she now comes forward in her own person, prepared to take the full consequences of what she has written as Joshua's friend John. These consequences, so far as popular sympathy goes, are likely to be somewhat serious. The English public is not fond of the dogmatic side of Christianity being wholly subordinated to the common virtues of charity, brotherhood, and devotion to the cause of the needy and the oppressed; nor is the process of liberating the French communistic leaders from the reckless and discreditable aspersions with which they have been universally assailed congenial to the tastes of the common English reader. Nor are absolute sincerity, a burning enthusiasm, a persistent habit of following the dictates of conscience, the sort of stuff to which the English politician and man of science lends a willing ear. Yet "Joshua Davidson" will find readers for his memoirs, and some admirers, not to say humble disciples. If the authoress will go one step further, and publish a cheap edition of her work, it will probably attain a large circulation, and form one of the most precious missionary tractates of modern days.

²³ "Burke: Select Works." Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by E. J. Payne, B.A. Vol. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1874.

²⁴ "English School Classics; Simple Poems, Wordsworth's 'Excursion,' Thomson's 'Seasons,' and Bacon's 'Essays.'" London: Rivingtons. 1874.

²⁵ "Public School Series." Sixth Reader. Isbister: London. 1874

²⁶ "Cook's Tourist's Handbook to Switzerland, viâ Paris." London: Thos. Cook & Sons. 1874.

²⁷ "The True History of Joshua Davidson, Christian and Communist." By E. Lynn Linton. Sixth Edition, with a new Preface. London: Chatto & Windus. 1874.

M. L. C.²⁸ says that life in Ireland has been inadequately described hitherto, and contributes her own recollections of society in the south of Ireland. The production appears to be that of an unpractised pen, and gains verisimilitude from its very want of artistic colouring. That it adds materially to our comprehension of Irish opinion in the times of O'Connell may be questioned; but it is no doubt a faithful picture of how "wild Irish girls" have been produced. The writer does not seem to have entered into political circles, except in the character of a young lady spectator, nor at any time to have felt the pressure of the political problems of the day.

Miss Busk publishes a narrative of traveller's adventures in Tirol,²⁹ garnished with much traditionary lore, some of which, to say the least, is already familiar to English readers, both through her own previous publications, and through the labours of other collectors. Her selection is, however, good, and she gives, whether naturally or by art, a great air of personal credence to her ecclesiastical miracle-stories. Her style, too, is fresh and pleasant, and she has a true enthusiasm for the open hearted simplicity and loyalty of the Tirolese peasantry. The volume is a book for tourists in Tirol to look through and make notes from, before their journey begins; but it is not exactly as well fitted for a guide-book as its title would give them to understand, though a sketch of Tirolese history, interspersed through the book, is well done. Miss Busk's volumes follow one another in somewhat quick succession, considering the subjects with which they deal, for folklore needs digestion before it can be very serviceable scientifically.

Lieutenant H. Stumm was the only foreigner whose presence with the Russian armies advancing upon Khiva last year was recognised, and his reports to his own government, therefore, possessed an interest which fully justifies Captain Vincent in translating them for the English public.³⁰ He adds to them a valuable paper descriptive of the organization, reforms, and present condition of the Russian army. Putting aside, for the moment, all question whether we have or have not need to be alarmed and resentful in consequence of the Central Asian policy of Russia, there would seem to be no room for question that Khiva is, and has for two centuries and more been, the victim of an aggressive policy on the part of Russia. At the time of the invasion of the Khanate, ending in its complete subjugation, in 1873, a great parade was made of the provocations endured by Russia at the hands of Khiva, and the mouth of public opinion in England was stopped in some measure by hinted comparisons between our expedition to rescue Abyssinian prisoners, and the Russian determination to recover her subjects detained in Khiva.

²⁸ "Some Time in Ireland." A Recollection. Henry S. King & Co. London: 1874.

²⁹ "The Valleys of Tirol; Their Traditions, and How to Visit Them." By Miss R. H. Busk. London: Longmans. 1874.

³⁰ "Russia's Advance Eastward." By Lieutenant Hugo Stumm; translated by G. E. Howard Vincent, F.R.G.S. Henry S. King & Co., Paternoster Row, London. 1874.

But the facts are that Khiva has been fighting for bare life against Russian aggression, and the so-called provocations were her small successes in warfare with enemies so determined that the arid horrors of the Steppes could not daunt them. To Lieutenant Stumm and Captain Vincent, however this aspect of affairs does not appear to have presented itself, and the volume which is their joint production is to be enjoyed only by looking through their eyes at the whole expedition. It then resolves itself into a splendid achievement. It is a great moral and military victory over extreme physical obstacles, and redounds greatly to the credit of the people from among whom such heroic soldiers are recruited. Hunger, thirst, alternate biting cold and fierce heat, sandstones, and forced marches, produced a marvellously small number of fatalities, whilst the discipline of the troops was so perfect that even the removal of the great strain upon them, consequent on the speedy occupation of a second territory, produced no quarrel or squabble between the soldiery and the conquered population. The success of the whole affair naturally depended chiefly upon the commissariat department, and the details of the arrangements of that "arm" are given with minuteness by Lieutenant Stumm. One principal difficulty was the purveyance of carriage for stores; but this is a difficulty which the rapidly advancing improvements in the navigation of the Sir Darya and the Amu Darya will remove in all future operations of Russia in Central Asia; and as well as that they will render her hold upon Khiva much more tenacious. Captain Vincent's chapter on the Russian Army is minute and exhaustive, and is the fruit of personal observation and knowledge derived from high Russian military authorities.

The first step towards getting out of financial difficulties is clearly to see what they are, and Mr. Elliot's statement of our Indian complications is certainly explicit enough.³¹ He believes that without a change of policy our Indian Government must be bankrupt in fifteen years. Our debt in India is now proposed to be increased to 300,000,000*l.*, and this is mainly in the hands of Englishmen who do not reflect that the revenue is largely derived from that traffic in opium which the declared future policy of China must destroy, nor that the rest of the revenue is derived from taxes paid by a population driven by us to gain all their livelihood from agriculture, while their poverty is constantly increased by the increase of population and by the impoverishment of the soil. These and many other appalling things are set forth by Mr. Elliot; and the remedy he suggests is that of developing the manufacturing and exporting capabilities of the Indian Empire. He presses the state of India with earnestness on the attention of those investors in Indian securities who persist in regarding the solvency of the Indian Government as secured by the solvency

³¹ "Our Indian Difficulties; The Way Out of Them. And a few Words of Warning to Trustees." By Robert H. Elliot. London: Ridgways. 1874.

of the English Government, in spite of all express stipulations to the contrary. The pamphlet is vigorous and well worthy of mark.

The reprint of Mr. Kay Shuttleworth's and Sir Sydney Waterlow's speeches in the House of Commons last Session on the state of the dwellings of the poor in London,²³ is welcome as affording a succinct and unvarnished account of a great and perplexed problem, the importance of which is daily forcing itself more decidedly on public notice. That London is crowded to a degree unknown in any other town in Great Britain is a matter of national regret, for the metropolis of a country must always in some measure set an example for good or evil to all the provincial centres. That, with us, Glasgow has set to London a noble example of systematic dealing with the question within its own bounds is an honour to its citizens, and the gentlemen whose speeches are here made accessible give valuable counsel as to the modes in which London may tread in the steps of her northern exemplar. The statistics of what has already been done by various philanthropic and commercial companies is very encouraging, from whichever stand-point the enterprise has started; but nothing can be more obvious than the necessity for compulsory powers to be given to some central authority enabling persons to acquire sites now rendered inaccessible by extravagant prices or their owners' positive refusal or inability to sell. Incidentally two facts are brought out which are interesting in the extreme. One is the eager desire of the much depreciated working man to find for himself and his family, even at the expense of considerable additional fatigue to himself, a decent and healthy home; and the second is that it is a very rare thing indeed for the rent of "improved dwellings" to be left unpaid. The Metropolitan Association lost, on a rental of 12,257*l.* 5*s.* only 174*l.*, and that small sum included loss on rooms left empty through removals or repairs. It may be that so remarkable a result follows from the best dwellings being sought after by the most provident of the working classes; but it is probably no less true that the dwellings themselves have raised the tone of their inhabitants, since in Glasgow the systematic improvement of dwellings has produced a marked diminution of crime. That the compulsory acquisition of city sites is called for is obvious from the fact that while huge masses of people are from time to time turned out of their homes, a large proportion of them cannot possibly afford to go to the suburbs far from the centres of their irregular work, and also from the great undesirableness of separating too sharply the city work of the breadwinner, however well disposed he may be, from all the home associations naturally kept up by the family meeting at meals and incidentally during the hours of work.

It would not be easy to praise in too strong terms the admirable papers in which Dr. Donaldson²⁴ has sought to inform public opinion

²³ "Dwellings of Working People in London." Two speeches by U. J. Kay-Shuttleworth, M.P., and Sir Sydney Waterlow, Bart., M.P. London: Ridgway. 1874.

²⁴ "Lectures on Education." By James Donaldson, LL.D., Rector of the High School of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1874.

on the true aims of education, and the best methods by which to strive after the attainment of those aims. He details with enthusiasm the educational ideas which have raised Prussia to its present pre-eminence in culture and the history of its rise. The Prussian child—or rather boy—is recognised from the first as a future citizen, and instead of a bare elementary instruction in the use of some primary tools for mental work, he receives at the hands of well trained teachers and educators a sort of education which is at each stage so complete in itself that, at whatever point his education may cease, its natural result is to leave him a self-reliant and self-sacrificing citizen of the rank for which the amount of his education has fitted him. Dr. Donaldson contrasts this with unreasoning hammering in of a little uncomprehended reading, writing and arithmetic, which we call national education. He attributes the great difference partially to the fact that in Prussia education has been promoted from the one centre of a powerful enlightened Government, calling to its aid advisers of practical experience and philosophic enthusiasm for their subject. In England we are, notably in the present day, learned and unlearned alike, all busy asserting various theories and doing but little. In Prussia the complete and harmonious whole of the citizen has been the one thing thought of; in England we have been considering whether the children shall or shall not be taught religion in school and who shall pay for the schooling. The results are that in Germany a true science of education has an acknowledged existence, and calls forth a flood of intellectual labour which gives the greatest possible practical aid to the teacher; while in England the possibility of the existence of such a science is flatly denied by some whose names are prominent in connexion with education, and our teachers have to stumble, untrained in teaching, unencouraged by public appreciation of honest and thorough work, uncheered by any professional prospects, through daily drudgery of the dreariest sort. It may or may not still be considered a question whether the national or the governmental impulse be the best for the education of a great people to receive; but there can exist no doubt that the nation which has scarcely yet felt the true impulse—which still considers the matter of education from the prudential stand-point of “educating our future masters,” or from the economic stand-point of making better or worse servants and workmen only—may do wisely to turn for instruction both as to aims and as to methods to the people who have given living certainty to the speculation as to whether it is possible in the school to train the true citizen. Dr. Donaldson’s slight historical sketches of education in Prussia and in England are full of interest, and are likely to do good service in the next phases of educational discussions. A lecture on the Universities and the working classes sets forth the office of Universities to be that of sheltering men who shall put themselves away from practical life to search after the more abstract and recondite forms of truth, and to be the teachers of such truth as they can ascertain to others, who in their turn should present in intelligible form by speech, writing, and doing these results of study to the mass of the nation, not in the form of dogmatism, but simply as relaters of the intellectual processes gone through by the Professors, and of the conclusions to which

those processes have led. Among the most immediately important of those University studies, Dr. Donaldson affirms the weightiest to be the science of Psychology as expository of the laws which regulate the activities rather than the mere generalizations of the products of the mind. The vigorous pursuit of this study would further the quick appearance of a race of teachers who would not be relegated to tact—or instinctive and haphazard obedience to those laws—but who would be fully furnished with tools to turn out from their hands a nobler race of citizens.

A second edition of Herrn Barth and Niederley's book of instructions for boys in bookbinding, pasteboard work, modelling in different substances, carving, boat-building, toy-making, and such like delights,²⁴ must be a great boon to German lads, and is a useful hint to us in England. It would indeed be well if a translation or an imitation of this well-conceived, well-executed, and well-illustrated little volume might become so widely known and popular in England that the traditional schoolboy should know how to employ some of the energy now expended on cricket or football in more useful pursuits, which would give him eyes and hands ready to do him good service through life, instead of leaving him inclined for occupations such as Polo and Badminton. Many children are kept away from tools of all sorts because of the possible injuries to be inflicted by their abuse, but with a manual which would make reasonable use of many of them a thing easy to be insured, any thoughtful parent or teacher would do well to make children free of all sorts of workmen's tools. That this volume would prove such a manual is certain were it either accessible in English, or were it imitated and possibly even improved upon.

Miss Wordsworth's narrative of her tour through the Highlands with her brother,²⁵ and, at first—till dismayed by the wet weather, he somewhat abruptly left them—with Coleridge, is welcome. To a large class of readers there are few things more interesting than to be let into the secrets attending the production of great works accepted by the world as works of genius. Mendelssohn's letters gratified this curiosity, and Miss Wordsworth's book will do so also, though there will be a dash of surprise in the confidence made, which will somewhat change the current of feeling. For there are unmistakeable signs that some of the poems upon which Wordsworth's fame rests were really due to his sister's suggestions and influence on his thought. She saw the actual things, or she saw the hidden secrets in nature, and detailed them to her brother, who published the lovely pictures and delicate bits of insight in simple language, the absence of art in which has been set down as prosaic by some. As a record of travel the volume has interest chiefly as being an account of tourist regions in pre-tourist days. Principal Shairp is a very enthusiastic editor.

²⁴ "Des Deutschen Knaben Handwerksbuch." Von Barth und Niederley. Bielefeld und Leipzig. 1874.

²⁵ "Recollections of a Tour made in Scotland, A.D. 1803." By Dorothy Wordsworth. Edited by J. C. Shairp, LL.D. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. 1874.

SCIENCE.

THE New Manual of Chemical Toxicology,¹ by Professor Mohr, of Bonn, may be characterized as possessing originality of views rarely expressed in text-books with so much frankness as is done by the well-known author in this case. The author at once excludes from his work the physiological and purely medicinal portion of toxicology, as the term is understood by the older writers on the subject, and treats exclusively of the chemical branch, which solely aims at the certain discovery of poisons in forensic cases. Much that is stated in the first pages and is here and there scattered through the book, on the legal relations of the analytical chemist to the courts of justice and on the mode of preparing reports, will for English students have only a casual interest. The great importance of the work, and herein also its original mode of treatment, is to be found in the selection of the methods. Professor Mohr traces the causes of the frequently occurring discrepancies, doubts, and controversies in reported cases to the ill-devised treatment of toxicology in the better-known manuals. The variety of methods which is often tried by analysts on a comparatively small quantity of material leads to doubts, if not to positive failures; and it is no wonder that the general public, even to this day, when chemical analysis has reached a high degree of perfection, is never over-confident in the forensic testimony given by analytical chemists. There are well-defined methods of extracting the solutions on giving the precipitates, which must contain the poisonous substance if it is present, and there exist absolutely certain methods of separating the poison itself and of exhibiting it in a pure form by itself. To place these methods, and these alone, before the student has been the sole object of the author. The work contains thus the practical results of the author's very long experience, and a critical examination of the methods given proves that they are not only the best known, but that even the most recent which have been proposed have been compared with older ones, and have been preferred when they led to results with greater certainty and with less labour. The work is divided into two parts—one general, the other special. That portion of the general part which gives a classification of poisons appears to us as somewhat obsolete. It also contains directions for the chemical manipulations, and a description of various kinds of apparatus; this portion comprises all the more recent improvements, and abounds in many instances in a variety of suggestive hints. The special part contains chapters on each poison, the whole being grouped in three classes—metallic poisons, free mineral acids, and alkaloids. The methods are described with wonderful precision and clearness. There are, of course, often several methods given, but each method is connected with a modification of *a priori* circumstances which is different in another case, for which therefore also another method is selected. The chemical

¹ "Chemische Toxicologie." Von Dr. Friedrich Mohr. Braunschweig: Vieweg und Sohn. 1874.

notation is unfortunately still the old one. Professor Mohr has the less excuse for it, as he is extremely indignant against old-fashioned writers, especially against Orfila, the great authority on toxicology. His tone against this writer is especially ungenerous. It is well known that Orfila studied the effects of poisons by introducing the substance under experiment into a small hole made in the œsophagus of dogs and other animals; a ligature was then made below this hole, to prevent vomiting. Professor Mohr calls this "nonsense" (page 108), and speaks, whenever he has an opportunity, of experimental researches of a similar kind in very objectionable terms. His present work will nevertheless undoubtedly soon be as well known and authoritative as all his other writings.

We have on various occasions pointed out in the pages of the *Westminster Review* that the want of a classification of the chemical reactions^{*} is a great hindrance in the path of the beginner, and yet one which might be so easily removed—at any rate, to some extent. Dr. Drechsel, chemist in the Physiological Institute of the University of Leipsic, has for the first time undertaken so grateful a task as to lighten the steps of the earnest student by an easily intelligible scheme of the various reactions. It is only an attempt, and a very small book, but it will do more in the hands of students to propagate sound acquaintance with modern chemical theories than any of the usual "introductions" which precede the dictionary text-books of chemistry and usually add to the difficulties of the student, instead of being rational expositions of the principles of the science, which they ought to be. Let anybody compare the chapter in Dr. Drechsel's book in which the reactions of the more common acids on metals and metallic oxides is systematically explained, and illustrated by very numerous equations, with the chapters on each of these acids separately given in the usual text-books. While Dr. Drechsel shows him comprehensively how nitric acid, for example, acts on the metals of various valivalence, and *why*, from its constitution, it must act in these particular ways, the usual text-books absolutely withhold from the student an intelligible insight into these reactions either by giving a vast array of equations without any explanation whatever, or by offering a most meagre statement in a few sentences, on the general action of the acid on other bodies. The plan of Dr. Drechsel's book is at present not yet quite systematic; nor is it to be expected that books with so revolutionizing tendencies in the teaching of chemistry can be written as yet in a complete or even satisfactory manner. Nevertheless, it is a step forwards, and we earnestly recommend the little book to English students. The German terminology required for understanding it is easily learnt from a dictionary, and the more important portion, that giving the reactions, is of course written in the cosmopolitan symbols of the science.

Of recent editions two on well known works of chemical subjects are before us: one is the fourteenth edition of "Fresenius's Qualitative

^{*} "Leitfaden in das Studium der Chemischen Reactionen." Von Dr. Edmund Drechsel. Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth. 1874.

Analysis," the other is a portion of the sixth edition of the late Professor Strecker's "Organic Chemistry," the original of which was written many years ago by M. Regnault. The book of Dr. Fresenius has been translated into English, and is so well known in this country that little further can be said about it than that the author has throughout still maintained the old notation. Some pressure seems to have been applied to the author to remedy this defect, for he justifies his adherence to the old notation in a short preface to this edition, in which he says that, according to his long experience, and firm convictions, his mode of writing formulæ so much facilitates the study of the chemical reactions, and a general view of the relations which are important in chemical analysis, that he felt himself not only justified, but even in duty bound to preserve the old notation. We feel certain that this is nothing but the obstinacy of a successful writer. Students everywhere learn now the new notation from the very beginning of their chemical studies, in the course of which chemical analysis forms merely one of the more advanced steps. Hence a student who has fully mastered the modern language of chemistry, which has certainly this one merit of giving general views of chemical relations, must, according to M. Fresenius, learn a new, but really antiquated language, when he enters upon analysis. This is a mistake which would be quite surprising in an author of such repute were it not that we have heard similar categorical statements from one or two renowned chemists in this country, who obstinately place the weight of their names in the way of progress, simply because it is progress. We hope that in the English translation of this new edition the author will not be followed in this respect.

Professor Wislicenus has done well to rewrite the greater part of M. Strecker's book, and to devote particular attention to the leading modern ideas on the classification of organic compounds. As far as it is possible to judge of the small portion of the work which has as yet appeared, the author seems to admit that the hydrocarbons with a maximum of hydrogen ought to form the starting-point for the classification, because their constitution is relatively the most simple, and all others may be derived from them by a substitution, more or less complex, of their hydrogen. Nevertheless, in a treatise for students the most scientific basis of treating a subject is not always the most convenient and best adapted with regard to pedagogic principles. In teaching organic chemistry the cyanogen derivatives will have to be ranked first, for some time to come, partly on account of their similarity with inorganic compounds, partly because they have a special and important relation to the synthesis of organic bodies. We are, therefore, glad that the author has sacrificed—at least in the first portion before us—the more scientific treatment to the neces-

* "Anleitung zur qualitativen chemischen Analyse." Von Dr. Remigius Fresenius. Vierzehnte Auflage. Braunschweig: Vieweg und Sohn. 1874.

* "Adolph Strecker's Kurzes Lehrbuch der organischen Chemie." Sechste, durchaus neu bearbeitete Auflage, von Dr. Johannes Wislicenus, Professor zu Würzburg. Braunschweig: Vieweg und Sohn. 1874.

sities of the student, who very soon after mastering the more practicable portions of so vast a system as the modern organic compounds, is fitted for the higher treatment of the subject. Whether Professor Wislicenus will carry out a more advanced plan of discussing the remainder of the subject we shall see when the succeeding portions of the work appear. In the meantime the book may be characterized as a most valuable stepping-stone to the higher treatises on organic chemistry.

The "Elements of Metallurgy,"* which Mr. Phillips has recently published, stands in the middle between the smaller treatises on the general subject or on some individual metals, and the very large, somewhat unwieldy works, which have appeared in this country. Such a work is precisely wanted by the great majority of students and practical workers, and its very compactness is in itself a first-rate recommendation; but the work possesses intrinsic merits of the highest degree. The author has treated with great skill and considerable detail the metallurgical operations relating to all the principal metals. The methods are described with surprising clearness and exactness, placing an easily intelligible picture of each process even before men of less practical experience, and illustrating the most important contrivances in an excellent and perspicuous manner. The somewhat too historical "introduction" appears to us superfluous; the physical properties of the metals are treated a little too briefly; and the chemical reactions are not always given with sufficient detail. These are the only defects we can point out in a work which is in our opinion the best ever written on the subject for the purpose of the student who enters upon the branch for the first time, and with a view to its practical treatment.

Professor Mousson's† higher work on Physics, the progress of which has been noticed in these pages from time to time, is at last completed. We have in the last portion the state of galvanic electricity treated with the usual brevity but completeness. The author has understood how to combine in his work a description of experimental details with the theory of each experimental result, and the great range over which the work extends, including almost every fact of any importance, renders M. Mousson's Physics the most complete work in existence. Whether such a work is really useful to the student is doubtful. The desire to be complete could only be carried out by extreme brevity of the statements, and this is frequently obtained at the expense of clearness of expression. For the advanced student or the professional physicist the work will always afford a most valuable assistance to the memory, and a ready help to finding the mathematical expressions resulting from the theory, always in a compact form by the side of the account of the experiment.

* "Elements of Metallurgy." By J. Arthur Phillips, M. Inst. C.E., &c. London: Charles Griffin and Co. 1874.

† "Die Physik auf Grundlage der Erfahrung." Von Dr. Alb. Mousson. Dritter Band (Schluss). Zurich: Friedrich Schulthess. 1875.

Of Professor Wüllner's *Physics*,⁷ a work which ranks very high in this country as an advanced and complete text-book of physics, we have before us a new edition of the first volume, which treats of mechanics and acoustics. The new volume contains about thirty pages more than the corresponding volume of the former edition, the improvements consisting chiefly in small additions here and there in the text, which bring the whole up to the most recent state of the science. An important addition is an article which will be found on pages 283 to 287; it treats on the formation of drops on a horizontal surface, and of air-bubbles.

Dr. Abendroth⁸ has made very interesting experiments on the behaviour of jets of water in an electrified atmosphere. His mode of experimentation cannot well be described here, but the results appear of sufficient importance to be briefly stated. Under ordinary circumstances, a jet of water which issues from an orifice consists of three portions. Close to the orifice it appears as a transparent cylinder, like a rod of glass. In the next portion it appears still as an uninterrupted liquid cylinder, but it may be shown that the loss of transparency which distinguishes this portion from the first, is due to the fact that it consists in reality of an infinite number of single drops, which succeed one another very rapidly. In the third portion, these drops are visibly separated. When an electrified body is brought near the lower part of the jet, close to the orifice, the drops separate close to the transparent portion in consequence of inductive action, and fly asunder in consequence of their mutual repulsion, so that the whole resembles an artificial fountain. Now the remarkable fact is, that when the same electrified body is held much further away from the jet, the jet *coheres*; it goes throughout its length close together so as even not to resemble the natural form of the jet. This was already discovered many years ago by Fuchs in Pressburg, but Dr. Abendroth has at last found the real explanation. The fact is, that the form of the liquid jet depends on whether the liquid moistens the orifice or not. A jet of mercury from a glass orifice *coheres* because it does not moisten the orifice, and the glass does not interfere with the jet at all. Such an interference happens, however, when water issues from glass: the glass is moistened by the liquid, and in consequence of this contact the liquid particles which form the outside lag behind those inside, are made to rotate, and thus thrown aside. Now the moistening of the orifice is precisely prevented, as Dr. Abendroth has shown, by a weaker electrical influence; hence a water jet behaves under these circumstances like a mercury jet ordinarily.

The mathematical literature which has come under our notice during the past few months presents few features of importance. Professor Salmon's⁹ beautiful analytical researches find in Germany an able ex-

⁷ "Lehrbuch der Experimentalphysik. Erster Band. Mechanik und Akustik." Von Dr. Adolph Wüllner. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1874.

⁸ "Ueber electrisirte Flüssigkeitsstrahlen." Von Dr. William Abendroth. Dresden: Expedition der Jahresberichte des Vereins für Erdkunde. 1874.

⁹ "Analytische Geometrie des Raumes, von Dr. Salmon, Deutsch bearbeitet." Von Dr. W. Fiedler. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1874.

pounder in Dr. Fiedler, whose elaborate additions to other works of the great English mathematician have repeatedly been appreciated in these pages. The present portion of the analytical geometry of space is, however, only in a very few less important additions different from the original.

Of elementary textbooks we may mention Mr. Cuthbertson's¹⁰ "Euclidian Geometry." The author is undoubtedly a teacher of excellent repute, and probably he has been urged to the publication of this work by a desire to contribute his share to the improvement of the geometrical teaching in this country. We fear, however, that the controversy which has been going on during recent years on the subject of geometry teaching, will receive little help for a satisfactory settlement from books like that written by Mr. Cuthbertson. It has appeared to us that his lemmata are often stated in much less clear language than corresponding portions in Euclid or Legendre, taking the latter only approximately to be a representative of the more modern school. The headings of the different paragraphs are somewhat confusing. Thus going along from page 58, which we take quite at random, the *successive* single theorems, &c., are thus enumerated:—Proposition xxxvi.; Problem L; Problem M; Problem N; Theorem (a); Theorem (b); Definition; Problem (c); Deduction (d); &c. We can only express joy that our Euclidian geometrical course is past, and there is no longer any possibility of having to learn the subject from Mr. Cuthbertson's work.

M. Rothschild has published a little popular Manual of Meteorology by M. Paul Laurencin,¹¹ which seems to be admirably adapted for giving the general public, and especially the young, a first idea of those complex phenomena which constitute the conditions of weather and climate. The little work is written in a pleasing style, and explains thoroughly well the more important details of its subject, at the same time impressing upon the reader a philosophical view of the causes of the phenomena, such as we should be glad to see generally promulgated in this country. M. Laurencin dwells at some length upon the efforts now being made to apply the results of meteorological research to practical purposes, such as the prevision of storms and weather-forecasts. As regards the latter, whilst admitting that we are still in considerable uncertainty, he is inclined to think that eventually we may be successful in our predictions. In connexion with this part of his subject he has collected a curious set of weather proverbs. This little book is illustrated with numerous nicely executed woodcuts.

The weather is also one of the topics upon which M. Henri de Parville discourses in his "Causeries Scientifiques,"¹² which are this

¹⁰ "Euclidian Geometry." By Francis Cuthbertson, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. 1874.

¹¹ "La Pluie et le Beau Temps, Météorologie usuelle." Par Paul Laurencin. 12mo. J. Rothschild. Paris: 1874.

¹² "Causeries Scientifiques, Découvertes et Inventions, progrès de la Science et de l'Industrie. Treizième Année, 1873." Par Henri de Parville. Sm. 8vo. Paris: J. Rothschild. 1874.

year as lively as ever. M. de Parville passes from subject to subject with a most enviable facility; from the action of the heart to the movements of the stars; from these to the artificial production of ice, pisciculture, the treatment of rheumatism, summer drinks, and the preparation of coffee, singing flames, public hygiene, and the supply of water, deep sea dredging, the Vienna Exhibition, tramways, artillery, monsters, and a host of other matters of interest. We know of no better year-book of the progress made in science and the arts than these "Causeries."

Mr. Frank Rutley has contributed to Mr. Murby's cheap series of Scientific Text-books a very excellent little volume on Mineralogy.¹³ Besides the description of all but the rarest species of minerals, which necessarily occupies the greater portion of the work, Mr. Rutley gives an introductory part, in which he briefly indicates what is meant by chemical composition, describes the general physical characters of minerals, explains the terms of crystallography, and directs his readers how to employ the blowpipe in mineralogical investigations. This introductory section, although treating very summarily of the matters under consideration, is exceedingly clear and intelligible; it is accompanied by several tables, and illustrated with numerous figures, the latter including several pages of outlines of the principal crystalline forms. This little book, besides being a marvel of cheapness, is one of the best introductions to mineralogy that we possess.

One of the most important applications of mineralogical studies consists in the determination of the nature of rocks, and this is the subject of one of the series of Manuals published by M. Rothschild.¹⁴ The author, M. Edouard Jannetaz, describes briefly and well the various kinds of rocks met with in the crust of the earth, and gives a short account of the characters of their component minerals; he also devotes a special section of his book to an account of the methods to be adopted in the determination of rocks. To facilitate the practical application of the rules laid down and the characters, he has prefixed to this part an analytical table, with references to the descriptions of rock species, which will greatly facilitate the first steps of the student. The study of petrology has hitherto been too much neglected in this country, nearly all the knowledge we possess being derived from German sources, and even professed geologists often make the grossest blunders in the determination of rocks. M. Jannetaz's little book may serve as a manual for any young geologist wishing to commence this most important and interesting study. Its chief defect is the omission of all reference to the microscope as a means of investigation.

One would almost have thought that we possessed a sufficient number of botanical manuals; but Dr. Robert Brown seems to be of a different opinion. His Manual of Botany¹⁵ just published contains a

¹³ "Min-er-ology." By Frank Rutley. 12mo. London: Murby. 1874.

¹⁴ "Les Roches, description de leurs éléments, Méthode de détermination." Par Edouard Jannetaz. 12mo. Paris: J. Rothschild. 1874.

¹⁵ "A Manual of Botany, Anatomical and Physiological, for the use of Students." By Robert Brown. 8vo. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood. 1874.

good description of the structure and vital phenomena of flowering plants, in which he appears to have embodied the results of a careful study of all the more important recent memoirs bearing on his subject. From a passage in the preface, it would seem that the author proposes publishing another volume as a *Manual of Systematic and Geographical Botany*, in which "the anatomy and physiology of the Cryptogamia will be fully described;" but the reasons for this course given by him, namely, that "the modes of reproduction in the lower orders of plants are so intricate and varied, that they are better studied each under the head of the natural order to which it belongs," will hardly carry conviction to the minds of botanists, most of whom will probably feel that a much better picture of the phenomena of plant life is obtained by the opposite mode of procedure; while, from a mere practical point of view, a student's manual in two volumes is always an undesirable production. Dr. Brown's treatment of that portion of his subject to which the present volume is devoted is very full, and appears to be for the most part highly satisfactory. In his first section he treats briefly of the histology of plants, under which head he includes the description of the epidermis and its appendages; in the second section he describes the structure and functions of the organs of nutrition, the stems, roots, and leaves of plants; the third is devoted to a similar examination of the phenomena of reproduction; and the fourth treats of certain general phenomena of plant life, which cannot easily be brought under any of the preceding categories, such as the movements of plants, and the production of odours, colours, heat, luminosity, &c. The work is illustrated with numerous wood-engravings, mostly borrowed from two excellent French books specified by the author.

Dr. Brown's book relates exclusively to Flowering Plants; a little volume," by the Rev. H. Macmillan on the contrary, gives a popular account of the lower forms of the Cryptogamia. This is really a second—greatly enlarged—edition of a work published in 1861, and its main object is the indication of the importance in the economy of nature, and beauty of structure of those low forms of plants which are generally regarded as most insignificant, and passed by almost with contempt. Without attempting to bring his subject into systematic form, Mr. Macmillan treats successively of the mosses, lichens, freshwater algae and fungi, and the only fault we have to find with him is, that he has introduced the lycopods under the first of these heads. Of course this is simply because they bear the popular name of club-mosses, for the author distinctly states that they are of much higher organization than the true mosses; but we think he would have exercised a sounder judgment if he had omitted them altogether. In all other respects Mr. Macmillan's little book strikes us as an exceedingly good popular introduction to the study of the lowly groups of plants to which it is devoted—the structure and general functions of the plants are described in sufficient detail; the localities in which

¹⁶ "First Forms of Vegetation." By the Rev. Hugh Macmillan. Second edition, corrected and enlarged. Sm. 8vo. London: Macmillan. 1874.

the commoner species may be met with are indicated; and a great quantity of interesting matter relating to the more remarkable species has been carefully collected. The book is written throughout in a pleasant style and in a liberal spirit.

M. Jules Girard has also undertaken the task of vindicating the right of the "infinitely small" to our consideration. In his "*Monde Microscopique des Eaux*,"¹⁷—a little volume belonging to the series published by M. Rothschild, to two of which we have already called attention—he describes a number of the lower forms of animals and plants inhabiting the waters, but in so confused a style that we cannot help feeling that he had much better have left it alone. He commences with an eloquent discussion (rather *à propos des bottles*) of the hypothesis of the plurality of inhabited worlds, but he seems to possess very little knowledge of the particular world about which he professes to write. An author who, in the present day, refers the *Bacteria*, the Rotifers, the Tardigrada and *Volvox* to the Infusoria, figures the larva of *Corethra plumicornis* as an Infusorian, and talks about the "indefinite animality" of the zoophytes, is hardly a safe interpreter of the microscopic world of the waters.

Of the second edition of Mr. Darwin's book on Coral Reefs,¹⁸ we need scarcely say more than that, considering the importance of the book, it is surprising that thirty-two years have been allowed to elapse without a reissue of it being called for. The wonderful power of generalization—since so brilliantly displayed by the author in the development of his hypothesis of the origin of species—is the striking characteristic of this book also; and the theory proposed by him more than thirty years ago, to account for the puzzling phenomena presented by coral reefs and islands, has never met with more than partial objections. In the new edition the author has added here and there some new facts, and considerably modified the last two chapters relating to the theory of the formation and the distribution of coral reefs, but his fundamental propositions are in no way changed.

The last of the series of Science Primers published by Messrs. Macmillan is a little treatise on Elementary Physiology by Dr. Michael Foster.¹⁹ In his preface, the author modestly describes it as an introduction to the "Elementary Lessons in Physiology" of Professor Huxley. Dr. Foster does not enter specially upon the functions of the nervous system, although the action of that set of organs is necessarily referred to here and there in connexion with other matters. His little book is devoted more particularly to the indication of the mode in which the movements of various parts of the body are effected, and the functions of the blood in the organism. It is, in fact, an elementary treatise on motion and nutrition; the story is told in the simplest possible language, and if carefully read—as it

¹⁷ "*Le Monde Microscopique des Eaux*." Par Jules Girard. 12mo. Paris: J. Rothschild. 1872.

¹⁸ "*The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs*." By Charles Darwin. Second edition, revised. 8vo. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1874.

¹⁹ "*Science Primers. VI. Physiology*." By M. Foster. 12mo. London: Macmillan, 1874.

should be—the book cannot fail to exercise a most beneficial influence by opening the minds of the young to a knowledge of the conditions on which their existence depends.

That no one should take up the study of anthropology without due consideration, is more and more evident from an inspection of each successive book which professes to treat of this science at all thoroughly. According to the motto adopted by Southey for the title-page of his "Doctor;" that was a book "*de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*;" but it is perfectly clear that he had no conception of what anthropologists would do in these days, or he would never have ventured to stick such a feather as that on the front of his work. Professor Perty has just published a "Text-book of Anthropology," which seems to touch upon the whole round of human knowledge and thought, and if an acquaintance with all the subjects therein brought to bear upon the investigation of the nature of man, is really necessary to the anthropological student, it is very certain that few of us are in a position as regards either natural capacity or previous training, to venture on so difficult a path. Professor Perty's first section treats of man as an individual, and describes the external characters of his body, and its internal structure and the functions of the various organs, and further enters upon the consideration of the phenomena of the mind, which are ascribed by our author, in opposition to the views of some distinguished philosophers, as arising from the action of a special principle, or soul, which is united with the material substance of the body, radiates dynamically through the organism which it fills and penetrates with its energy, and is really the central principle of life. This soul Professor Perty regards as being transmitted by the parents to their off-spring, being "produced in the ovule, as an individual governing monad, at the moment when the generative materials interpenetrate each other." It does not appear directly from the author's statements whether he ascribes a soul with similar properties to animals, but he maintains that for the soul (*Seele*) to become a human soul (spiritual soul, *Geistseele*) the action of the Creator must intervene at the same moment, to bestow the spirit (*Geist*) "which unites with the soul to form one unity." It will be easily understood that, starting from these principles, the author arrives at very different conclusions from those of Mr. Darwin, as to the intellectual and moral nature of man. In the second section of his work, Professor Perty treats of mankind at large. With regard to the origin of man, his views are somewhat peculiar. He accepts the doctrine of evolution, but denies much of the efficacy ascribed to natural selection, maintaining, on the contrary, that the progress of evolution has been ruled throughout "by laws implanted in matter by a higher power." But although this course of evolution is to be accepted for both man and animals, he denies the origin of man from the higher Apes, or from some unknown member of the same stock as those animals, and main-

³⁰ "Die Anthropologie als die Wissenschaft von dem körperlichen und geistigen Wesen des Menschen." Dargestellt von Maximilian Perty. 2 Bände. 8vo. Leipzig und Heidelberg: C. F. Winter. 1874.

tains that man has been developed "from lower states of his own essence to higher ones." Nevertheless, he says, "so much seems to be certain, that man, before he appeared upon the earth in his present form, with reproduction by separate sexes, commencing from a germ of the simplest character, has passed through a whole series of lower states and forms. . . . These primitive forms must have been so constituted that they could live freely; their reproduction might, quite at the commencement, take place by gemination, and afterwards hermaphroditically, until sexual differentiation and reproduction took place." It is difficult to see what difference there is between this view and that which supposes man to have been developed from some lower animal form, especially as we can hardly realize the presence in a germiparous form of those intellectual or spiritual predispositions (*geistige Anlage*), which, according to Professor Perty, constitute the essential distinction between man and animals. Whatever his origin, man seems, according to Professor Perty, to have existed essentially in his present form as early as the Miocene epoch. His birthplace is regarded by the author as probably Southern Asia, and his characters on his first appearance as "man" upon the earth are supposed to have approximated to those of the yellowish-brown or Mongolian peoples. The probable directions of the migrations of the primæval men, and of their modified descendants, leading to the present distribution of the races of man upon the surface of the earth, are discussed with much acumen by Professor Perty. In his classification of the varieties of mankind, the author recognises three great races—the black, the yellowish-brown, and the white races. The first of these is divided into two sections, the African and the Indo-Australian, the latter including the Australians, the Melanesian tribes, and the black tribes of continental India. The yellowish-brown race includes the Malayo-Polynesians, the American Indians, Eskimos, and the innumerable tribes of Northern Asia and China. The white race is divided into three groups named, we presume in accordance with the old Biblical tradition, Hamites, Semites, and Japhetites (Indogermanen). The description of the various races and their subdivisions is followed by a most interesting and important chapter on the development of civilization among mankind, to which we cannot advert further than by saying that it contains an immense amount of most valuable information condensed into a very small space. In taking leave of Professor Perty and his book for the present, we may heartily recommend it as a guide to any one bold enough to enter upon the study of Anthropology, and as a most admirable and compendious handbook of reference, to those less ambitious readers who take a general interest in the subject of which it treats.

We open an essay like the present²¹ in the anticipation of seeing a record of keen observation and reasoning. The authors are known to be men from whom nature cannot wholly guard her secrets, and our

²¹ "On the Poison of Naja Tripudians and other Indian Snakes." Part I. By Drs. Brunton and Fayer, Proc. Roy. Soc.

former knowledge of them is not belied. This essay, which is to form part of a series, is devoted not only to a curious examination of the effects of a certain snake poison, but in it the authors, in a truly scientific temper, open out many wide questions when comparing the result of the virus, its physiological affinities, and the rational modes of treatment. Like curara the cobra virus acts upon the nervous system in the way of paralysis, while death is due to arrest of respiration through paralysis of the respiratory apparatus. Hence the hope that life might be so far prolonged by artificial respiration as to enable the sufferer to survive the gradual elimination of the poison by way of the kidneys or otherwise, is an ingenious suggestion which has proved to be true in the case of curara. Such a line of therapeutical art is more hopeful than that which would seek for an agent so subtle as to overtake and neutralize the virus while it is in the system, and before it should have compromised the nerve centres or other parts. Such an antidote may well be sought for, but we fear it is not yet found. All Indian observers deny with one consent that ammonia can act in this manner, whether it be given by the mouth or injected into the veins as practised by Halford. On the former plan of sustaining respiration until the poison be eliminated the sufferer may be saved in the case of poisons which do not permanently injure the nerves or other parts, and which are rapidly eliminated. Perhaps some method of hastening this elimination may be discovered, but as yet we have no knowledge of such an agent. Such researches as these of Fayrer and Brunton may, however, yet lead to surprising results.

Dr. Brunton's clear intelligence and great physiological knowledge are well illustrated in the clever, we had almost said brilliant pamphlet, now before us.²² Unwilling to be content with the loose meanings attached to the words shock and syncope, and with the common heedless confusion of the two terms, the author proceeds to analyse and define each, and to endeavour to explain the mechanism of each. Thus he lays before us with a masterly hand an account of the symptoms and causes of the two states respectively, of their pathology, and of their treatment. It seems likely that a methodical exposure of the causes and mechanism of these two dangerous states will lead to sounder and surer modes of cure and prevention. Dr. Brunton is inclined to suppose that in fainting there is a dilatation of the vessels in the external parts of the body, not perhaps of the cutaneous vessels, but of the vessels of the muscular tissues. That in crowded assemblies where people are liable to faint, the blood in coursing over the surface is seen in the fulness of the veins of the backs of the hands, and in the lighter tint of their blue. In shock, on the other hand, he sees rather a dilatation of the vessels in the interior of the body, especially in the veins of the intestines. If this be associated with sudden stoppage of the heart instant death will occur, as has often been observed. The longer duration of shock than of syncope is probably due to the slower recovery of contractibility in veins.

²² "On the Pathology and Treatment of Shock and Syncope." By T. Laudor Brunton, M.D.

These three essays,²² which were read at different times, are now republished together, and independently of their direct interest they will have a peculiar and a wider interest for those who are endeavouring to trace in the laws of variation of disease some clue to true nosological affinities. Malignant pustule which is rare in man, in this country at least, has been seen several times by Dr. Carpenter. The sketch that the author gives of his cases is therefore of great clinical importance, as few medical men have seen the disease. Dr. Carpenter leans to the belief that "Charbon" is due to the development of some low form of life in the blood, and he found evidences of this in the secretions of his patients. He would himself, however, be the first to point out how many are the sources of error, both in such observations and in the inferences to be drawn therefrom. The author's use of strong ammonia (℥ v. every hour) seems to have given encouraging results in one case at least. Dr. Carpenter thinks that acute farcy in the human subject has some near kinship with charbon, and for this reason publishes the cases together. In acute farcy as in Charbon he is tempted to attribute the mischief to parasitic organisms in the blood, and he again believes that the continuous exhibition of ammonia overcame this parasitic life and rescued his patient. The infection was received in a quarrel with a horse dealer whose fist cut open the patient's lip. This is a new drawback to our comfortable relations with horse-dealers. The cases of muscular anæsthesia are an interesting and valuable addition to the symptomatology of those obscure degenerations in the course of the spinal cord which now seem to resemble simple atrophy, and at other times to depend rather upon an irritative process.

Dr. Legg has undertaken the task of ascertaining the state of the secreting and other structures of the liver in permanent obstruction of the gall-ducts.²³ To do this well is a great service, and as far as they have gone, Dr. Legg's researches are concisely given and accurately worked out. The service is great, because oddly enough the subject has been neglected, and we ourselves were recently placed in some difficulty when asked by a very intelligent man—whose wife was suffering from such obstruction—to describe the secondary changes in the liver which we expected to follow the obstruction. We fear that we described them as the German professor described the camel. It appears that only three persons have published observations on the point—Wyss and Leyden in 1866, and Mayer in 1872. Dr. Legg tells us that the changes in the connective tissue and in the secreting structures must be studied apart. The connective tissue grows, the overgrowth starting from the place of obstruction itself, and its activity depends upon the degree of irritation caused by the obstructing agent. The chief change in the liver cells is atrophy, and their arrangement is broken up: in long continued obstruction they have been found completely destroyed, nothing but a fatty detritus

²² "On Malignant Pustule, on Acute Farcy, and on cases of Muscular Anæsthesia." By Alfred Carpenter, M.D. London: 1874.

²³ "The Liver in Jaundice." By J. Wickham Legg, M.D. London: 1874.

remaining behind. Dr. Legg cannot yet say what the results are as concerns the formation of bile acids, but the glycogenetic function wholly fails. The amount of daily excretion of urea on the contrary remains normal, another fact against the formation of urea and uric acid in the liver—a theory already weakened by the experiments of Gscheidlen.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

PROFESSOR BLACKIE is, as every one knows, a vigorous writer. He is indeed so vigorous and so demonstrative in his vigour that at times he appears to bluster. No one, however, will deny him the right to claim a wide and showy scholarship. A writer who has a sufficient knowledge of ancient Greek to reduce the theology of Homer to a clear system in nineteen propositions, who is familiar with modern Greek, Italian, German, and who lectures on the classic affinities of the Gaelic language may claim, when he has anything to say, the attention of studious people. Professor Blackie has plenty to say. Recently it has struck him that certain papers of his, originally published in the *Transactions of learned societies and philological reviews*, laboured under the double disadvantage of being "with difficulty consulted, and with facility ignored." He has therefore withdrawn them from their obscurity, published them in one volume, dedicated them to Mr. Gladstone, and hopes that their present¹ collected publication will not be attributed to any "undue amount of self-esteem." The first essay upon those points of Greek philosophy and antiquity which, according to Professor Blackie, have been "unduly subordinated," "altogether neglected," or "unwisely handled by men of acknowledged talent and reputation," deals with the theology of Homer. We should have been inclined to think that in dedicating this essay with the others as one upon a subject that had been "unwisely handled by men of acknowledged talent and reputation" to Mr. Gladstone, the Professor had intended to exhibit a piece of Scotch humour. This is, however, not the case. Professor Blackie says that, "As far as my memory serves me, there is no important point in the Homeric theology, as deduced by me, from which Mr. Gladstone will feel himself called upon to dissent." However, doubtless Professor Blackie feels that there are persons who may prefer Professor Blackie to Mr. Gladstone, and accordingly he summarizes the Homeric theology in nineteen propositions, which he maintains with a great many quotations from the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the writings of Nägelsbach, De Foe, Nitzsch, and others. We have read through the propositions, and are of

¹ "Hornæ Hellenicæ: Essays and Discussions on some important points of Greek Philology and Antiquity." By L. S. Blackie, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. London: Macmillan & Co.

opinion that they do not need all this apparatus. They are indeed of such a simple character, that we should have scarcely thought they needed stating. Any one who has read the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* will know, that according to Homer :—

" Prop. 1. The gods are a race of beings externally of human form but in energy superior to mortal men."

" Prop. 2. The gods are the supreme rulers of the world."

" Prop. 4. The gods are the authors of all extraordinary phenomena in nature."

" Prop. 5. Greek theology has no place for a being corresponding to the Christian idea of the devil."

" Prop. 6. Zeus (whom sometimes Professor Blackie calls *Zeus*, occasionally *Jupiter*, and generally *Jove*) is the supreme ruler of gods and men."

We will not quote these propositions any farther. Each of them gives Professor Blackie an opportunity of a good deal of talk, but we have not found much that was worth remembering. In the second essay, the Professor endeavours to ascertain the point of view from which contemporary Greeks regarded the *Prometheus Bound* of *Æschylus*. He thinks that while modern feeling exhausts itself in sympathy with *Prometheus*, the Greek who saw the whole trilogy, would be upon the side of "*Jove*." This theory is not an original one, but the tragedy is open to various interpretations. Herder, Goethe, Byron, and Shelley do not take the same view as Professor Blackie. There are placed at the head of this article the names of fifteen books, and Professor Blackie says that he has reaped the benefit of "*their* researches," meaning the researches of the writers of those books, but he does not mention one book which we take the liberty of recommending to him: "*Die religiösen und sittlichen Vorstellungen des Æschylus und Sophokles*," by the late G. Dronke. But the best part of Professor Blackie's book is that which deals with modern Greek. Unfortunately the first paper is cut up into a series of "propositions," which do not add to its clearness. But it is really interesting, and we can forgive its luxuriant style for the sake of the information it conveys. In a paper on "*onomatopœia*," Professor Blackie is at variance with Professor Max Müller. He believes that this principle of imitative construction prevails much more widely in the development of language than philologists are inclined to allow. We cannot accept all his inferences, but we are thoroughly at one with him when he says (p. 231), "A man may talk ingenious nonsense on any branch of philological science with the utmost ease, in the teeth of Grimm's law, or even with the help of it." Grimm's law, however, does not help Professor Blackie. But we must not part from this book without adding our conviction that the remarks upon the Greek accents have some value. The difficulty of reading Greek, and of attaining at once the correct accent and quantity, is great. We are almost inclined to accept the invitation of Professor Blackie when he says (p. 392): "If those who delight themselves in exaggerating imaginary difficulties have any honest desire to see how they disappear in the actual business of teaching, let them come to me. I am a practical man." We do not doubt that

under Professor Blackie's instruction this difficulty would disappear. "I have no objection," he says, "even to what may be called a little *sing-song* at starting." Nor have we. The "little sing-songs" which the newspapers from time to time report as being sung in Professor Blackie's lecture-room, have always interested and amused us. The decorum of an English lecture-room may, perhaps, be dearly purchased by the sacrifice of Attic accent. Professor Munro and Mr. Clark of Cambridge may be wrong, as Professor Blackie thinks they are, in reference to accent; and it is possible, also, that people ought to regard with another feeling than that of amusement Professor Blackie's "little sing-songs." But of this we are not yet convinced.

When the life of a man who has occupied a conspicuous position in the world's attention should be written is a question answered with difficulty. Time does not always remove prejudice and partiality, whilst it frequently obscures events. Mr. Jerrold has practically answered the question for himself by this first volume of his "*Life of Napoleon III.*" He has lost no time in gathering from state records, from unpublished family correspondence, and from personal testimony, his materials for a biography of Louis Napoleon. We may state at once that from Mr. Jerrold's preface alone we should be inclined to believe that the present work could not be a great or impartial one. It may be useful to future biographers—it cannot be final. Mr. Jerrold writes, in fact, as a partizan; he designed his work at the establishment of the Empire; he admired the late Emperor's belief in his own mission; he regarded his friendship for the English people as a noble trait in his character, and he has been recognised as their historian by the Imperial family, who have afforded him help "abundantly bestowed." We will not depreciate the value of such assistance. It is most valuable, but we decline in the very outset to take Mr. Jerrold as an infallible guide. To pass on to the book itself. It opens theatrically with the pleasing pictures and sweet sounds of Malmaison. In such descriptions Mr. Jerrold is an adept, and revels in the beauties of Sans-Souci under Josephine's care—a place "full of surprises and contrasts of laughing gardens, and sober park-land, with artfully-adjusted streams murmuring where an artist's skill had bid them flow. It was perhaps Nature decked in ribands; Watteau's rusticity; but there was untouched nature too, and he who chafed amid the formal parterres could wander to the wood beyond." So far with regard to Malmaison. Mr. Jerrold rings his little bell, and the curtain rises upon Hortense at St. Leu, where "a river was led to wind through shady groves; a noble orangery arose, pineapples ripened in a spacious conservatory; sweet surprises of light and shade met the courtiers and senators in their walks; the beautiful Creole—mistress of the fairy-land—appeared in her chair in an atmosphere of violets, borne by picturesque carriers, capped with the *beret*, and gay with native colours, to the river side," *etcetera, etcetera*. We are dazzled by the brilliance of Mr. Jerrold's picture of Hortense. It is

¹ "The Life of Napoleon III." By Blanchard Jerrold. Vol. I. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

like the colouring to which we are accustomed in modern novels. The following seems almost familiar: "She loved society: the bright salon, with ripples of laughter courting about it; and such sentiment as may be found in her own songs, with French grace breaking through the feeling." By-and-by a son is born, and Mr. Jerrold is obliged to chronicle the words of Josephine: "He is in good health, is very lively; *he eats only the soup his nurse gives him.*" We feel for Mr. Jerrold. Bright salons, ripples of laughter courting about, atmosphere of violets, a noble orangery, sweet surprises of light and shade, songs with French grace breaking through the feeling—all these, we feel, are worthy of Mr. J.'s pen; but surely it must have been written with reluctance "*he eats only the soup his nurse gives him.*" When Louis is born Mr. Jerrold is himself again. "The world upon which its blue eyes opened," says Mr. J. of the baby, "appeared to offer to its childhood the splendours of the most powerful court on which man's gaze had ever rested." Then follows some nursery talk about the "golden curls" of little "Oui Oui," which was the first early name given to Louis. When the boy gets to be fourteen Mr. Jerrold exhibits a fac-simile of one of his letters, which is really creditable to the writer, although he speaks of his "*haine éternelle contre les Anglais.*" From Arenenberg, the chateau which Hortense purchased in 1817, Mr. Jerrold has collected such traditions as lingered amongst the servants concerning the chateau's former inhabitants. In 1830 Louis became the head of his party, and resided at the chateau of Arenenberg; and this gives Mr. Jerrold an opportunity for another display of his peculiar style. Our author quotes largely from other historians of the Empire; but it is not our intention to follow him through his narrative, which he brings down in his first volume to the landing of Prince Napoleon at Norfolk, Virginia. We have said enough to show that the book is tricked out with that meretricious sentiment which is a mark of the Second Empire. Mr. Jerrold's style suits it. But it will be tried to the utmost when he has to narrate the inauguration of that Empire.

Mr. Spedding has completed in a seventh volume* the collection of Bacon's works not already printed among his philosophical, literary, or professional works. Of actual new matter of Bacon's own composition this present volume contains very little, not indeed more than thirty or forty pages, but old matter has been made new by being rightly placed and better deciphered, and fresh light has been thrown upon the personal history of Bacon's impeachment. Perhaps the most interesting portion of this volume to the general reader is the concluding portion in which Mr. Spedding takes a review of the whole character of the man whose memorial he has made stately and imposing. No one, not a contemporary, has known the great philosopher so well and so intimately as Mr. Spedding. Indeed he has reached that degree of intimacy that he can make such allowance for his failings

* "The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon." By James Spedding. Vol. vii. London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer.

as in most cases only a contemporary can, and his remarks upon this point are so wise and judicious that we shall quote them here:—

"The men upon whom posterity pronounces a unanimous verdict for bad or for good are the men about whose lives little is known. Those whose record is full enough to enable us to follow them through their weekday work are subjects of dispute just like contemporary public men, every one of whom has both admirers and depreciators. Bacon's record is unusually full; and as his life presented to himself many doubtful problems for action, it has left to us many questionable actions for criticism; and among them not a few which he would not himself have repeated or attempted to justify. One thing however must be admitted to his advantage. Of the contemporaries whose opinion of him is known to us those who saw him nearest in his private life give him the best character."

Clearly Mr. Spedding's own opinion is not unfavourable. The labour which he has expended in erecting this memorial to Francis Bacon must have been great as it has been throughout conscientious. The world has now a worthy biography of one of the greatest of Englishmen, and Mr. Spedding has the satisfaction of knowing that all who wish to approach the life and personality of Bacon must for many years, perhaps always, do so through his means.

The life of John Clowes,⁴ edited by Mr. Compton from materials originally collected by Mr. Harrison, is a work not without interest. Mr. Clowes was an English clergyman, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a man who had taken high University honours. He is chiefly remarkable for being one of the first who introduced the writings of Swedenborg to English readers through his translation of the "*Arcana Cœlestia*," which occupied him eighteen years. Mr. Clowes was a believer in visions—this book is full of the records of such apparitions. The spread of the doctrines taught by Mr. Clowes was fertile with them. We read (p. 37):—

"A young girl, who went daily to work in Manchester, is stated to have frequently seen, in her early morning walk, a company of angels, apparently in the direction of St. John's Church, which was visible from her parents' dwelling."

Again (p. 38):—

"There was also a gentleman of landed property in Cheshire, who distinctly heard in the night a voice saying three times 'Go to Mr. Clowes.' He paid no attention to it, probably thinking it some strange illusion, till it was repeated in exactly the same way on a subsequent night. He then thought it time to inquire into the matter, and went to Mr. Clowes, who told him he did not know what part he had to perform, unless it was to communicate the glad tidings of the heavenly doctrine of the New Jerusalem. On becoming acquainted with them, the gentleman received them thankfully, and so did his sisters."

But no one who reads this biography, ill-edited and poorly written, as we confess it appears to us to be, can deal otherwise than tenderly with the memory of Mr. Clowes. He was a sweet and amiable nature, a fervent imaginative mystic. De Quincey wrote of him:—

⁴ "Life and Correspondence of the Rev. J. Clowes, M.A." Edited by Theodore Compton. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

"He was the most spiritual looking, the most saintly in outward aspect of all human beings whom I have known throughout life. He was rather tall, pale and thin; the most unfl eshy, the most of a sublimated spirit dwelling already more than half in some purer world that a poet could have imagined." The correspondence which this volume contains from Mr. Clowes carries out the idea which De Quincey's description conveys. It indicates the dreamy, pure and amiable mysticism of the writer. We think however that the editor, led away by the love of his subject, has admitted much into his memoir which should have been excluded. Some anecdotes are both trivial and silly. As for example (p. 116):—"This is excellent tea," said one of the party to the lady who was presiding, and who had lately been Mr. Clowes's companion and house-keeper. "Yes," said he, giving her a significant look, "Mrs. V. makes very good tea—at an inn." Then recollecting that he might be thought to have gone too far, he added, "Ay, and in her own house too." And this is quoted in proof of the "smartness of his sallies, no less than the depth and originality of his more substantial remarks!"

The literature of the Ashanti war has grown rapidly. Six accounts of that expedition have already appeared. Two are before us. The first,⁵ by Captain Brackenbury, is exceedingly valuable and complete. It is not official, and neither Sir Garnet nor any member of his staff saw any portion of it in manuscript. But Captain Brackenbury has had full use of the official documents connected with the expedition. They could not have been in better hands. Formerly Professor of Military History at the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich, the writer was enabled to seize more correctly than an unpractised historian the important points of civil diplomacy and military strategy. The work is full of detail. Everything is given which seemed necessary for a complete military study of the war. And yet the book is written in a clear running style, which carries along with it even those readers who are not military students. The author disclaims any attempt to compete in descriptive writing with the numerous civilians who are writing or have written books on the war. He modestly adds: "My plain narrative rests its claim to attention on its strict accuracy as regards facts and on my knowledge of the springs of movements." It will not however be less valuable to the reader on that account, and his admiration will be increased when he learns that these two large volumes have been written in six weeks, immediately following a five months' campaign on the Gold Coast. The maps and plans which accompany the work are excellently clear and instructive. There is very much also that is interesting in the book outside the history of the military expedition. Captain Brackenbury is not inclined to take a high view of the success of missionary enterprise amongst

⁵ "The Ashanti War, a Narrative prepared from the Official Documents by permission of Major-General Sir G. Wolseley." By Henry Brackenbury, Captain Royal Artillery; with Maps and Plans, &c., by Lieut. H. Cooper. W. Blackwood & Sons. Two vols.

the Fantis at Cape Coast. At Cape Coast itself, boasting its Colonial Chaplain, Episcopal Church, and Church of England Schools as well as its Wesleyan Mission and Mission-House School, the fetish tree reigns supreme in the market-square. He thinks that the missionaries have taught English to a certain number of the population, but he fears they have only given them another language in which to lie and cheat. He says: "A Sierra Leone native is great at going to church, and has his mouth full of sacred quotations, but he is generally as specious a knave as ever breathed." It is perfectly clear from Captain Brackenbury's account that Captain Glover from first to last exhibited a loyal spirit in carrying out the instructions of Major-General Wolseley.

Mr. Winwood Reade, the special correspondent of the *Times*, in his "Story of the Ashantee Campaign,"* says (p. 381): "Captain Glover has indignantly denied that there was any want of cordiality between Sir Garnet and himself. I do not say that there was any want of cordiality, but I am certain of this—that they both wished each other at the devil." Without commenting upon the taste of Mr. Reade's assertion, we venture to say that we think the public will be satisfied with Captain Brackenbury's history and Captain Glover's indignant protest. The special correspondent's "story" is indeed a different kind of book from that which we have just mentioned. According to Mr. Reade he was the most ubiquitous of the "writers." Of them, he alone, he tells us, saw the storming of Amoafu, the storming of Ordahsu, and the taking of Coomassie by Sir A. Alison. The chief characteristic of Mr. Reade's book next to the self-complacency of the writer, is the hostile tone which is adopted in speaking of Sir Garnet. Even the praise of other officers is made subsidiary to this. When Sir Garnet commends Lieut.-Col. Colley, in command of the transport department, in the words, "He has restored order to chaos," Mr. Reade adds, "Sir Garnet did not seem to think that he himself was partly to blame for the chaos." He is very bitter with Sir Garnet at Coomassie: "His friends always made his instructions serve as an excuse for his many unsoldierlike proceedings. But I have since learnt from a reliable source that Sir Garnet's instructions were quite in accordance with his own personal wishes and views. *He did not want to fight.* He had made his reputation as a soldier, and now aspired to be a diplomatist." He sums up the "unsoldierlike proceedings" in the following review of his own "searching kind of criticism": "I have not glossed over or palliated a single error which he committed during the campaign. The application for a railway—the concerted and disconcerted movements in the bush—the weakness displayed at Abrakranpra—the inflated Proclamation—the neglect of the transport—the Sarmatian telegram—the sacrifice of Captain Nichol—the various errors in diplomacy—the vacillation at Coomassie—all these have been fully examined and exposed." Elsewhere (p. 395) he says Sir Garnet ran "into Coomassie and out again like

* "The Story of the Ashantee Campaign." By Winwood Reade, the *Times* Special Correspondent. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

a ferret in a rabbit-hole." Upon the whole we are compelled to pronounce Mr. Reade's book bad. It is bad in style, and taste, and spirit. We cannot believe that it will in any way lower a brave and successful officer in the public estimation he has won. He may be pained by it; his reputation will not suffer. When we consider the ease and rapidity with which a special correspondent can construct a light and ephemeral volume, we cannot be too grateful in the cause of justice that in this case at least he has been kept pace with by a sober, judicious, and accurate historian like Captain Brackenbury.

Captain Hoffbauer's work on the German artillery⁷ is well worth the study of military men. It is always difficult to gain a correct account in detail of operations upon the field. The present work refers to three days' fighting near Metz, and it is a hulky volume. The events were, however, most important, as they led to the surrender of Marshal Bazaine's army, and no detail can be deemed unworthy of attention. The book specially treats upon the action of the batteries, and excellent maps allow the reader to follow the battles in the minutest particulars. How great a part the artillery bore in the campaign 1870—71 we now know, and the present complete account will be useful to all branches of the service. Besides large and beautiful maps, the Appendix contains tables, showing the lists of casualties in each engagement, the expenditure of ammunition by the Prussian artillery, and the various damages reported by the batteries. Tables are also given of the French order of battle of that portion of the army of the Rhine which took part in the battles near Metz. We may add that Captain Hollist seems to have done his work well as translator. His version runs easily, and without effort, though the task must have been heavy. He has fairly earned the gratitude of military students who are unacquainted with the German language.

Mr. Cox's little work on the Crusades⁸ is one of the best which has appeared in the series of school-books which is called "Epochs of History," and is edited by Mr. E. E. Morris. It is clear, concise, and interesting. Its size prevents it from going into detail, yet the general outline of all important events is well marked. It is true, one likes to meet Mr. Cox in a larger work, but we cannot regret that young students should have the instruction of so learned a historian. Mr. Cox does not "write down" to his scholars; he has taken as much pains with his style in this little work as in his larger histories; and it is admirably compressed. It has been accused of showing signs of haste. We find none, and will quote Mr. Cox's concluding estimate of the results of the Crusades:—

"Worthless in themselves, and wholly useless as means for founding any permanent dominion in Palestine or elsewhere, these enterprises have affected the commonwealths of Europe, in ways of which the promoters never dreamed. They left a wider gulf between the Greek and Latin Churches, between the

⁷ "The German Artillery in the Battles near Metz, based on the Official Reports of the German Artillery." By Captain Hoffbauer. Translated by Captain Hollist. London: H. S. King & Co.

⁸ "The Crusades." By G. W. Cox, M.A., Author of "Mythology of the Aryan Nations." London: Longmans, Green & Co.

subjects of the Western Empire and the nations of Western Europe; but by the mere fact of throwing East and West together, they led gradually to that interchange of thought and that awakening of the human intellect to which we owe all that distinguishes our modern civilization from the religious and political systems of the Middle Ages."

Herr Röhricht's contributions to the history of the same subject⁹ are marked by profound learning. The volume consists of three essays. The first deals with the crusade of the Emperor Frederick the Second, which Mr. Cox calls the Sixth Crusade. Her Röhricht did not succeed in obtaining all the material which he required, but the notes attached to the essay clearly indicate the research which has been expended upon the subject. The second essay treats of the conflicts between Saladin and the Christians in the years 1187—88. Much new material for this period has appeared since the work of Wilken in 1819. A quantity of documents in Arabic, but scattered through many libraries, have presented difficulties to the historian. Some of these, never before published, have reached the hands of Herr Röhricht, and have given him occasion to suspect the falsification of the received history in important points. The third portion of this volume consists of extracts in French from Kamāl addin. With this MS. he became accidentally acquainted. It was translated from the Arabic by the French Orientalist, De Sacy, and Herr Röhricht gives it here, reserving his notes for a second volume. This second volume will be ready in a year.

Mr. Wood's book on the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of London¹⁰ is divided into a series of nine walks, during the course of which he discusses the antiquities which meet the view of the pedestrian. The book is an intelligent archaeological guide, and might be made a pleasant companion to any one who chooses to follow the itinerary which is indicated by its author.

The History of Japan,¹¹ as a history from the earliest period to the present time, is, to say the least, a little out of proportion. In the present volume of five hundred pages, the first hundred brings the reader to the year 1854, and the next four hundred deal with the decade 1854—1864. The second volume will probably bring the history "to the present time." Our only complaint is as to the title, which is misleading. The book is a very good account, so far as it goes, of the diplomatic relations of foreigners with the Japanese, and especially of our own court. But for those who are interested in the history of Japan itself, who are fascinated by the wonderful artistic excellence of its people, and who desire to know something of the country where such excellence was developed, the book is disappointing, and the title deceptive. With regard, however, to the period when intercourse began between the Japanese and other nations, the book is full. It

⁹ "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge." Von Reinhold Röhricht. Erster Band. Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung.

¹⁰ "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of London and its Suburbs." By A. Wood, M.A. London: Burns & Oates.

¹¹ "The History of Japan, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time." Vol. i. By F. O. Adams, F.R.G.S. London: H. S. King.

contains, also, some really beautiful plans of Kioto, the emperor's palace there, which appear to be native drawings, and a rather poor outline map of Japan, which is not native work.

Another work, with an Oriental subject, is a translation of the autobiography¹² of a British subject, born in Malacca in the year 1797. The original appears to be written in a simple and naïve style. Much of it has reference to the time when Sir Thomas Raffles was the most prominent Englishman in the Indian Archipelago. Abdulla gives the following flattering picture of our countryman:—"He was most courteous in his intercourse with all men. He always had a sweet expression towards European as well as native gentlemen. He was extremely affable and liberal, always commanding one's best attention. He spoke in smiles." From this our civil officers abroad will perceive that their native subordinates are close observers, and that it is well to win their regard; for Abdulla does not appear to have been inclined to flatter. Mr. Ebbison, a missionary, studied Malay with him. Says Abdulla:—"I continued with him for six months, when he could do a little, but in a meaningless manner. I now perceived that he had a heavy intellect, no application, and was heartless. He then asked me to teach his son Edwin, for he, being young, could pick up the language faster. I assented to this; so I taught him, and in a few days he was able to read a little. He was very much clearer in the head than his father." The comments of the translator are also interesting.

Strangely, and somewhat weirdly, the new book,¹³ by Adolf Strodtmann, brings us face to face with an obscure epoch in German literature. It is obscure, because it is so hard to realize now the period in German literature before Goethe, the period when Lessing was scarcely recognised, and when the name of Schiller was unknown. Certainly, the great literature which was to be, showed few signs of its future existence in that barren time. Only a few poems have survived it until now. The modern reader may indeed be acquainted with the names of Klopstock and Wieland; he probably knows little of their works; and probably the very names of Gleim, Schubart, Hölty, Stolberg, Heinse, and Göcking, are unknown to him. And yet these were men who, at one time, no longer ago than the second half of the eighteenth century, directed the literary taste of Germany. They were men in intimate connexion with Klopstock and the youthful Goethe, and to their poetical confederacy belonged the poet whose letters have been, as it were, disinterred by Herr Strodtmann—Gottfried August Bürger. Bürger, for this age at least, is like Rouget de Lisle, a man of one song. His ballad of "Lenore" was translated by Sir Walter Scott, and keeps his name well known to English ears. The other poems which

¹² "Translations from the Hakazit Abdulla." With Comments by J. T. Thomson, F.R.G.S. H. S. King.

¹³ "Briefe von und an Gottfried August Bürger. Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte seiner Zeit." Von Adolf Strodtmann. Berlin: Verlag von Gebrüder Pötel.

won him popularity could scarcely win it now. But as a side-light into the literary life of Germany a century ago, these letters of Bürger, now published for the first time, are well worth reading. This is the story of their exhumation:—At Bürger's death in 1794, at Göttingen, his manuscripts were disposed of by auction. Amongst these were two works—one a book upon æsthetics and one upon German style. These came into the possession of a Dr. Reinhard, who published them in 1825—26. Besides these MSS., there was also a great mass of letters and papers, relating both to family and literary affairs. The first batch of letters seems to have been destroyed; the other passed into Reinhard's hands. A great number of the papers came also to Dr. Althof, who was to undertake a biography of the poet. These, however, he did not use, but left them, still uninspected, to his niece. Through various hands they came, in 1872, to Herr Strodtmann, a sealed and faded packet, which had scarcely been looked at since the time of Bürger's death, eighty years ago. They are now given to the world in the four volumes which are before us. The first letters of this series are addressed to Christian Adolph Klotz. Nothing was more unfortunate for Bürger, in his literary career, than his connexion with the superficial and sentimental school of poetry which looked upon Klotz as an authority in taste and learning. What Klotz was in that capacity may be learnt from Lessing's *Archæological Letters*. These, however, had not appeared at the time when Bürger and Klotz were corresponding. Their letters are in Latin, and are filled with fatuous mutual admiration. It is curious to see a man like Bürger addressing Klotz, whose scholarship was as futile as it was pretentious, in these terms, "Tu enim mihi Socrates, Tu mihi Plato, aut si quos novisti magis unquam a suis adamatos, eorum te similem judico." But the gross exaggeration of sentiment was the chief characteristic of that society of young versifiers which flourished at Göttingen, whilst Bürger was there. This society was called the Hainbund; they chose Klopstock for their model, and even induced him to join them. Their best poets were Voss and Bürger, and when they separated they continued to correspond with each other. Their literary organ was the *Musen Almanach*, to which even Goethe in his youth contributed, and it is with the literary matter of the *Musen Almanach* that the Bürger Correspondence is chiefly concerned. Boie, Bürger's constant friend and correspondent, edited it until 1776. The first reference to the ballad "*Lenore*," is found in a letter of the 19th of April, 1773. "I have come upon a magnificent story in an old ballad. The only pity is I can't get at the text of the ballad itself." The fact is Bürger's ballad comes from a much older one, the story of which the poet heard a servant maid repeat. The only words she could remember of the original were—

"Der Mond, der scheint so helle
Die Todten reiten schnelle—"

significant words, which gave Bürger the key in which his poem is set. Some English periodical, a few years after the publication of

the poem, asserted that it was derived from an English ballad. Bürger himself distinctly denied the truth of this hypothesis, and it does not seem to have been successfully maintained. At any rate, the composition of the poem occupied him for some time. On the 22nd of April he wrote again: "I have a touching romance on the stocks; Hölty will hang himself for envy." May 6th he wrote, "If people don't turn icy cold at my ballad, you may call me 'Hans Caspar,' for the rest of my life." It was not finished by the 27th of that month. On that day he wrote Boie: "Lenore grows daily in knowledge and favour with God and men. In the evening I don't like to work at it, for I am a little afraid of it myself." On the 12th of August he wrote, with comic exaggeration—

"Thank God, I have finished my immortal Lenore. Is it possible for the mind of man to conceive anything more splendid? I am astonished myself and can scarcely believe that I have written it. I shan't send it but bring it in a week. Then you must get together the members of the Hainbund in the twilight, into a lonely and somewhat eery room, where I can give due horror to the intonation of my voice. The youngest member will tremble at Lenore as at Lot's deceased wife."

The result of the reading, however, was not so flattering to Bürger's vanity. The "Hainbund" playfully reproved his conceit, a reproof which he took in good part. The poem appeared finally in September. Bürger received the proofs with trepidation; but the magnificent ballad met with universal approbation. Goethe sent the author a copy of "Goetz," which had just appeared. "I am proud," he wrote, "that it is I who break down the paper wall between us. Our voices have often met, and our hearts too. Is not life short and drear enough; shall not those unite whose roads are the same? When you write anything send it to me. I will do likewise." The few glimpses which this correspondence gives us of Bürger's private life do not show it to have been a happy one. One knew that it was unhappy before. These letters reveal the reason. A passionate, enthusiastic man, Bürger was compelled to attend to the harassing duties of a judiciary in a small village. Little time could be given to study, and the salary of such a position was minute. In 1774 he married the daughter of a neighbouring official, and this marriage was another source of torture to him. He, himself, wrote in 1790 (vol. iv. p. 26)—

"As I went with her to the altar I bore in my heart the most ardent passion for her sister, who was then scarcely fifteen years old. I knew it, but I thought it a slight fever which would soon cease. I ought to have withdrawn even at the altar; my fever did not abate, but grew more violent, more inextinguishable. A volume would not contain the history of my struggles between love and duty. If she who had wedded me had been a woman of a common stamp, if she had been less magnanimous, I should long ago have perished. That which conventionalism would not have permitted, that three persons as their only means of escape from destruction dared to allow themselves. My wife determined to be called by that name only openly and before the world, whilst her sister really occupied that position. In 1784 I lost her whom I had wedded; in 1785 I married openly and formally the only, the wholly adored of my heart.

The next year I lost her. What her love, what her loss was to me, may be found in my poems."

The retribution which fell upon Bürger was not long delayed, nor light. In 1789 he became an unpaid professor at Göttingen, where he endeavoured to support himself by taking pupils, and by doing literary work. A young lady of Suabia professed herself in love with him from having read his poems, and offered him her hand. Bürger married her. She treated him worse than he had treated his first wife. The divorce from her, which took place two years after his marriage, could not restore the health which grief and anxiety had broken; poverty came nearer and nearer; the most pressing needs were at hand, which he only escaped by dying. His death occurred in June, 1794. The correspondence in these four volumes includes letters from and to Heyne, Lichtenberg, A. W. Schlegel, Humboldt, Goethe, and Meyer. We must be grateful to Herr Strodtmann for so carefully arranging and editing these letters. Many of them do not, perhaps, repay perusal; but as a whole they afford a curious insight into the literary circles of a time which is obscure, though not remote. Forgotten men, not unimportant a hundred years ago, stand before us in their individuality once again—Biester, with his amusing and amiable love story; the rollicking Sprickmann, the affectionate Goeckingk, and over the whole group the new influence of Shakspeare is seen to rise and freshen German poetry. There, too, like a stage moon, Ossian wins the admiration of the German writers, an admiration, which to our minds, is one of the most curious phenomena in the history of German literature.

Herr Scheffer Boiehorst's studies in Florentine history¹⁴ will be valuable to those who desire to have a correct knowledge of the authorities from whom our acquaintance with the history of Florence is derived. In his first essay the writer deals with the relative value of the histories of Malespini and Villani. His conclusion is that Villani is not the plagiarist for which he has been generally held. Malespini has, on the other hand, he thinks, appropriated the property of Villani, and has falsified history to please the great houses, notable that of Bonagvisi, with which he was himself connected. "Meanwhile," says the writer, "he proceeds with caution, not without a certain cleverness. He boasts with moderation, lies with a supremely honourable countenance; he is familiar with the history of the Bonagvisi, for they were his relations; one might almost credit his word, for he speaks of the honour of the Bonagvisi, not of his own family. But compare him with Villani, and he is utterly lost. This is the triumph: the honest Villani accused of plagiarism from Malespini himself brings the proof that Malespini has both robbed him and accused him of theft." In the second essay the writer weighs the pretensions of Dino Compagni to be the father of Italian history. Dino has been regarded by the Italians as the most accurate of historians, especially in his first

¹⁴ "Florentiner Studien." Von Paul Scheffer-Boiehorst. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Herzl.

two books; he has been spoken of with that enthusiasm, says our author, with which a middle-aged man, looking back upon his youth, speaks of his first love. Yet Herr Scheffer Boichorst accuses him of falsifying Florentine history. Dino's veracity had, however, been suspected before. An Italian professor at Padua, Signor Grion, has already impugned it. M. Monod, in reviewing his book, accuses him of buffoonery, and is angry with the doubtful taste of his jests upon Dino, whom he speaks of as "Dino-Doni, Din-Din, Din-Don," &c. Signor Grion is, therefore, wisely put aside by our author. The result of his investigation is this:—

"The name of Dino Compagni must be erased from the literature of history. We must refuse him the crown of honour; we fancied we had beheld through his means the contemporaries of Dante, and we have too late found him a deceiver. The phantom has departed; in vain we seek a sufficient compensation, a recompense and comfort for our loss; we have nothing but the pain of a supreme illusion."

Herr von Vivenot has prepared an immense amount of material which will be useful to the future historian of Austria, when he deals with the period of the French Revolution. The present portion¹⁵ of his work illustrates the policy of Prince Kaunitz-Rielberg, under the Emperor Leopold II. This chancellor followed the course of French events with deep attention, as is seen in these volumes. The first volume embraces the whole period of the reign of Leopold II., and includes many important documents from the imperial archives of Vienna. The object of the editor is to render the work a diplomatic manual, which may be readily and easily used. This first volume contains 402 documents, of which one-fourth are written by monarchs. The individual influence of Prince Kaunitz finds remarkable evidence in these papers. It is clear that he at first regarded the French Revolution with favourable eyes. The period included in this volume closes with the death of Kaunitz, who retires, says Herr von Vivenot, conscious of the glorious ending of his earthly career, like a mighty and proud lion to die as he had lived—alone. The second volume includes also 400 documents. They extend from the French declaration of war to the second partition of Poland. Each volume contains several excellent indices.

As a portion of the labour which the editing of a comprehensive work such as the "*Quellen*," the editor considers that amplification of facts, or removal of errors, which must be given in pamphlets or appendices. Such a pamphlet¹⁶ is the work before us. The writer speaks of the second division of Poland in terms of sympathy for that unhappy nationality, and he thinks that the policy of Napoleon I. finds a complete justification in that second partition.

Herr Schuler-Libloy has written a brief sketch of the history of

¹⁵ "*Quellen zur Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserpolitik Oesterreichs während der Französischen Revolutions Kriege, 1790—1801.* Von A. von Vivenot. Wien.

¹⁶ "*Zur Genesis zur Zweiten Theilung Polens, 1792-1793.*" Von A. Ruter von Vivenot. Wien. 1874.

European jurisprudence," which seems to be a learned and valuable work. The subjects of Roman and Canon law he excludes from his work, because they form special and distinct branches. The other lines of jurisprudence he traces in their development in the various European states, from the time of the migration of the nations to the time of modern codifications. The work shows much research. We should only suggest to the author that in a work of such dignity it is scarcely worth while to select English names, and accompany them with letters supposed to represent the pronunciation, whilst Danish, Polish, and other names are left in their native dress. Moreover, the professor's presentations of English names are not always good. "Pahlgrehw" may represent "Palgrave," but "Müddox," "Färtiskju," "Ohn," "Fihshlehrbert," "eckstchekör" (p. 90), do not fairly represent "Madox," "Fortescue," "Owen," "Fitzherbert," "exchequer." The book contains a brief but interesting history of the legal procedure in cases of witchcraft. The last German witch was, it seems, executed in 1783, for having baked a cake with "pin seeds" in it.

Herr Erdmann's pamphlet on orthography¹⁷ is another evidence of the deep root which the idea of national unity has taken in the minds of the people of Germany. The wish to have one perfect and uniform system of orthography is an old one amongst many German writers. At present confusion reigns little less than that which made the currency of German coins confined and vexatious. As a few instances of this Herr Erdmann cites the words—Brantwein, Brandwein, Brandtwein, Braundtwein; Wildbret, Wildbrett, Wildbrät; adelich, adellich, adelig, adlich, adlig; nemlich, nümlich, nehnlich. All this, it must be admitted, is very irregular; but whence is the remedy to come? Jacob Grimm considered the present German orthography "wrong, barbarous, and disgraceful;" but he expressed the belief that "when a new political salvation has risen upon the national view, then we may expect that a new orthography will also be introduced, which, in divided and weary Germany, can never find an inauguration." The new salvation has come. Herr Erdmann thinks the new orthography lingers, and the question, how it is to be introduced, is still difficult. Evidently he has turned his eyes to Prince Bismarck, but "Prince Bismarck has never desired orthographical laurels, happily for himself and orthography."¹⁸ The general principles upon which Herr Erdmann desires reform seem to us fair and moderate enough. They are two:—

1. In every case where custom is universally uniform and established, let custom decide.

2. Where custom varies let phonetics and etymology decide.

(a) Where both these indications tend to the same conclusion, the onus of justifying a refusal to follow them falls upon those who refuse.

¹⁷ "Abriss der Europäischen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte." Von F. Schuler-Libloy. Berlin: E. Koschny.

¹⁸ "Zur orthographischen Trage." Von Heinrich Erdmann. Hamburg: Otto Meissner.

(b) Where these indications seem to point to different conclusions, phonetics, as the older, should be followed, due regard, however, being taken of the etymological indication. If phonetics cannot be applied, then etymology must point out the spelling, but only to such an extent that it will not violently oppose customary pronunciation. Herr Erdmann follows out these principles into working detail, and, as far as we can judge, with success. In truth, the literature of Germany has ripened earlier than its literary form. English literature and French literature grew clear more slowly, and the difficulty of uncertain orthography no longer remains. But German, as a literary language, is still somewhat yeasty and turbid. It will, however, we doubt not, in time run clear. We hope that Herr Erdmann's monograph will tend to this end. Afterwards it will perhaps be well to dispense with the ugly black letter character by which the Germans continue to separate themselves from their European neighbours.

The Readers¹⁹ issued by Messrs. Isbister seem well calculated to serve their purpose. The whole series is now before us, and the style of each book rises with the standard to which it is adapted by gradual steps, which lessen the difficulty of the ascent. The pieces selected are good, and are chosen both for their literary merit and the information they convey. Thus in the fifth Reader we find many simple yet instructive entomological fragments by Tristram, papers by Drayon and Audubon on natural history, and vigorous descriptions by Charles Kingsley. The whole series is designed to be attractive, and is likely to be attractive to children. Composition exercises are introduced in the later Readers, and we may safely assert that no pupil who has mastered this series will fail in passing the written examination of each standard as he advances.

The three little books²⁰ which have been edited by M. Van Laun, the translator of M. Taine's History of English Literature, seem to us admirably adapted for use in schools. Beginning with clear and easy rules and short exercises they gradually bring the learner to a good knowledge of syntactic difficulties. The irregular verbs, always a *crux* to the French instructor, seem to be well dealt with. We question however the wisdom of beginning the course with a long vocabulary which a child could scarcely master until it had acquired some knowledge of the language.

The French Readers,²¹ which we suppose are intended to accompany the exercise books, seem excellent. The selections increase in difficulty and are well made, from known authors, such as Souvestre, Fleury, Lamartine, Balzac, Gautier, and Michelet. Each volume has a complete vocabulary, and the very moderate price at which it is

¹⁹ "Elementary School Series. First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Illustrated Readers. Adapted to the requirements of the Privy Council." W. Isbister & Co.

²⁰ "Public School Series. The Beginner's First French Book; the Second French Book; the Third French Book." By H. Van Laun and Victor Pleignier. London: W. Isbister & Co.

²¹ "First French Reader; Second French Reader; Third French Reader." By H. Van Laun and V. Pleignier. Strahan & Co.

sold is an additional recommendation for a very wide adoption in all schools.

We can do little more than acknowledge the receipt of two^{22 23} pamphlets from Mr. Boulton upon early English history. They are remarkable for philological conjecture, which is more creditable to the writer's ingenuity than to his erudition.

BELLES LETTRES.

WHY do lady-novelists choose such epicene titles? Actresses, who are also often their own godmothers, rechristen themselves, with, at least, feminine Christian surnames. "The Fotheringay" is not ashamed of her sex. Actresses, indeed, are rather too fond of Madame or Mdlle., to the first of which titles they probably never have had and never will have any right. But why novelists should choose such epicene names is a puzzle. Is there anything disgraceful about novel writing that should make them wish to disguise themselves as neither men nor women? We have had Anonyma of the street, and now we have Synonyma of the novel. Such a name as "George Eliot" is intelligible; but now we have a swarm of "Holme Lees," and "Ouidas," and other epicene monstrosities. Lastly, we have "Averil Beaumont." When reviewing "Averil Beaumont's" very charming novel, "Thornicroft's Model," in our last number, we were more than once struck by the thought that the writer was a lady. Now, however, all our doubts are removed by her new tale. No man, except the great Worth himself, could describe with such feeling the dresses at a Fancy Ball as they are described by "Averil Beaumont." No man could have dressed a sea-nymph, in the way Alice Etheredge was dressed, in "white crêpe," "ornamented with tiny silver patellas and coral ornaments." He would have broken down under the "silver patellas." His sea-nymph would have ended like Horace's beautiful woman, a mere fish out of water. But had he been able to describe the costume of the sea-nymph, he would never have described the dress of Lady Agnata, in "tulle and puffs, and bouillonées." These mysteries and others about "heavenly silks," are, we feel, beyond the power of the male intellect. We may therefore rest assured that, "Under Seal of Confession" is not written by a man. Now in spite of all that has been written to the contrary, it is a great advantage both to the author and the critic that the latter should know whether a book is written by a man or woman. Quite true is it that "genius is of no sex." But a critic who writes in the

²² "The Danish Intrusion into South Britain."

²³ "Glimpses of Pre-Roman Civilization in England." By Joseph Boulton, F.R.I.B.S. Liverpool: T. Brakell.

¹ "Under Seal of Confession." By Averil Beaumont, Author of "Thornicroft's Model." London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle. 1874.

dark is sure to make not only many blunders, but to commit much unintentional injustice. The unhappy reviewer who in the pages of the *Saturday Review* proclaimed in his notice of "Adam Bede" that George Eliot was a country curate, must have often repented of his unfortunate guess. Had he not, too, been led astray by his own conjectures he would have done more justice to a very remarkable book, and not have damned it with his faint praise. We say this, because "Averil Beaumont's" novels have evidently suffered from the fact that critics have not known whom they were reviewing. "Averil Beaumont" has no one to blame but herself. If she will adopt one of those epicene names, so dear to the hearts of publishers, she must take the consequences. "Under Seal of Confession" is a thoroughly womanly book—we use womanly in its very best sense, indicating by it those graces of delicacy, refinement, and taste, which are only found in women, and to which no man, except he is a poet or a painter of the very highest type, can make any pretensions. A critic may easily in this book fasten upon weak passages, but these are not the passages by which "Averil Beaumont" should be judged. It must be judged by its spirit. Most novels, and those especially which aim at popularity, describe the scenes of the day, the hunting-field, the race-course, Hurlingham, or what not, in the brightest colours they can master. Not one of the characters in such novels raises the faintest protest against the amusements—or, as is often the case, the orgies in which he is the chief actor. Now the authoress of "Under Seal of Confession" takes a very different view of life, and the enjoyments which should make up life. Here is a passage which we gladly quote at a time when ladies, or those who ought to be ladies in feeling, can utter such words as "I like to see the pigeons knocked over at Hurlingham," words which we have more than once heard. Such ladies, if they have not lost all self-respect, may profitably ponder over Philip Brereton's meditations:—

"Well, at any rate, you will go with us to Hurlingham?" "Hurlingham! Who has invited you there? You didn't say it was to Hurlingham; you said a drive in the country." "That is the country." "So it is, just as much as this is life. But are the girls going?" "Of course they are; they would not miss it for anything. Every one will be there." Philip's thoughts flew to Alice, who by no exercise of the imagination could he picture to himself caring to go to such a place. Once, riding in the Kensington High Street, he had met all fashionable London rolling out to this scene of amusement, carriage after carriage, with sweet-looking young girls in every hue and tint of delicate silk or muslin, seated by fathers or mothers, who had nothing higher or better to teach them than to find their pleasure in seeing their brothers or lovers skilfully killing or cruelly maiming so many dozens of poor terrified little pigeons. Call them doves and they might have felt some stirrings of sentimental regret, but not for worlds would they have missed being there! He had thought at the time that, after all, they were not so very far removed from the courtly dames who sat in their seats of honour to see the agonies of Damians. "I believe that if executions still took place in public, and a couple of duchesses happened to have a fancy to go to one, and engaged a commanding house-top, you would see every roof near glittering with ladies as if it were a flower show." (Vol. ii. pp. 109—111).

For our own part we see no difference between English ladies who go to watch pigeons being shot and Spanish ladies who go to see bulls butchered; and but little difference, except in degree, between them and the Roman ladies who watched the gladiators slaughter each other. The step between witnessing pigeons shot—not for necessity, not for food, but for the sheer sake of indulging a morbid craving after false excitement—and witnessing a man hung, is not so very wide. Hurlingham is one of the worst signs of the day—a sign of how far our upper classes are from any true refinement—how near allied they are to those poor drunken wretches whom they sit in judgment upon down in the country. We sincerely thank the authoress of “*Under Seal of Confession*” for her protest against such a vile amusement. But we must turn to the literary merits of the book. At a time when the generality of novels are written in a style resembling a provincial bookseller’s cheap local guide-book, it is refreshing to meet with a writer who has a style of her own. When we take up the average novel, we always wonder where the writer was educated, and with whom he or she have lived. The grammar is generally in keeping with the manners of the characters; that is to say, both are execrable. Now, in “*Under Seal of Confession*” there is an air of refinement in every page. The characters are what they pretend to be, and not so many hairdresser’s dummies, dressed out in fine clothes, aping to be ladies and gentlemen. Further, there is a scholarly tone about the book. A literary aroma breathes through the story. The allusions show reading and breadth of thought. Now these, however much they may be despised by the fast school of lady novelists, are most important qualities in a novel. Still it must be distinctly remembered, that not all the learning in the world can alone make a good novel. We want a great deal more—the art of constructing a plot, the proper evolution of incidents, a knowledge not merely of books but of men—the power not merely of description, but what is far more difficult, of character-drawing. Now in “*Under Seal of Confession*” we have a fairly good plot, characters which interest us drawn with dramatic power, and descriptions which show poetic insight. Here, then, are most of the requisites of a good novel. And still “*Under Seal of Confession*” hardly rises into the first rank. Like its predecessor, “*Thornicroft’s Model*,” it ranks very high in the second class. We feel almost grieved to say this, for there is so much that is excellent and so much that is thoroughly artistic in “*Under Seal of Confession*.” Yet if we were to say more than this we should be doing a great injustice to the writer. She does not as yet know her own powers. She is, as it were, feeling her way. Both “*Under Seal of Confession*” and “*Thornicroft’s Model*” are merely tentative. They both show the greatest promise. In the present story there is, for instance, a Mrs. Priestman, a sketch which in parts is not unworthy of Miss Austen. There are, too, descriptions of the Northumberland sea-coast, of the fishermen and the herring-boats, and glorious sunsets over the Cheviots worthy of all praise. The landscapes, too, are painted with delicate touches. We have delicious pictures of “sleeping grey rivers,” covered with water-lilies, “with

endless length of stalk," fringed on each side with willows, "with their silver-hued leaves," and kingfishers flying, with their "flashing blue." This book is full of colour. Whether Ravensburg is Bainsborough or not, or whether Dr. Etheredge is personally known to Canon Greenwell, of Durham, we will not undertake to say. But the writer has succeeded as well in her realistic as in her imaginative description. This is high praise, and we intend it as such. We wish that we could give it without alloy. Flattering criticism can, however, do but harm. What the book wants is compression. It is diffuse. The effects are lost. The three volumes might have been compressed into two. We have spoken plainly, because we feel, as we said in reviewing "Thornicroft's Model," that the writer can do so much better. She must, however, be her own critic. Let her give herself time, and she will produce a novel which will live.

There is a great resemblance between "Under Seal of Confession" and "Aileen Ferrers." The resemblance does not of course lie in the plot or in the characters, but in the general style. Both works show the same refinement, the same delicacy of taste and nice discernment. Both novels, too, show the same knowledge of the world, the same culture, the same sort of reading, and the same literary power of expression. We never pause, as we do in so many novels, and say to ourselves, do people really do such things? Instead of vulgarity, fast talk and slang, we are introduced to people with cultivated minds and polished manners. If "Averil Beaumont's" Mrs. Priestman might have been sketched by Miss Austen, Miss Morley's Lord Braithwaite is not unworthy of the same hand. And here let us notice that Lord Braithwaite is by far the most difficult character to draw. The lines in his case requires to be both far firmer and more delicate. Mrs. Priestman requires freer handling and less delicate shading. We are not for a moment instituting any comparison between the manner in which these two characters are drawn. Both are in their ways excellently done. But Lord Braithwaite's character, we repeat, is by far the most difficult to do. And great praise must be given to Miss Morley for such a thoroughly successful portrait. It might almost be put side by side with the hero in "Emma," as the picture of a high-minded honourable English gentleman, who is, however, not without his failings. What strikes us, too, especially in "Aileen Ferrers," is the tact with which Miss Morley manages her characters. Here is a good example, taken from a conversation, one of the best tests by which we can judge the skill of an artist. It is the first interview between Aileen Ferrers, who has just exchanged her rustic Cumberland peasant dress for something more becoming, and her uncle Lord Braithwaite :—

"Lord Braithwaite looked at her for a moment in unfeigned amazement, and then said, smiling : 'You have the advantage of me, for you have heard my name announced, and there is no one to tell me yours. May I ask if you are the new niece I am come to see?' 'I am Aileen, and Aunt Grace has just brought me to live with her,' was the blushing reply. 'Aunt Grace has

² "Aileen Ferrers." By Susan Morley. London : Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

shown her usual discrimination,' said Lord Braithwaite. 'But, somehow, I expected a little girl, and thought *you* must be a strange young lady come to dinner! I was not prepared for such a fashionable apparition. Do you grow this sort of thing on the moors? When did you come to London?' 'On Sunday night. Aunt Grace stopped at York that I might see the Minster.' 'And what did you think of it?' Aileen's face lighted up, but before she could speak Lady Grace came in, and her brother went forward to meet her." (Vol. i. p. 126—129.)

Now imagine such a scene as this done by the ordinary hack novelist. Imagine Aileen's answer to such a tempting question as, "What do you think of York Minster?" We should have had some half-dozen pages of padding, stolen from Murray or Black, about the history of the cathedral, with a dissertation on Norman and Early English architecture and some sapient remarks of the novelist, of the same character probably as that of a woman who, in our hearing, asked the verger whether York Minster was burnt by an explosion of gas. But Miss Morley at once cuts the knot by introducing Lady Grace on the scene. Another trait which strikes us in "Aileen Ferrers" is the common sense view which Miss Morley takes of life and the duties of life. Most novelists are over-ridden by some romantic idea. Some impossible pseudo-ideal animates their hero or heroine. Miss Morley is a far more prosaic but, in our opinion, a far safer guide, especially for the young. Miss Morley plainly sees the conditions of this world—that twenty shillings must be paid in the pound or we must suffer the consequences; that not all the fine writing in the world will bridge the gulf which separates persons brought up in poverty and coarseness and those brought up in affluence and refinement. The turning point in "Aileen Ferrers" is, whether Aileen shall marry a young gamekeeper to whom she had imprudently engaged herself when her real position was unknown. Lord Braithwaite, we think, sums up this matter very sensibly, when he says to Aileen: "As to class distinctions, they are a question of feeling, and unequal marriages are very seldom happy ones." Now in spite of all that has been written in praise of "love in a cottage," there is still a great deal of truth in the old proverb, that "equal age, equal station, equal fortunes," contribute to make happy marriages. Aileen feels this after a time, for, as Miss Morley very forcibly puts it, "Ralph had as yet perceived no want of sympathy between them, but Aileen felt it acutely. She was conscious that she always talked *to* him and *for* him, never *with* him, or *for* herself." And if she felt this before her marriage, how much more would she have felt it after. We should have liked to have further illustrated our remarks by some more quotations from the novel, but most readers will for themselves be able to see the good common sense tone which pervades the story. It is a spirit very far removed from anything worldly or selfish. The book preaches a very commonplace doctrine, but one which is too often forgotten in romantic novels, that there is a great difference between people in different ranks of society, and that it does not answer to sew coarse and fine cloth together. Cophetua and the beggar girl can seldom be happy in real life, whatever they may be in

three-volumed novels or on the stage. After this we need hardly recommend "Aileen Ferrers" in set formal terms. But we should not be doing our duty did we not say that it is one of the best novels which a mother could put into the hands of a daughter who had any thought of making a foolish marriage with some one inferior to herself, not merely in station but in culture and intellect.

We are quite at a loss to understand the criticisms which has been written upon "Young Brown; or, the Law of Inheritance."³ One set of writers have denounced it as immoral; the other has lauded it in equally extravagant terms. Both appear to us to be equally at fault. We will deal with "Young Brown's" censors first. If we understand their objections, they may be resolved into two. The first is, that the book is immoral on account of a seduction on which the plot depends. The second objection is more vague, taking two very different forms, some of the critics declaring that the Duke of Courthorpe is a personal sketch, full of gross personalities, and the others maintaining that his grace is not only an improbability, but an impossibility. Both these two opinions cannot be right. But into these charges we will enter by-and-by. We will first take the question of the seduction. Now there are seductions and seductions, and there are different ways of describing seductions. We have very strongly in this *Review* denounced any attempts to turn the novel into a mere analysis of human animalism. We have never encouraged the attempts of "Ouida" and her imitators. But we know quite well that Art must be left untrammelled; free to choose her own ground. Men will sin, and women will fall as long as human passions are what they are. And it is in the delineation of human passions, of the terrible consequences from their not being held under restraint, that the chief triumphs of Art, both in the drama and in the novel have been won. The difference between one writer and another is the spirit, the *ἦθος*, as Aristotle long ago said, with which he treats the subject. Seduction in the hands of one writer may be the text for a sermon, in another for Holywell Street literature. Shakspeare and Piron have each a passage precisely similar in substance, and nearly identical in language; and yet what in the one shines forth as a noble reproof against the weaknesses of human nature, is in the other nothing but prurient filth. Now what we claim for the author of "Young Brown" is, that he has not painted seduction in alluring colours; that he has nowhere gloated over vice in man or woman. He has described a woman's fall in terms which can give no offence to any reasonable person. He has failed, we think, to impress us with the widespread misery, the agony, and the terrible consequences on a woman's character which such a fall must ever produce; but to say this is to find fault with his literary powers, and not with the fact that he has introduced a seduction; two entirely different matters. This is the stumbling-block over which his critics have fallen. They have mistaken two very different things. We now

³ "Young Brown; or, the Law of Inheritance." By the Author of "The Member for Paris," "Men of the Second Empire," &c. &c. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1874.

come to the second charge, that the Duke of Courthorpe is a personal sketch; and yet according to others an impossibility. We could have understood the critics somewhat better had they said, there is but one novelist who can paint a duke, even Disraeli, for has he not made one? The acquaintance of authors and critics with dukes must be very slight. Most of them, we think, might say with Shakspeare's clown, "We have never dined with Jove," except at a public dinner, which is no dinner at all. We do not possess a copy of the "Snob's Bible," or else we might say precisely how many dukes there are in England; but their number must be small. To make up however for their smallness of number, there are always plenty of tales and anecdotes in circulation about them. And if the author of "Young Brown" has embodied some of them into his story, he has certainly shown a want of good taste. But upon this point we are entirely ignorant. The other charge that the Duke of Courthorpe is an impossibility resolves itself into a question of literary art. Dukes are, we suppose, like other men, with the same human passions, the same human infirmities, and the same human feelings. The Duke of Courthorpe appears to us to be in detached passages powerfully, yet on the whole, inartistically drawn. He is painted too much from the outside. We are told far too much of his surroundings—on what sort of paper he writes, and what are the patterns of his clothes. We do not see the man so much as his belongings. He is too stogy. The whole question as to impossibility is entirely one of art, and not of dukes. So much then for all the criticism which has been poured forth in such abundance upon "Young Brown." We will add a few words of our own. The story stands above the ordinary Mudie novel, both for literary power and a knowledge of a certain class of men and women. It is vigorously written, but very ragged and unfinished. Like the Duke of Courthorpe, it is stogy. The plot is improbable, full of cheap incidents and melodramatic surprises. The satire is strong, but coarse and vitriolic. "Young Brown" will never be popular amongst novel readers, for it deals too much with lawyers and legal questions, which the general public does not understand; nor can it, from its glaring defects, be ever popular with cultivated and critical minds.

Miss Fraser-Tytler's "Mistress Judith"⁴ is a very different book from "Young Brown." She has no quarrel with society. She pours forth no sarcasms on our social customs. We have no noble dukes or duchesses, though we have a money-lender, or something of the sort, and a low Cambridge attorney. The scene is laid in the fen country, somewhere near Cambridge. The characters are the every-day sort of people whom we meet in most English villages. Miss Fraser-Tytler's strong point is her power of photography. She realizes with marvellous power the strange, weird effects of the fen country. She paints the fens, and the fen-gardens, and the fen-sunsets with great delicacy. For the first time, out of Tennyson, justice has been done

⁴ "Mistress Judith: a Cambridgeshire Story." By C. C. Fraser-Tytler, Author of "Jasmine Leigh." London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle. 1874.

to a fen-sunset. As Miss Fraser-Tytler remarks, it is like a sunset or sunrise at sea. As she writes, "Over that flat Cambridgeshire the sun's rising and his fall have something that is peculiar to the place." Miss Fraser-Tytler is quite right in saying "fall," and not "setting;" for in the fen country the sun does literally seem to fall out of the horizon, and not to set, as in other places. As she goes on to say, "Nothing breaks upon his great disc, . . . and villagers watch the fireball touch the horizon—descend, descend, till half is gone—till all but a golden rim is gone,—till only the message shot up into the illumined heavens remains behind." The rest of Miss Fraser-Tytler's pictures are as carefully painted. The characters, too, are also most carefully worked out in detail. No pains have been spared to make them as effective as possible in their quiet way. The book is a study of realism. To all those who can enjoy quiet scenes of village life we recommend "*Mistress Judith*."

The rest of the novels on our list we must deal with more briefly. Auerbach's "*Waldfried*" has, in its English dress, been read and admired by English novel-readers. Goethe somewhere says, that an author's most popular works are not necessarily his best. "*Waldfried*" is, in our opinion, inferior to "*On the Heights*," and that again was inferior to its predecessors. In "*Waldfried*" English readers are a little bit wearied, perhaps, with political discussions, which have, however, a special interest at this hour for all Germans. But a novelist, like Auerbach, who writes for all the world, should adopt the Catholic test, *quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*.

"*My Mother and I*" is sure to have a greater number of admirers than any other novel this season. We cannot reckon ourselves amongst them. We have but little sympathy with the heroine. We regard one-half of the fine-spun sentiment as namby-pamby nonsense, and the other half mere morbidity. We are quite aware that in saying this we differ from the rest of the world.

"*Centulle: a Tale of Pau*" cannot be judged like an ordinary novel. It is something between a novel and a "*Murray's Guide Book*." It seeks to relieve the details of the latter by the excitements of the former.

In "*The Scarlet Shawl*" the author shows a power for describing characteristics. Some of his touches are very happy. But then he goes no further. All is surface. "*Seven Years of a Life*" has rather more feeling and poetry in its descriptions than is usually found in the average novel. "*By Still Waters*," like all Mr. Garrett's tales,

⁵ "*Waldfried*." By Berthold Auerbach. Translated from the German. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle. 1874.

⁶ "*My Mother and I: a Girl's Love Story*." By the Author of "*John Halifax, Gentleman*." London: W. Isbister & Co. 1874.

⁷ "*Centulle: a Tale of Pau*." By Denys Shyne Lawlor, Esq. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

⁸ "*The Scarlet Shawl*." A Novel. By Richard Jefferies. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1874.

⁹ "*Seven Years of a Life*." Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas. 1874.

¹⁰ "*By Still Waters*." By Edward Garrett. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

if a little dull, is full of good sense. "A Strange Friendship"¹¹ may be recommended to children.

Our notice of George Eliot's "Legend of Jubal"¹² comes very late, and we must for the present deal very insufficiently with a poem which will assuredly take a foremost place in the literature, not only of our day, but of the world. The poem deals, as George Eliot has so often done before, with the doctrine of self-sacrifice. This she enforces with greater power and deeper insight than in any of her previous works. But before we touch upon this, we wish particularly to notice—because it has for the most part escaped attention—a magnificent passage upon Death, and its effects upon the first inhabitants of the world, commencing—

"It seemed the light was never loved before,
Now each man said, 'Twill go and come no more.'
No budding branch, no pebble from the brook,
No form, no shadow, but new dearness took
From this one thought, that life must have an end;
And the last parting now began to send
Diffusive dread through love and wedded bliss,
Thrilling them into finer tenderness."

We do not for one moment suppose that death had any such effect on the early inhabitants of the world. Its probable effect would be to engender superstition. It is only now, very late in the world's history, that a few are beginning to rid themselves of the superstitions which have gathered round death and the dead. It is only now that a few are beginning to see greater beauty in each leaf, and flower, and bird, to find affection rendered more dear and the claims of duty made still stronger, because "Death is the Lord of Life." The whole teaching of the "Legend of Jubal," however, is summed up in lines which certainly are unequalled in modern literature for power, depth of thought, and beauty of language. We can but quote the commencement:—

"'Jubal,' the face said, 'I am thy loved Past,
The soul that makes thee one from first to last.'"

We cannot here possibly analyse them. This each reader must do for himself.

After George Eliot the poets of the quarter seem worse than usual. Will any one of the writers of the thin little octavos before us read George Eliot's "Brother and Sister," and then their own compositions? If this experiment does not convince them that they have not the "faculty divine" no words of ours can. Here however is Mr. Revere's version of it:¹³—

¹¹ "A Strange Friendship." A Story of New Zealand. By C. Evans. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle. 1874.

¹² "The Legend of Jubal; and other Poems." By George Eliot. London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1874.

¹³ "I Will Be Heard; Tim Orton; and other Poems." By Luke Revere. New York: Baker & Godwin. 1874.

"The two have been comrades, Augustus and Ned,
A great many seasons, it truly is said."

It is simply wasting paper to print such doggrel. "Malcolm and Clara"¹⁴ is not a bit better. The writer imagines such stuff as this to be poetry:—

"You shall see how soon they quarreled,
How this mutual faith was wounded,
And the consequences after."

"Mary's Vision"¹⁵ is simply utterly incomprehensible. Here is a specimen:—

"Fair as the Moon, its borrowed glorious light
The distant traveller's pathway through the night,
And shed a gentle radiance afar
A world is saved; Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah!"

Now we have lying before us twenty more volumes of a similar character. Of course they vary in degrees of imbecility. There cannot be the slightest use either to the authors, our readers, or ourselves in going through such utter rubbish.

Mr. Jerram's edition of "*Lycidas and Epitaphium Damonis*"¹⁶ is a monograph. It is free from the besetting sin of most monographs—it never degenerates into puerilities. Mr. Jerram indeed tolerates authorities, which we certainly should never dream of tolerating. For instance he quotes *The Daily Telegraph* as an authority on literary canons of taste. We shall next have one of the "Penny Dreadfuls" held up as a model of style. Again he quotes from such a writer as Mr. Friswell. To quote from a scholar like Mr. Skeat and a slipshod author like Mr. Friswell on the same page argues a lack of critical discrimination. Mr. Jerram also, we think, overrates Professor Masson's abilities, though he cannot possibly overrate his laborious industry. The work falls into three divisions. First we have Mr. Jerram's Introduction, then his notes to *Lycidas*, and, lastly, his notes to the "*Epitaphium Damonis*." Mr. Jerram's Introduction is a model of what an Introduction should be. He has left out nothing which could interest the reader. His style is critical and scholarly. The greatest interest must always attach to Edward King (*Lycidas*) and Charles Diodati (*Damon*), nearly as great as that which attaches to Shakspeare's *W. H.* Of Diodati we know very little and of King still less, but that little and that less Mr. Jerram has admirably told. Very forcible, too, are Mr. Jerram's criticisms upon Johnson's opinion of the *Lycidas*. Johnson was about as much able to appreciate *Lycidas* as a Papuan savage. We hold with Hallam "that *Lycidas* is a good test of real feeling in poetry." We may lament the form in

¹⁴ "Malcolm and Clara." A Tale of the Scottish Highlands; and other Poems. By M. A. C. London: Provost & Co. 1874.

¹⁵ "Mary's Vision." A Poem. Hartford: Lockwood, Brainard & Co. 1874.

¹⁶ "The *Lycidas* and *Epitaphium Damonis* of Milton." Edited, with Notes and Introduction (including a Reprint of the Rare Latin Version of the *Lycidas*, by William Hog, 1694), by C. G. Jerram, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1874.

which Lycidas has been cast, as we do still more the form into which the "Epitaphium Damonis" has been thrown; but then these forms were the fashions of the day from which no man, however great, can hope entirely to escape. But through the fashion of the day, however cramping it may be, however much opposed it may be to the expression of genuine feeling, the true poet will show himself. This is precisely what Milton has done in Lycidas. Mr. Jerram's notes on Lycidas are excellent. When we say that they are quite equal to the very best which have appeared on various English classics in the Clarendon Press Series we intend to pass a high compliment on Mr. Jerram's scholarship. In the difficult passage "what time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn" Mr. Jerram appears to lean to the view advocated by a writer in a recent number of the *Edinburgh Review* that the "gray-fly" is the cricket. We certainly have our doubts on this point. One thing, however, is certain that the common opinion that the "gray-fly" means the cockchafer is utterly untenable, as the cockchafer is only seen in the evening, and Milton is in this line describing noon. Again in those often misunderstood lines,—

"As killing as the canker to the rose,
Or taint-worm to the weanling herds that graze,"

Mr. Jerram seems to think that the "taint-worm" is the red spider. Here again we have our doubts. We would venture to suggest that by the "taint-worm" the poet may mean certain grubs or maggots, locally known as "flukes," which in wet cold pastures are found in the livers of sheep. Mr. Jerram's notes on the words "canker" and "weanling" in these two lines might be quoted as good specimens of the scholarship and carefulness with which he has illustrated every word of interest in the text. We are inclined, however, in the passage which Mr. Jerram quotes from "Much Ado About Nothing" (I. 3) to think with Beisly ("Shakspeare's Garden," p. 49), in spite of Dyce's strictures, that "canker" means not the blossom of the dog rose, but the crimson spongy excrescence caused by a gall-fly. Of course in the present passage "canker" means, as Mr. Jerram aptly quoting Joel i. 4, ii. 25, tells us—caterpillar. Further Mr. Jerram has given us a corrected list of the various readings in Lycidas. They are well worth studying, as revealing the conscientious care which Milton bestowed on his work. We can only find room for one example. That magnificent passage beginning "bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies," which Ruskin, in one of those fits of spleen to which he is so liable, has so unjustly criticised, originally stood,—

"Bring the rathe primrose that unwedded dies,
Colouring the pale checks of unenjoyed love,
And that sad floure that strove
To write his own woes on the vermeil graine;
Next adde Narcissus y' still weeps in vaine,
The woodbine and y^e panceie freakt wth jet,
The glowing violet."

"Afterwards," writes Mr. Jerram, Milton inserted the "garish columbine," but altered it to "the well attir'd woodbine." But the

changes which Milton made in the two next lines, which all lovers of Milton know by heart and which we need not therefore quote, are still more remarkable ; originally they ran,

"The cowslip wan that hangs his pensive head,
And every bud that sorrow's liverie weares."

Milton changed "sorrow's livery weares" to "sad escutchen beares," then to "imbroidrie" and finally "beares" back again to "weares." In these days when authors openly boast how fast they can write, and how many volumes they can turn out in a year, Milton's patient labour will hardly be appreciated. Yet a few minds here and there will lay the lesson to heart, and gather strength and courage, knowing that all true work can only be produced as in this and all other cases, could we but know them, by loving labour. There are many more points in Mr. Jerram's edition upon which we should liked to have touched, more especially his criticism upon Milton's character as a man and a poet ; but the discussion of this alone would lead us too far afield. We must content ourselves by simply saying that Mr. Jerram's observations are thoughtful and suggestive. Mr. Jerram has edited the *Lycidas* with such thorough success, that we most sincerely trust, that he will not allow his labours to rest here, but give us, if not the "*Paradise Lost*," some other of the minor poems, the "*Comus*" for instance, accompanied with notes worked out in the same painstaking and scholarly manner.

What is the cause of the superiority of German Shakspearian criticism to that in our own country ? Before we answer the question we must distinctly know what is meant by criticism ? In Shakspeare's case there are two kinds, the philosophical and the purely exegetical and verbal. We admit, without any reserve, that in philosophical criticism we have no one to set against Ulrici or Gervinus. But in the purely philological criticism the case is different. We have men like Abbott, Fleay, Furnival, and Skeat, not to mention others, who can hold their own against all comers. But the curious point is we do not hold our own. We allow the Germans to reap all the honours in the field of Shakspearian criticism. One of the causes for this is the great difficulty in England in finding any publisher who is willing to undertake the publication of any Shakspearian work. It does not answer from the publisher's point of view. The late Mr. Dyce used to say that unless he had possessed means of his own he could never have published his edition of Shakspeare. The late Mr. Staunton, than whom a finer verbal critic never existed, used to complain bitterly that he could not find a publisher for his notes on Shakspeare upon which he had spent so many years of toil. Halliwell's edition was published by subscription, and is a sealed book to the multitude. In Germany the case is different. A good edition or commentary on Shakspeare is sure to find a publisher. The last great work on Shakspeare from Germany is now before us.¹⁷ The first volume, however, is at present only published. This alone consists of nearly seven

¹⁷ "*Shakspeare-Lexicon*." A Complete Dictionary of all the English Words, Phrases, and Constructions in the Works of the Poet. By Dr. Alexander Schmidt. Vol. i. A—L. Berlin : George Reimer. London : Williams & Norgate. 1874.

hundred quarto pages printed in small print in double columns. Such a dictionary on Shakspeare would at the present moment be an impossibility in England. No publisher would be found willing to run the risk of such a speculation. It is obvious that we cannot in this section possibly do the slightest justice to such a mass of Shakspearian lore and criticism. We will say at once that it contains the distilled learning of many Shakspearian libraries. How exhaustive the Dictionary is, may be judged by the fact that Dr. Schmidt has even given the names of the dogs and horses in Shakspeare. The immortal Crab, "the sourest dog alive," and Dobbin the "thill" horse, are both duly commemorated. The best compliment which we can pay Dr. Schmidt will be not to overwhelm him with praises, but to go through some of the words upon the meaning of which we find ourselves differing with him. Of course we do not for one moment mean peremptorily to say that Dr. Schmidt is wrong, and that we are right. We merely wish to intimate that there may be two opinions on a subject. In this spirit we submit our remarks for Dr. Schmidt's consideration. We find ourselves most at variance with him regarding his interpretation of several of the flowers mentioned in Shakspeare. For instance Dr. Schmidt, at p. 273, writes, "Daffodil (*O. Edd. daffodil*), probably the snowdrop: when daffodils begin to peer. Wint. iv. 3, 1." Dr. Schmidt may be quite right, but until he gives us some proof that daffodil was used in Shakspeare's time for snow-drop, we think the common interpretation the better. Dr. Schmidt then proceeds to quote another famous passage also from the "Winter's Tale": "Daffodils that come before the swallow dares, and take the winds of March with beauty." Here daffodils, we think, cannot well mean snowdrops. The "fair maids of February," as snowdrops are called in some parts of England, are withering in March, when the golden "Lent rose," as the daffodil is called, is just beginning to blossom. Again, at p. 264, under Crow-flower, Dr. Schmidt writes "Crow-flower, the plant *Ranunculus*. 'Hamlet' iv. 7, 170." He would have been more accurate if he had said "Crow-flower, the plant *Ranunculus bulbosus*." Again, at p. 267, Dr. Schmidt writes, "cuckoo-bud, the bud of the cowslip: cuckoo-buds of yellow hue, *L.L.L.*, v. 2, 906," and immediately afterwards, "cuckoo-flower, cowslip; *Id.* iv. 4, 4." Now we, on the other hand, think with Mr. Beisly that by "cuckoo-bud" Shakspeare meant not the bud of the cowslip, but the lesser celandine (*Ranunculus ficaria*), and by "cuckoo-flower" not the cowslip, but the ragged robin (*Lychnis flos-cuculi*). And here let us take the opportunity of recommending Mr. Beisly's "Shakspeare's Garden," a book very little known out of England, to the notice of German critics and commentators on Shakspeare. To turn from plants to animals, Dr. Schmidt, at p. 529, under hedge-pig, writes: "Hedge-pig, a young hedgehog. *Meb.* iv. 1, 2." It may be so, but we should like some proof. There are one or two more words in the explanation of which we think Dr. Schmidt is slightly inaccurate. "Crow-keeper" (p. 264) is scarcely defined by "a scarecrow." To call a "doe" (p. 325) "a she-deer" is hardly Victorian English. But these, and we might add some more, are all

very small blemishes. There are also a number of other words, such as "dearest," in "dearest enemy;" "bribed," in "bribed buck;" "oneyers" in "great oneyers," and many more on which we should liked to have said something, but this discussion would far outrun our limits. We do not, however, altogether regret this omission. As we have said, there are plenty of able Shakspearian critics in England, and Dr. Schmidt will have many critical gauntlets to run. Instead therefore of calling attention to points on which we disagree with him, we will rather note how sound and scholarly is his general interpretation of many of the great Shakspearian difficulties. Under such words and phases as "candle-wasters," "enseamed," "dich," "arm-gaunt," "bubuckle," in "bank their towns," and many other well-known difficulties, critics will find both sound and sometimes new observations marked by rare critical sagacity. In conclusion, we congratulate Dr. Schmidt on the successful way in which he has brought out the first volume of his "Shakspearian Dictionary," and can assure him that we shall heartily welcome the second. We use no idle flattery when we say that no library will be complete without Dr. Schmidt's "Shakspeare's Lexicon." Such a dictionary is a positive necessity for the right understanding of the words in our greatest poet.

Good handbooks on English literature, for the use of boys and girls, are rare. Generally they are copied one from another, and repeat the same platitudes. It is with especial pleasure that we can direct attention to Mr. Dobson's "Civil Service Handbook of English Literature."¹⁸ This work is called by its rather singular title because it is intended for "the use of candidates for examination," we presume in the Civil Service. Whether the work is suitable for this especial purpose we cannot say. We can, however, say that it is written in a most conscientious and painstaking manner. The author is no mere compiler. He evidently appreciates the higher beauties of literature. He is, too, critical, and quotes from the best authorities. We should think, however, that he might add considerably to the value of his work if he would enlarge it to double the size. It is impossible in so small a space to do justice to each author. Boys, too, learn better to appreciate an author by extracts from him than by any notice, however carefully written.

Whenever we take up a work like Captain Harcourt's "Shakspeare Argosy"¹⁹ we are tempted to ask, with Sheridan, where are the other volumes? Captain Harcourt, however, has done his work well. His volume is just the book to lie on the table to be taken up at any spare minute. Open it where you will you are sure to find something which is well worth remembering.

¹⁸ "The Civil Service Handbook of English Literature." For the Use of Candidates for Examination, Public Schools, and Students generally. By H. A. Dobson, Editor of the "Civil Service History of England," &c., &c. With Appendices and General Index. London: Lockwood & Co. 1874.

¹⁹ "The Shakspeare Argosy." Containing much of the Wealth of Shakspeare's Wisdom and Wit. Alphabetically Arranged and Classified by Captain A. F. P. Harcourt, Bengal Staff Corps (Assistant Commissioner, Punjab), Author of "Kooloo, Laboul, and Spiti," &c., &c. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

Almost as great a want as a good handbook of literature is a good French dictionary. M. Gustave Masson's³⁰ name is a guarantee of the excellence of any work which he may undertake. The distinguishing feature is the etymological portion. The only French dictionary which we know where a similar attempt has been made in England, with the exception of Mr. Kitchin's edition of Brachet, was that by Dr. Pick, which was unfortunately disfigured by an enormous quantity of misprints. This one feature alone gives M. Gustave Masson's work a great superiority over the common French dictionaries generally in use. Boys learn to remember words more by their etymologies than by any other method. Etymology binds whole groups of words together in the mind. Word-building with a clever boy becomes not a task but an intellectual amusement. M. Gustave Masson relies for his etymologies upon only the very best authorities. We have taken several crucial words, and perceive that he chooses the safe side of giving no derivation rather than a dubious one. Besides the great advantage of giving the etymology of each word, the dictionary unites a great amount of matter with a very clear type.

"The Wallbridge Miscellanies"³¹ is a very much better book than might be supposed by a hasty glance. The tales are poor enough. It is singular that an author, who elsewhere shows that he can appreciate true humour, should so often make mere buffoonery take its place. The author fails, too, in dramatic power. He never makes his characters live. His descriptions never rise much above mediocrity. But every now and then we come upon some reflection which makes us say how is it that all this is not better? Here is a man who evidently has something in him, and yet is utterly lost in a mass of feeble twaddle and what, for want of a better name, we must call literary vulgarity. There is a vulgarity in style as well as in manners. The author seems always to be writing far below his strength. His stories appear to be written for the groundlings. We can well imagine that his tales would be very popular with sempstresses, dressmakers, and young village school-mistresses of the new type. The two best things in the book are the sections entitled "Buds" and "The Council of Tours." But in each we have rather too many platitudes. For instance, on the first page of "Buds" we find such a decided Tupperism as "in trampling on others take care you don't hurt your own foot." But there are better things than this. Here is a cynical remark tersely expressed: "To please the greatest number it is not so necessary to say as to leave unsaid." Here, too, is a saying which is more forcible now than when it was first uttered: "The hatred of the middle class for the working class is only the usual spite of the reigning king against the heir-apparent." The following is still better, and we recommend it to Mr. Carlyle, Mr. Froude, Mr. Kingsley, and the other upholders of what may be called the divine right of brute force:

³⁰ "A Compendious Dictionary of the French Language." (French-English—English-French). Followed by a List of the Principal Diverging Derivations, &c., &c. By Gustave Masson. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

³¹ "The Wallbridge Miscellanies." London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1874.

"I would stop all tyranny over inferiors by superiors, chiefly for the sake of the superiors." Here, too, is a saying which has been sadly illustrated by Mill in his "Autobiography." "In youth we taste our years; afterwards we munch them without relish." Here is one which, if read in a different sense to that probably intended by the author, forms a good gloss upon Juvenal's *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*: "To regard this life as the life . . . is to lavish attention on the servant proper only for the Master." "Life," as Sir George Cornwall Lewis said, "would be very tolerable were it not for its pleasures." Here is another saying which raises both a smile and a sigh: "The working classes take little interest in 'political economy,' as people on the rack are indifferent to details of the machinery." With this quotation we must close a little book which contains a great deal of suggestive writing. We should counsel the editor to weed out all the tales and stories, and to publish the best thoughts in a volume by themselves. They would, we are sure, find many readers.

It is not an easy matter, as is generally supposed, to make a selection of poetry. Good taste is after all a rare gift. Miss Aitken has edited a little volume of "Scottish Song" for the "Golden Treasury Series" in a way which reflects great credit on her judgment. She has added a glossary, short but quite sufficient for the purpose, which will greatly assist the English reader. The work may take its place beside Mr. Palgrave's well-known "Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrics," which is also in the same series.

Dr. Murray has published his Prize Essay on "The Ballads and Songs of Scotland."²² Like all prize essayists on ballads he of course quotes the rather hackneyed saying of Fletcher of Saltoun about ballads. What, however, Dr. Murray has to say on this text is well worth reading. Of course we find many of the same pieces which occur in Miss Aitken's volume of Scottish song. But Dr. Murray has used them for the purpose of illustrating his remarks. Miss Aitken's scheme has precluded her from any commentary, and Dr. Murray's book can therefore be recommended as an excellent companion volume to Miss Aitken's collection. Dr. Murray also gives a short glossary of words. We think, however, that he underrates the knowledge of Englishmen when he gives us a long note on such a common word as "hap." It is used not only in the sense which he quotes from the late Alexander Smith, but in many others, in our North Midland counties.

We need do little more than call attention to Professor Masson's collection of essays.²⁴ They are solid and sensible. Professor Masson does not affect the showy, and we may perhaps add the rather super-

²² "Scottish Song." A Selection of the Choicest Lyrics of Scotland. Compiled and Arranged with Brief Notes. By Mary Carlyle Aitken. (Golden Treasury Series). London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

²³ "The Ballads and Songs of Scotland." In view of their Influence on the Character of the People. By J. Clark Murray, LL.D., &c., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

²⁴ "Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats. And other Essays." By David Masson, M.A., LL.D., &c., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

ficial, style which has taken the public ear of late years. He does not deal in epigrams or paradoxes. What he has to say he tells in a plain, forcible, earnest way. His book will hold its place when many of much greater pretensions will be forgotten.

A great number of reprints lie upon our table. Amongst the most noticeable are Sheridan's "Complete Works."²⁵ The "Ana" at the end alone makes an amusing volume. Here, for instance, is one of Sheridan's happy sayings,—an old lady wanted Sheridan to accompany her for a walk in the country. Sheridan excused himself on account of the rain. The weather, however, cleared up, and the old lady again renewed her request: "Yes," said Sheridan, "it has cleared up enough for one, but not enough for two."

Douglas Jerrold's²⁶ jokes do not stand the test of time so well as Sheridan's. They do not mellow. They are too acrid. They want the quality of humour. Much too of his wit is, from its very nature, ephemeral. It was directed against abuses which have fortunately passed away. Our thanks to Douglas Jerrold must be not for making us smile now, but for having by his satire contributed to remove much gross injustice. One of the best of the "Hedgehog Letters" is that to Sir J. B. Tyrrell, Bart., M.P., who approvingly quoted at a Conservative Meeting the assertion that the Duke of Wellington was "the greatest man since the time of the Saviour."

Mr. Hazlitt still continues to give us his beautifully printed edition of Dodsley's Old Plays.²⁷ Mr. Pearson this quarter gives us Glapthorne's "Plays and Poems,"²⁸ and Messrs. King and Co.²⁹ the poems of the most popular poet of our own day.

²⁵ "The Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan." Dramas, Poems, Translations, Speeches, and Unfinished Sketches. With a Memoir of the Author, a Collection of Ana, and ten Chalk Drawings. Edited by F. Stainforth. London: Chatto & Windus. 1874.

²⁶ "The Barber's Chair, and the Hedgehog Letters." By Douglas Jerrold. Edited, with an Introduction, by his Son, Blanchard Jerrold. London: Chatto & Windus. 1874.

²⁷ "A Select Collection of Old English Plays." Originally Published by Robert Dodsley, in the year 1744. Fourth Edition. Now first Chronologically Arranged, Revised, and Enlarged. With the Notes of all the Commentators and New Notes. By W. Carew Hazlitt. Vol. V. London: Reeves & Turner. 1874.

²⁸ "The Plays and Poems of Henry Glapthorne." Now first Collected, with Illustrative Notes, and a Memoir of the Author. In two volumes. London: John Pearson. 1874.

²⁹ "The Works of Alfred Tennyson." Early Poems. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1874.

NOTE.

Corrective of a passage in the Article on "The Admiralty and the Navy," published in the "Westminster Review" for July, 1874.

In the article in the July number, on "The Admiralty and the Navy," the following passage occurs:—

"How little creditable to the dignity of England, and how useless for an assured protection in cases of political difficulty a force so constituted really is, may be gathered from the fact that a single small Spanish ironclad made Admiral Dundas 'swallow the leek' at the bombardment of Callao in 1866. Had that officer not been sensible enough to have seen that 'discretion is the best part of valour,' every ship of his squadron would have been sunk or burnt, and the country involved in war."

The name of the Admiral in command on the coast of Chile at the time to which we referred was Denman, not Dundas; and the meetings held and the indignation expressed, both abroad and in Liverpool, and also in Parliament, had reference to the bombardment of Valparaiso, and not to the attack upon Callao, which took place some weeks afterwards. In making this correction, we have only to add that our argument had no personal reference whatever. What we said of the Admiral in command was said of him as representing the Government of this country, and in condemnation of their folly in sending a squadron so weak, that even had the necessity for action arisen, it would have been powerless. Admiral Denman acted in strict accordance with his instructions, which were "to observe the strictest neutrality towards the contending parties;" and although some misunderstanding occurred at the time about certain "high worded protests," the discussions in Parliament thoroughly vindicated his high character for discretion and bravery, and left his reputation without a slur. We should deeply regret if any terms we have used should have led to misapprehension on this point.

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* * *All Books must be looked for under the Author's name.*

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